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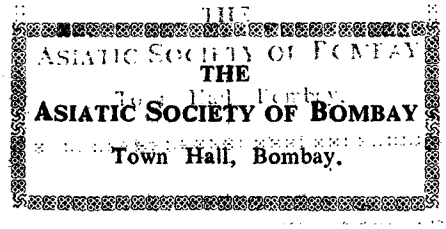

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HOLINSHED'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

33048

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

ENGLAND.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

1807.

[*Original Title.*]

THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF

CHRONICLES,

BEGINNING AT

DUKE WILLIAM THE NORMAN, COMMONLIE CALLED THE CONQUEROR;

AND

DESCENDING BY DEGREES OF YEERES

TO ALL THE

KINGS AND QUEENES OF ENGLAND

IN THEIR

ORDERLIE SUCCESSIONS:

FIRST COMPILED BY

RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,

AND BY HIM EXTENDED TO THE

YEARE 1577.

NOW NEWLIE RECOGNISED, AUGMENTED, AND CONTINUED

(WITH OCCURRENCES AND ACCIDENTS OF FRESH MEMORIE)

TO THE YEARE 1586.

WHEREIN ALSO ARE CONTEINED MANIE MATTERS OF SINGULAR DISCOURSE AND RARE OBSERUATION,

FRUITFULL TO SUCH AS BE STUDIOUS IN ANTIQUITIES,

OR

TAKE PLEASURE IN THE GROUNDS OF ANCIENT HISTORIES.

With a third table (peculiarlie seruing this third volume) both of names and matters memorable.

HISTORIÆ PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE AND HIS SINGULAR GOOD

SIR WILLIAM CECILL,

BARON OF BURGHLEYGH, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GA[illegible]
LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND, MAISTER OF THE COURTS OF WA[illegible]
AND LIUERIES, AND ONE OF THE QUEENES MAIESTIES PRIUIE COUNCELL.

CONSIDERING with my selfe, right Honorable and my singular good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuse me of vaine presumption, for enterprising to deale in this so weightie a worke, and so far aboue my reach to accomplish: I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first induced to vndertake the same, although the cause that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lordship.

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen Reginald Wolfe late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowne and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world, and therewith also certaine particular histories of euery knowne nation, amongst other whom he purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories, and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after fiue and twentie yeares trauell spent therein; so that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that performed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse

thelesse those whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence, wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue mine indeuour for their furtherance in the same. Which although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answere that trust which the deceassed repos[illegible]n me, to see it brought to some perfection: yet when the volume grew great as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression, were not willing to go through the whole, they resolued first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, bicause they were not in such readinesse, as those of forren countries, they were inforced to vse the helpe of other better able to doo it then my selfe.

Moreouer, the Charts, wherein Maister Wolfe spent a great part of his time, were not found so complet as we wished: and againe, vnderstanding of the great charges and notable enterprise of that worthie Gentleman maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charts of the seuerall prouinces of this realme to be set foorth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectlie, as shall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deserued praise. If any well willer will imitate him in so praiseworthie a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.

The histories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greatest part with Maister Wolfe in his life time, to his liking, who procured me so manie helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increase the readers knowledge, which causeth the booke to grow so great. But receiuing them by parts, and at seuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not so orderlie disposed them, as otherwise I ought; choosing rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderstanding might seeme to satisfie his expectation.

I therefore most humblie beseech your Honour to accept these Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wisedome and accustomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, bicause you were euer so especiall good Lord to Maister Wolfe, to whom I was singularlie beholden;

holden; and in whose name I humblie present this rud
seeching God, that as he hath made you an instrument
so it may please him to increase his good gifts in you, to
therance of the Queenes Maiesties seruice, and the comfort
and louing subiects.

Your Honours most humble to be commanded,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHE

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in so large a field as I haue here vndertaken, while so manie sundrie men in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to surpasse me; but seeing the best able doo seeme to neglect it, let me (though least able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natiue countries praise (which is their dutie) the incouragement of their woorthie countriemen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and histories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may shew mine vttermost good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders dispensation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the least able are readiest to find fault in matters of least weight, and therefore I esteeme the lesse of their carping, but humblie beseech the skilfull to supplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeuour. For it may please them to consider, that no one can be eie-witnesse to all that is written within our time; much lesse to those things which happened in former times, and therefore must be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene so carefull, that I haue spared no paines or helpe of freends to search out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witnesses for the true setting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find such want in writers for the necessarie knowledge of things doone in times past, and lacke of meanes to obteine sufficient instructions by reporters of the time present; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countriemen so manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the same to posteritie (as I wished) to their well deserued praise. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My speech is plaine, without any rhetoricall shew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to simple truth, than to decking words. I wish I had beene furnished with so perfect instructions, and so many good gifts, that I might haue pleased all kinds of men, but that same being so rare a thing in any one of the best, I beseech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meanest.

But now for thy further instruction, to vnderstand the course of these my labours. First concerning the historie of England, as I haue collected the same out of manie and sundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and rashnesse sometime is found in their reports; I leaue to the discretion of those that haue perused their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather chosen to shew the diuersitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vsing a peremptorie censure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuerthelesse to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he seeth cause. If some-where I shew my fansie what I thinke, and that the same dislike them; I craue pardon, speciallie if by probable reasons or plainer matter to be produced, they

can

can shew mine errour; vpon knowledge whereof I shall be readie to reforme it accordinglie. Where I doo begin the historie from the first inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that first peopled it, andno maruell: for in matters so vncerteine, if I cannot sufficientlie content my selfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I should satisfie others. That which seemeth to me most likelie, I haue noted, beseeching the learned (as I trust they will) in such points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my skill: sith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but still they are in controuersie about it, and as yet Sub iudice lis est. Well, howsoeuer it came first to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the first the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans set any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongst them: which hath brought so manie good policies and states to ruine and decaie.

The Romans hauing once got possession of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not rest (as it appeareth) till they had brought the same also vnder their subiection: and the sooner doubtlesse, by reason of the factions amongst the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accustomed skill) could turne verie well to their most aduantage. They possessed it almost fiue hundreth yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their insufferable tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people as well here as else-where; either that their ciuill discord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not so weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the same against the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in histories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land stood in verie weake state: being spoiled of the most part of all hir able men, which were led awaie into forren regions, to supplie the Romane armies; and likewise (perhaps) of all necessarie armour, weapon, and treasure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons against the Scots and Picts then inuading the same, ministred to them occasion to attempt the second conquest, which at length they brought to passe, to the ouerthrow not onelie of the British dominion, but also to the subuersion of the Christian religion here in this land: which chanced (as appeareth by Gildas) for the wicked sins and vnthankefulnesse of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occasions and causes of the transmutations of kingdoms, Nam propter peccata, regna transmutantur à gente in gentem.

The Saxons obteining possession of the land, gouerned the same, being diuided into sundrie kingdoms, and hauing once subdued the Britons, or at the least-wise remooued them out of the most part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines, fell at diuision among themselues, and oftentimes with warre pursued ech other, so as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puissance, either to mooue warres abroad, or sufficientlie to defend themselues against forren forces at home: as manifestlie was perceiued, when the Danes and other the Northeasterne people, being then of great puissance by sea, began misserablie to afflict this land: at the first inuading as it were but onelie the coasts and countries lieng neere to the sea, but afterwards with manie armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the English people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to resist the enimies; yet at length those Danes subdued the whole, and had possession thereof for a time although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to those of the Saxon line: till shortlie after, by the insolent dealings of the gouernours, a diuision was made betwixt the king and his people, through iust punishment decreed by the prouidence of the Almightie, determining for their sinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a stranger; and therevpon when spite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in successio apperteined, the Conquerour entred, and they

remained

remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie so cleerelie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to stand vp against him. And herewith altering the whole state, he planted such lawes and ordinances as stood most for his auaile and securitie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke such effect, that the state hath euer sithens continued whole and vnbroken by wise and politike gouernement, although disquieted sometime by ciuill dissention, to the ruine commonlie of the first moouers, as by the sequele of the historie you may see.

For the historie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed Hector Boece, Iohannes Maior, and Iouan Ferreri Piemontese, so far as they haue continued it, interlaced somtimes with other authours, as Houeden, Fourdon, and such like; although not often, bicause I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne histories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprise to their owne countrimen: so that whatsoeuer ye read in the same, consider that a Scotishman writ it, and an Englishman hath but onelie translated it into our language, referring the reader to the English historie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he seeth cause. For the continuation thereof I vsed the like order, in such copies and notes as Maister Wolfe in his life time procured me; sauing that in these last yeares I haue inserted some such notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, bicause I got them not till that part of the English historie was past the presse.

For Ireland, I haue shewed in mine epistle dedicatorie in what sort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to signifie, that I had not Giraldus Cambrensis, and Flatsburie, vntill that part of the booke was vnder the presse, and so being constreined to make post hast, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet dispose it so orderlie as had beene conuenient, nor pen it with so apt words as might satisfie either myselfe, or those to whose view it is now like to come. And by reason of the like haste made in the impression, where I was determined to haue transposed the most part of that which in the English historie I had noted, concerning the conquest of Ireland by Hen. the second, out of Houeden & others, I had not time thereto; and so haue left it there remaining where I first noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Irish histories, bicause the same commeth there well inough in place, as to those that shall vouchsafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes aduise followed Functius; but after his deceasse, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following Gerardus Mercator, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue set them downe according to such authors as seeme to be of best credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but the learned and skilfull in histories it shall appeare. Moreouer, this the reader hath to consider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the surest order (in my fansie) that can be followed.

For the names of persons, townes, and places, as I haue beene diligent to reforme the errours of other (which are to be ascribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authors) so may it be that I haue some-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to restore them to their full integritie as I wished. But what I haue performed, aswell in that behalfe as others, the skilfull reader shall easily perceiue, and withall consider (I trust) what trauell I haue bestowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompense thereof he will iudge the best, and to make a freendlie construction of my meaning, where ought may seeme to haue escaped my pen or the printers presse, otherwise than we could haue wished for his better satisfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offense in time present, which referred to the time past when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable,

able, but also allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beseech thee to weigh the causes and circumstances of such faults and imperfections, and consider that the like may creepe into a far lesse volume than this, and shew me so much fauour as hath beene shewed to others in like causes. And sithens I haue doone my good will, accept the same, as I with a free and thankefull mind doo offer it thee; so shall I thinke my labour well bestowed. For the other histories, which are alreadie collected, if it please God to giue abilitie, shall in time come to light, with some such breefe descriptions of the forren regions whereof they treat, as may the better suffice to the readers contentation, and vnderstanding of the matters conteined in the same histories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I ceasse further to trouble thy patience, wishing to thee (gentle reader) so much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie spirit may endue thee with.

FINIS.

THE

POLITIKE CONQUEST

OF

WILLIAM THE FIRST.

THIS William Duke of Normandie, base son of Robert the sixt Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto Edward king of England, surnamed the Confessor, hauing vanquished the English power, and slaine Harold in the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the historie of England) began his reigne ouer England the xv. daie of October being Sundaie, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033, (as W. Harison gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauiour 1066, which was in the tenth yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, in the sixt of pope Alexander the second, in the sixt of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, king of Scotland. Anno 1. 1066.

Immediatlie after he had thus got the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) he first returned to Hastings, and after set forward towards London, wasted the countries of Sussex, Kent, Hamshire, Southerie, Middlesex, and Herefordshire, burning the townes, and sleaing the people, till he came to Beorcham. In the meane time, immediatlie after the discomfiture in Sussex, the two earles of Northumberland and Mercia, Edwin and Marchar, who had withdrawne themselues from the battell togither with their people, came to London, and with all sped sent their sister quéene Aldgitha vnto the citie of Chester, and herewith sought to persuade the Londoners to aduance one of them to the kingdome: as Wil. Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham saith, that Aldred archbishop of Yorke, and the said earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Howbeit, whilest manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to make themselues redie to giue a new battell to the Normans (how or whatsoeuer was the cause) the said earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great discomfort of their freends. Wil. Malm. séemeth to put blame in the bishops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpose in aduancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the bishops (saith he) refused to ioine with the lords in that behalfe, and so through enuie and spite which one part bare to another, when they could not agrée vpon an Englishman, they receiued a stranger, insomuch that vpon king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Aldred archbishop of Yorke, Wolstane bishop of Worcester, and Walter bishop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foresaid earles Edwin and Marchar came and submitted themselues vnto him, whom he gentlie receiued, and incontinentlie made an agréement with them, taking their oth and hostages (as some write) and yet neuerthelesse he permitted his people to spoile and burne the countrie.

Sim. Dun.

Edwin and Marchar. Quéene Aldgitha sent to Chester. *Wil. Mal.* *Simon Dun.*

Wil. Malm. The bishops blamed.

The archbishop of Yorke & other submit themselues to king William.

But now, when the feast of Christs natiuitie (commonlie called Christmas) was at hand, he approched to the citie of London, and comming thither, caused his vauntgard first to enter into the stréets, where finding some resistance, he easilie subdued the citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withstand him, though not without some bloudshed (as Gemeticen. writeth) but as by others it should appéere, he was receiued into the citie

Gemeticensis.

citie without anie resistance at all; and so being in possession thereof, he spake manie fréendlie words to the citizens, and promised that he would vse them in most liberall & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requisite) he was crowned king vpon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke. For he would not receiue the crowne at the hands of Stigand archbishop of Canturburie, bicause he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd person and a naughtie liuer.

William Conquerour crowned 1067, according to their account which begin the yeare on the daie of Christ his natiuitie.

At his coronation he caused the bishops and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they should be his true and loiall subiects (according to the maner in that case accustomed.) And being required thereto by the archbishop of Yorke, he tooke his personall oth before the altar of S. Peter at Westmister, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the same, to gouerne the people in iustice as became a king to doo, to ordeine righteous lawes & kéepe the same, so that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongful iudgements should for euer after be abolished.

Polydor. After this, he tooke order how to keepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, 1067. fortifieng the necessarie places, and furnishing them with garisons. He also appointed officers and councellers, such as he thought to be wise and discréet men, and appointed ships to be in the hauens by the coast for the defense of the land, as he thought most *John Stow. Thos. Spot.* expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by some authours it should seeme) euen presentlie vpon obteining of the citie of London, he tooke his iourney towards the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also: which when the archbishop Stigand and Egelsin the abbat of S. Augustines (being as it were the chiefest lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and considered that the whole realme was in an euill state; & that whereas in this realme of England, before the comming in of the forsaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonaltie were without respect made subiect to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occasion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the safegard of themselues and their countrie. They caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and griefe of bondage and seruile estate. Whereupon all the people rather choosing to end their vnfortunate life, than to submit themselues to an vnaccustomed yoke of seruitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to méet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countrie. Also, the foresaid Stigand the archbishop, and the abbat Egelsin, choosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabées, became capteins of the armie. And at a daie appointed, all the people met at Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, laie priuilie in wait for the comming of the foresaid duke William.

Seruitude & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonaltie to the Normans.

Now, bicause it cannot hurt to take great héed, and to be verie warie in such cases, they agréed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the passages on eucrie side stopped, to the end he should no waie be able to escape, euerie one of them, as well horssemen as footmen should beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories néere vnto Swanescombe, and saw all the countrie set and placed about him, as it had beene a stirring and moouing wood, and that with a meane pace they approched and drew neare vnto him, with great discomfort of mind he woondered at that sight. And assoone as the capteins of the Kentishmen sawe that duke William was inclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounded, their banners to be displaied, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their swords drawne, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched foorth, they shewed themselues readie to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) sore astonied, and amazed:

so that he which thought he had alreadie all England fast in his fist, did now despaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentishmen, were sent vnto duke William the archbishop Stigand, and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines, who told him their message in this sort.

"My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to méet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which perteine to peace, and that vnder this condition; that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their ancient liberties, and may for euermore vse the lawes and customes of the countrie: otherwise they are readie presentlie to bid battell to you, and them that be with you, and are minded rather to die here altogither, than to depart from the lawes and customes of their countrie, and to submit themselues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience."

The duke séeing himselfe to be driuen to such an exigent & narrow pinch, consulted a while with them that came with him, prudentlie considering, that if he should take anie repulse or displeasure at the hands of this people, which be the key of England, all that he had done before should be disanulled and made of none effect, and all his hope and safetie should stand in danger and ieopardie: not so willinglie as wiselie he granted the people of Kent their request. Now when the couenant was established, and pledges giuen on both sides: the Kentishmen being ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who also were glad) vnto Rochester, and yéelded vp to the duke the earledome of Kent, and the noble castell of Douer. Thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and customes of the countrie, which before the comming of duke William out of Normandie, were equallie kept throughout all England, doo (through this industrie and earnest trauell of the archbishop Stigand and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines) remaine inuiolablie obserued vntill this daie within that countie of Kent. ¶ Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writeth the same. Of the which the former (that is Spot) liued in the daies of king Edward the first, and William Thorne in the daies of king Richard the second.

The ancient liberties and lawes of England remaine in Kent onlie.

Wil. Thorne.

But now, before we procéed anie further in recitall of the Conquerours dooings, we haue here in a table noted all the noble capteins and gentlemen of name, aswell Normans as other strangers, which assisted duke William in the conquest of this land: and first, as we find them written in the chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleur.

THE

CATALOG OF SUCH NOBLEMEN, LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF NAME,

AS CAME INTO THIS LAND WITH

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR.

Odo bishop of Bayeulx.
Robert erle of Mortaing.
Roger erle of Beaumont surnamed *A la Barbe.*
Guillaume Mallet seigneur de Montfort.
Henrie seig. de Ferrers.
Guillaume d'Aubelle-mare seign. de Fougieres.
Guillaume de Roumare seig. de Lithare.
Le seig. de Touque.
Le seig. de la Mare.
Neel le Viconte.
Guillaume de Vepont.
Le seig. de Magneuille.
Le seig. de Grosmenil.
Le seig. de S. Martin.
Le seig. de Puis.
Guillaume Crespin.
Guillaume de Moyenne.

Guil-

Guillaume Desmoulins.
Guillaume Desgarennes.
Hue de Gourney, *aliàs* Genevay.
Le seig. de Bray.
Le seig. de Gouy.
Le seig. de Laigle.
Le seig. de Touarts.
Le seig. de Aurenchin.
Le seig. de Vitrey.
Le seig. de Trassy, *aliàs* Tracy.
Le seig. de Picquigny.
Le seig. d'Espinay.
Osmond seig. du Pont.
Le seig. de Estouteuile.
Le seig. de Torchy.
Le seig. de Barnabost.
Le seig. de Breual.
Le seig. de Seeulme.
Le seig. de Houme.
Le seig. de Souchoy.
Le seig. de Cally.
Le seig. de la Riuere.
Euldes de Beanieu.
Le seig. de Roumilly.
Le seig. de Glotz.
Le seig. du Sap.
Le seig. de Vanuille.
Le seig. Branchou.
Le seig. Balleul.
Le seig. de Beausault.
Le seig. de Telleres.
Le seig. de Senlys.
Le seig. de Bacqueuille.
Le seig. de Preaulx.
Le seig. de Iouy.
Le seig. de Longueuille.
Le seig. de Aquigny.
Le seig. de Passy.
Le seig. de Tournay.
Le seig. de Colombieres.
Le seig. de Bolleber.
Le seig. de Garensieres.
Le seig. de Longueile.
Le seig. de Houdetot.
Le seig. de Malletot.
Le seig. de la Haie Malerbe.
Le seig. de Porch Pinche.
Le seig. de Iuetot.
The erle of Tanqueruile.
The erle d'Eu.
The erle d'Arques.
The erle of Aniou.
The erle of Neuers.
Le seig. de Rouuile.
Le prince de Alemaigne.
Le seig. de Pauilly.
Le seig. de S. Cler.
Le seig. d'Espinay.
Le seig. de Bremetot.
Alain Fergant erle of Britaigne.
Le seig. de la Ferte.
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans.
Le seig. de la Lande.
Le seig. de Mortimer.
Le seig. de Clare.
Le seig. de Magny.
Le seig. de Fontnay.
Roger de Montgomery.
Amaury de Touars.
Le seig. de Hacqueuile.
Le seig. de Neanshou.
Le seig. de Perou.
Robert de Beaufou.
Le seig. Meauuon.
Le seig. de Soteuile.
Eustace de Hambleuile.
Geoffray Bournom.
Le seig. de Blainuile.
Le seig. de Mauneuile.
Geoffrey de Moienne.
Auffray and Mauger de Carteny.
Le seig. de Freanuile.
Le seig. de Moubray.
Le seig. de Iafitay.
Guillaume Patais seig. de la Lande.
Eulde de Mortimer.
Hue erle of Gournay.
Egremont de Laigle.
Richard d'Aurinchin.
Le seig. de Bearts.
Le seig. de Soulligny.
Bouteclier d'Aubigny.
Le seig. de Marcey.
Le seig. de Lachy.
Le seig. de Valdere.
Eulde de Montfort.
Henoyn de Cahieu.
Le seig. de Vimers.
Guillaume de Mouion.
Raoul Tesson de Tignolles.
Anguerand erle of Hereourt.
Roger Marmion.
Raoul de Gaiel.
Auenel de Viers.
Pauuel du Montier Hubert
Robert Bertraule Tort.
Le seig. de Seulle.
Le seig. Doriual.
Le seig. de la Hay.
Le seig. de S. Iohn
Le seig. de Saussy.
Le seig. de Brye.
Richard Doileoce.
Le seig. du Mouſquet.
Le seig. de Bresey.
Le seig. de Semilly.
Le seig. de Tilly.
Le seig. de Preaux.
Le seig. de S. Denis.
Le seig. de Meuley.
Le seig. de Monceaux.
The archers of Bretuile.
The archers of Vaudreuile.
Le seig. de S. Sain.
Le seig. de Breansou.
Le seig. de Sassy.
Le seig. de Nassy.
Le vidam de Chartres.
Le seig. de Ieanuile.
Le vidam du Passais.
Pierre du Bailleul seig. de Fescampe.
Le seneschal de Torchy.
Le seig. de Grissey.
Le seig. de Bassey.
Le seig. de Tourneur.
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le seig. de Bonnebault.
Le seig. de Ennebault.
Le seig. de Danuillers.
Le seig. de Beruile.
Le seig. de Creucceur.
Le seig. de Breate.
Le seig. de Coutray.
The erle of Eureux.
Le seig. de seint Valery.
Thomas erle d'Aumale.
The erle de Hiesmes.

With

With other lords and men of account in great numbers, whose names the author of the chronicles of Normandie could not come by (as he himselfe confesseth.) In consideration whereof, and bicause diuers of these are set foorth onlie by their titles of estate, and not by their surnames; we haue thought it conuenient to make you partakers of the roll which sometime belonged to Battell abbeie, conteining also (as the title thereof importeth) the names of such Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time with the Conqueror, whereof diuerse maie be the same persons which in the catalog aboue written are conteined, bearing the names of the places whereof they were possessours and owners, as by the same catalog maie appeare.

THE ROLL OF BATTELL ABBEIE.

A
Avmarle
Aincourt
Audeley
Adgillam
Argentoune
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archere
Anuay
Asperu
Albeuile
Andeuile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybeuare
Amay
Aspermound
Amerenge

B
Bertram
Buttecourt
Brebus and Fyseg
Bardolfe
Basset and Bigot
Bohun
Bailif
Bondeuile
Brabason
Baskeruile
Bures
Bounilaine
Bois
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabaion
Berners
Braibuf
Brande and Bronce
Burgh
Bushy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluat and Baious
Browne
Beke
Bickard
Banastre
Baloun
Beauchampe
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Bascoun
Broilem
Broleuy
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewin
Beaumont
Burdon
Berteuilay
Barre
Busseuile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuil
Barduedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonret
Bainard
Barniuale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodin
Beteruile
Bertin
Bereneuile
Bellewe
Bcuery
Busshell
Boranuile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueier
Boteuile
Bellire
Bastard
Bainard
Brasard
Beelhelme
Braine
Brent
Braunch
Belesuz
Blundell
Burdet
Lagot
Beauuise
Belemis
Benin
Boulon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe
C
Camois
Camuile
Chawent
Chauncy
Conderay
Coluile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comin
Columber
Cribett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopis
Chaunduit
Chantelow
Chamberay
Cressy
Curtenay
Conestable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comiuile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge

Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheine
Curson
Couille
Chaiters
Cheines
Cateray
Cherecourt
Cammile
Clerenay
Curly
Cuily
Clinels
Chaundos
Courteney
Clifford

D

Denauille
Dercy
Diue
Dispencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Denise and Druell
Deuans
Dauers
Dodingsels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalinde
Delahill
Delaware
Delauache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Desny
Dabernoune
Damry
Daueros
Dauonge
Duilby
Dalauere
Delahoid
Durange
Delee
Delaund
Delaward
Delaplanch
Damsot
Danway
Dehense
Deuile
Disard
Doiuille
Durant
Drury
Dabitot
Dunsteruile
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

Estrange
Estuteuile
Engaine
Estriels
Esturney

F

Ferrerers
Foluille
Fitz Water
Fitz Marmaduke
Fleuez
Filberd
Fitz Roger
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Philip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Pain
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitz Browne
Fouke
Freuil
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Frisell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Filioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Rainold
Flamuile
Formay
Fitz Eustach
Fitz Laurence
Formibaud
Frisound
Finere and Fitz Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fichet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz John
Fleschampe

G

Gvrnay
Gressy
Graunson
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunson
Golofre
Gobion
Grensy
Graunt
Greile
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley
Grammori
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gines
Griuil
Greneuile
Glateuile
Gurney
Giffard
Gouerges
Gamages

H

Haun..eney
Haunsard
Hastings
Hanlay
Haurell
Husee
Hercy
Herioun
Herne
Harecourt
Henoure
Houell
Hamelin
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamound
Harcord

I

Iarden
Iay
Ieniels
Ierconuise
Ianuile
Iasperuile

K

Kaunt
Karre
Karrowe
Koine
Kimaronne
Kiriell
Kancey
Kenelre

L

Loueny
Lacy
Linneby
Latomer
Loueday
Louell
Lemare
Leuetot
Lucy
Luny
Logeuile
Longespes
Louerace
Longechampe
Lascales
Lacy
Louan
Leded
Luse

Loterell

Loterell
Loruge
Longevule
Loy
Lorancourt
Loions
Limers
Longepay
Laumale
Lane
Louetot

M

Mohant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmilon
Moribray
Moruile
Miriell
Manlay
Malebraunch
Malemaine
Mortimere
Mortimaine
Muse
Marteine
Mountbother
Mountsoler
Maleuile
Malet
Mounteney
Monfichet
Maleherbe
Mare
Musegros
Musard
Moine
Montrauers
Merke
Murres
Mortiuale
Monchenesy
Mallory
Marny
Mountagu
Mountford
Maule
Monhermon
Musett
Meneuile
Manteuenant and Manfe
Menpincoy
Maine
Mainard
Morell
Mainell
Maleluse
Memorous
Morreis
Morleian Maine
Maleuere
Mandut
Mountmarten
Mantelet
Miners
Mauclerke
Maunchenell
Mouet
Meintenore
Meletak
Manuile
Mangisere
Maumasin
Mountlouel
Mawreward
Monhaut
Meller
Mountgomerie
Manlay
Maulard
Mainard
Menere
Martinast
Mare
Mainwaring
Matelay
Malemis
Maleheire
Moren
Melun
Marceans
Maiell
Morton

N

Noers
Neuile
Newmarch
Norbet
Norice
Newborough
Neiremet
Neile
Normauile
Neofmarch
Nernitz
Nembrutz

O

Oteuell
Olibef
Olifant
Osenel
Oisell
Olifard
Orinall
Orioll

P

Pigot
Pery
Perepount
Pershale
Power
Painell
Perche and Pauey
Peurell
Perot
Picard
Pinkenie
Pomeray
Pounce
Pauely
Paifrere
Plukenet
Phuars
Punchardoun
Pinchard
Placy
Pugoy
Patefinc
Place
Pampilioun
Percelay
Perere and Pekeny
Poterell
Peukeny
Peccell
Pinell
Putrill
Petiuoll
Preaus
Pantolf
Peito
Penecord
Preudirlegast
Perciuale
Q

Qvinci
Quintiny

R

Ros
Ridell
Riuers
Riuell
Rous
Rushell
Raband
Ronde
Rie
Rokell
Risers
Randuile
Roselin
Rastoke
Rinuill
Rougere
Rait
Ripere
Rigny
Richemound
Rochford
Raimond

S

Souch
Sheuile
Seucheus
Senclere
Sent Quintin
Sent Omere
Sent Amond
Sent Legere
Someruile
Siward
Saunsovere
Sanford
Sanctes
Sauay
Saulay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Sent Iohn
Sent George
Sent Les
Sesse
Saluin
Say
Solers

Saulay
Sent Albin
Sent Martin
Sourdemale
Seguin
Sent Barbe
Sent Vile
Souremount
Soreglise
Sanduile
Sauncey
Sirewast
Sent Cheueroll
Sent More
Sent Scudemore

T

Toget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trousbut
Trainell
Taket
Trussel and Trison
Talbot
Touny
Traies
Tollemach
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tibtote
Turbeuile
Turuile
Tomy and Taverner
Trencheuile
Trenchelion
Tankeruile
Tirell
Triuet
Tolet
Trauers
Tardeuile
Turburuile
Tineuile
Torell
Tortechappell
Trusbote
Treuerell
Tenwis
Totelles

V

Vere
Vernoun
Vesey
Verdoune
Valence
Verdeire
Vauasour
Vendore
Verlay
Valenger
Venables
Venoure
Vilan
Verland
Valers
Veirny
Vauurvile
Veniels
Verrere
Vschere
Veffay
Vanay
Vian
Vernoys
Vrnell
Vnket
Vrnafull
Vasdero'l
Val erom
Valingford
Venicorde
Valine
Viuille
Vancorde and Valenges

W

Wardebois
Ward
Wafre
Wake
Warcine
Wate
Watelin
Wateuil
Wely
Werdonell
Wespaile
Wiuell

Sim. Dunel. When king William had set all things in order through the most part of the realme, he deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, and his coosine William Fits Osborne, whom he had made erle of Hereford. In Lent following he sailed into Normandie, leading with him the pledges, and other of the cheefest lords of the English nation: among whom, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, Stigand the archbishop, Edgar Etheling, Walteoff sonne to Siward sometime duke of Northumberland, and Agelnothus the abbat of Glastenburie were the most famous. Soone after his departing, Edricke surnamed Syluaticus, sonne to Alfricke that was brother to Edricke de Strona, refusing to submit himselfe vnto the king, rebelled and rose against such as he had left in his absence to gouerne the land. Whereupon those that laie in the castell of Hereford, as Richard Fitz Scroope and others, did oftentimes inuade his lands, and wasted the goods of his farmors and tenants: but yet so often as they attempted to inuade him, they lost manie of their owne souldiers and men of war. Moreouer, the said Edricke calling to his aid the kings of the Welshmen, Bleothgent and Rithwall, about the feast of the assumption of our Ladie, wasted the countrie of Hereford, euen to the bridge of the riuer of Wye, and obteined out of those quarters a maruellous great spoile. In the winter also following, and after king William had disposed his busines in Normandie, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Englishmen somewhat sharpelie, supposing thereby to keepe them the more easilie vnder his obedience. He also took awaie from diuerse of the Nobilitie, and others of the better sort, all their liuings, and gaue the same to his Normans. Moreouer, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realme: nor any thing regarded th' English Nobilitie, so that they who before thought themselues to be made for euer by bringing a stranger into the realme, doo now see themselues to lie vnder foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, insomuch that many of them were constreined (as it were for a further testimonie of seruitude and bondage) to shaue their beards, to round their heare, and to frame themselues as well in apparell as in seruice

Hen. Hunt. Polychron. Sim. Dun. King William goeth ouer into Normandy.

Edricke Syluaticus.

Richard Fits Scroope.

The riuer of Wye.

King William returneth into England.

H. Hunt.

Matth. Paris.

and

and diet at their tables after the Norman manner, verie strange and farre differing from the ancient customes and old vsages of their countrie. Others vtterlie refusing to susteine such an intollerable yoke of thraldome as was dailie laid vpon them by the Normans, chose rather to leaue all both goods & lands, & after the maner of outlawes got them to the woods, with their wiues, children, and seruants, meaning from thencefoorth wholie to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adioining, and to take whatsoeuer came next to hand: wherevpon it came to passe within a while that noe man might trauell in safetie from his owne house or towne to his next neighbors, and euery quiet and honest mans house became as it were an hold and fortresse furnished for defense with bowes and arrowes, bills, polaxes, swords, clubs, and staues, and other weapons, the doores kept locked and stronglie boulted in the night season, for feare to be surprised as it had beene in time of open warr and amongst publike enimies. Praiers were said also by the maister of the house, as though they had beene in the middest of the seas in some stormie tempest, and when the windowes or doores should be shut in and closed, they vsed to saie *Benedicite*, and others to answer, *Dominus*, in like sort as the preest and his penitent were woont to doo at confession in the church.

Englishmen withdraw them to the woods as out lawes.

Notwithstanding all this, K. William sought to tame & vanquish those of the English Nobilitie, who would not be at his becke. They againe on the other side made themselues strong, the better to resist him, choosing for their chéefe capteines and leaders, the earles Edwine & Edgar Etheling, who valiantlie resisted the Normans, and slue many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus procéeded in their matters, king William being a politike prince, forward and painefull in his businesse, suffered them not altogither to escape cléere awaie, but did sore annoy and put them oft to remediles losses, though he abode in the meane time many laborious iournies, slaughters of his people, and damages of his person. Herevpon the English Nobilitie euer after, yea in time of peace, were hated of the king and his Normans, and at length were kept so short, that being mooued partlie with disdaine, and partlie with dread, they got them out of the realme, some into Scotland, some into Denmarke, others into Norway; and among these, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, with certeine bishops & others of the cleargie, besides manie also of the temporaltie, escaped into Scotland. Marleswine & Gospatricke, with a great number of other the Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Ethling with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Christine and Margaret, chanced also to be driuen into Scotland by tempest, as they sailed towards the coasts of Germanie, purposing to haue returned into Hungarie, where the said Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found so friendlie entertainment there, that finallie Malcolme the third then king of that realme, tooke his sister Margaret to wife, and Christine became a nunne, as in the Scotish chronicles more plainelie dooth appéere. King William héereby perceiuing daily how vnwilling the Englishmen were to be vnder his obeisance, was in feare of rebellious commotions; and therefore to subdue them the better, he builded foure castels, one at Notingham, another at Lincolne, the third at Yorke, and the fourth néere vnto Hastings, where he landed at his first comming into England.

Polydor. Anno Reg. 3. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Diuers of the English Nobilitie forsake their natiue countrie.

Polydor.

Two at York, wherein he left fiue hundred men in garrison.

Moreouer, to reduce the English people the sooner vnto obedience and awe, he tooke from them all their armour and weapons. He ordeined also that the maister of euerie houshold about eight of the clocke in the euening, should cause his fire to be raked vp in ashes, his lights to be put out, and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that euerie man might haue knowledge of the houre to go to rest, he gaue order, that in all cities, townes, and villages, where anie church was, there should a bell be roong at the said houre, which custome is still vsed euen vnto this daie, and commonly called by the French word, *Couer few*, that is, *Rake vp the fier*.

Simon Dun. The Conquerour taketh frō the Englishmen their armour.

Couer few first instituted.

This yeare, on Whitsunday, Maud the wife of king William was crowned Queene by Aeldred archbishop of Yorke. The same yeare also was Henrie his sonn borne here in England: for his other two sonns, Robert and William, were borne in Normandie before

1068.

Matth. West.

Edmond the Great.

he had conquered this land. About the same time alsoe Goodwine and Edmund surnamed the great, the sonns of K. Harold, came from Ireland and landing in Somersetshire, fought with Adnothus that had beene maister of their fathers horsses whom they slue with a great number of others, and soe haueing got this victorie, returned into Ireland, from whence they came with a great bootie which they tooke in their returne out of Cornewall, Deuonshire, and other places thereabouts. In like manner, Excester did as then rebell, and likewise the countrie of Northumberland, wherevpon the king appointed one of his capteines named Robert Cumin, a right noble personage (but more valiant than circumspect) to go against the northerne people with a part of his armie, whilest he himselfe and the other part went to subdue them of Excester: where, at his comming before the citie, the citizens prepared themselues to defend their gates and wals: but after he began to make his approch to assaile them, part of the citizens repenting their foolish attempts, opened the gates, and suffered him to enter. Thus having subdued them of Excester, he greeuouslie punished the chéefe offendors. But the countesse Gita, the sister of Sweine K. of Denmarke, and sometime wife to earle Goodwine, and mother to the last K. Harold, with diuers other that were got into that citie, found meanes to flie, and so escaped ouer into Flanders. King William hauing passed his businesse in such wise in Deuonshire, hasted backe towards Yorke, being aduertised in the waie, that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their spials, that Robert generall of the Normans being come to Durham, did not so diligentlie cause watch and ward to be kept about the towne in the night season as was requisite, did set vpon him about midnight, & slue the same Robert with all his companie, so that of seauen hundred which he brought with him, there was but one that escaped to bring tidings to the king their souereigne.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dunelm.

This chanced the 28. of Januarie on a Wednesday: *Polydor.*

He heard also, how Edgar Etheling at the same time, being in the countrie, riding abroad with a troope of horsemen, and hearing of the discomfiture of those Normans, pursued them egerlie, and slue great numbers of them, as they were about to saue themselues by flight, with which newes being in no small furie, he made speed forward, and comming at the last into Northumberland, he easilie vanquished the foresaid rebels, and putting the cheefe authors of this mutinie to death, he reserued some of the rest as captiues, and of other some he caused the hands to be chopped off in token of their inconstancie and rebellious dealing. After this he came to Yorke, and there in like sort punished those that had aided Edgar, which doone, he returned to London.

Polydor.

1069. In the meane time, those Englishmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall suite made to Sueine then king of that realme, to procure him to make a iournie into England for recouerie of the right descended to him from his ancestors, at length obteined their purpose, in so much that king Sueine sent his sonnes Harold and Canutus toward England, who with a nauie of two hundred saile, in the companie of Osborne their vncle, arriued in the mouth of Humber betwéene the two later ladie daies, and there landing their people with the English outlawes, whom they had brought with them, they straightwaies marched towards Yorke, wasting and spoiling the countrie with great crueltie as they passed. Soone after also came Edgar, and such other English exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. When the newes of these things were brought to Yorke, the people there were striken with a maruellous feare, insomuch that Aeldred the archbishop (through verie greefe and anguish of mind) departed this life. The Normans also which laie there in garrison, after they vnderstood by their spies that the enimies were come within two daies iournie of them, began not a little to mistrust the faith of the citizens, and bicause the suburbes should not be any aid vnto them, they set fire on the same, which by the hugenesse of the wind that suddenlie arose, the flame became so big, and mounted such a height, that it caught the citie also, and consumed a great part therof to ashes, togither with the minster of S. Peter, and a famous librarie belonging to the same. Herevpon the Normans and citizens in like maner were constreined to issue foorth at the same time, and being

Sweine and Osborne hath. *Matth. Paris.*

Three hundred sailes saith *M. W.* but *Sim. Dun.* hath 240.

Yorke burnt.

being vpon the enimies before they had any knowledge of their approch, were forced to trie the matter by disordered battell: whose number though it was far inferiour vnto theirs, yet they valiantlie defended themselues for a time, till being oppressed with multitudes, they were ouercome and slaine, so that there perished in this conflict, to the number of three thousand of them. Manie of the Englishmen also that came with them to the field, were saued by the enimies, to the end they might gaine somewhat by their ransomes, as William Mallet shirife of the shire, with his wife, and two of their children, Gilbert de Gaunt, and diuers other. This slaughter chanced on a saturdaie, being the nineteenth day of September; a dismall daie to the Normans.

Normans slaine.

Simon Dun.

The two brethren hauing thus obteined this victorie, went on further into the countrie of Northumberland, and brought the same wholie to their subiection, insomuch that all the north parts were at their cōmandement. Upon this they meant to haue gone towards London with the like attempt in the south parts, if the extreame and hard winter which chanced that yeare, had not staied their enterprise, as it did king William from assailing them; who hearing of all their dooings in the north countrie, would else full gladlie haue set vpon them. In the meane time, the Danes wintered in Yorkeshire, betwixt the two riuers Ouse and Trent; but so soone as the snow began to melt, and the yce to thaw and waste away, king William sped him with great hast toward his enimies into Yorkeshire, and comming to the riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refresh his people, for his enimies were at hand. The daie following he brought his armie into the field to fight with the Danish princes, who likewise in battell araie met them. Then began a right sore and terrible battell, continuing a long space in equall balance, till at length in one of the Danish wings the Norman horsemen had put their enimies to flight. Which when the residue of the Danes perceiued, and therewith put in a sudden feare, they likewise fled. Harold and Canutus with a band of hardie souldiers that tarried about them, retired backe (though with much a doo and great danger) vnto their ships. Edgar also, by helpe of good horses, escaped into Scotland with a few in his companie. Earle Walteof, who had fought most manfullie in that battell, & slaine manie Normans with his owne hands, was reconciled into the kings fauour: but the residue were for the most part taken prisoners, and killed. William of Malmesburie writeth, that king William comming at that time into the north parts, besieged the citie of Yorke, and putting to flight a great armie of his enimies that came to the succour of them within, not without great losse of his owne souldiers, at length the citie was deliuered into his hands; the citizens and other that kept it, as Scots, Danes, and Englishmen, being constreined thereto through lacke of vittels. Other write, how the Danes, being loden with riches and spoiles gotten in the countrie, departed to their ships before the comming of king William. Here is not to be forgotten, that (as Iohn Leland hath noted) whilest the Conquerour held siege before Yorke, at the earnest request of his wife Quéene Maud, he aduanced his nephew Alane earle of Britaine, with the gift of all those lands that sometime belonged vnto earle Edwine, the tenor of which gift insueth:

A sharpe winter, an enimie to warlike enterprises.

The Danes where they wintered.

Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Matth. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

"Ego Gulihelmus cognomine Bastardus, do & concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britanniæ comiti, & hæredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras, quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eborashira, cum feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & consuetudinibus, ita liberè & honorificè sicut idem Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obsidione coram ciuitate Eboraci:" that is, "I William surnamed Bastard, doo giue and grant to thee my nephue Alane earle of Britaine, and to thine heires for euer, all those townes and lands that latelie were earle Eadwines in Yorkeshire, with the knights fees and other liberties and customes, so freelie and honourablie as the said Eadwine held the same. Giuen in our seege before the citie of Yorke."

Earle Edwines lands giuen vnto Alane earle of Britaine.

The earle of Britaine, being a man of a stout stomach, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a strong castell neere to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. The first originall line of the earles of Richmont (that bare their title

Castell of Richmont.

title of honor of this castell and towne of Richmont (as Leland hath set downe the same) is this: Eudo earle of Britaine, the sonne of Geffrey, begat three sonnes, Alane le Rous, otherwise Fregaunte, Alane the blacke, and Stephan. These three brethren after their fathers decease, succéeded one another in the earledome of Britaine; the two elder, Alane the red and Alane the blacke died without issue. Stephan begat a sonne named Alane, who left a sonne, which was his heire named Conan, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William king of Scotland, who bare him a daughter named Constantia, which Constantia was coupled in marriage with Geffrey sonne to king Henrie the second, who had by hir Arthur, whom his vncle King John, for fear to be depriued by him of the crowne, caused to be made awaie; as some have written. But now to returne where we left touching the Danes. Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harold and Canute or Chute the sonnes of Sweine king of Denmarke, with their vncle earle Osborne, and one Christianus a bishop of the Danes, and earle Turketillus were guiders of this Danish armie, & that afterwards, when king William came into Northumberland, he sent vnto earle Osborne, promising him that he would permit him to take vp vittels for his armie about the sea coastes; and further, to giue him a portion of monie, so that he should depart and returne home as soone as the winter was passed. But howsoeuer the matter went with the Danes, certain it is by the whole consent of writers, that king William hauing thus subdued his enimies in the north, he tooke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of the countrie of Yorkeshire and Northumberland, that he wasted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, so that for the space of threescore miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reason whereof it laie wast and desert for the space of nine or ten yeares. ¶ The goodlie cities with their towers and steeples set vp on a statelie height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fields and pastures, watered with the course of sweet and pleasant riuers, if a stranger should then haue beheld, and also knowne before they were thus defaced, he would surely haue lamented: or if any old inhabitant had béene long absent, & newly returned thither, had séene this pitifull face of the countrie, he would not haue knowne it, such destruction was made through out all those quarters, whereof Yorke it selfe felt not the smallest portion. The bishop of Durham Egelwinus with his cleargie fled into holy Iland with S. Cuthberts bodie, and other iewels of the church of Durham, where they tarried three moneths and od daies, before they returned to Durham againe. The kings armie comming into the countrie that lieth betwixt the riuers Theise and Tine, found nothing but void feelds and bare walles; the people with their goods and cattell being fled and withdrawne into the woods and mountaines, if any thing were forgotten behind, these new gests were diligent inough to find it out.

In the beginning of the spring, king William returned to London, and now after all these troubles, began to conceiue greater hatred against the Englishmen than euer before; so as doubting that hee should neuer by gentlenesse win their good willes, he now determined by a harder measure to meete with them; insomuch that he banished a great number, other some also (not a few) he spoiled of their goods, those especiallie of whom he was in hope to gaine any great portion of substance.

Thus were the Englishmen generallie in danger to lose life, lands and goods, without knowledge, or orderlie proceeding in iudgement, so that no greater miserie in the earth could be imagined, than that whereinto our nation was now fallen. He tooke from the townes and cities, from the bishops sées and abbeies all their ancient priuileges and freedoms, to the end they should not onely be cut short and made weaker, but also that they (for the obteinment of their quietnesse) might redeeme the same of him for such summes of monie as pleased him to exact. Among other things, he ordeined that in time of warre they should aide him with armor, horsse and monie, according to that order which he should then prescribe: all which he caused to be registred, inrolled, and laid vp in his treasurie. But diuerse of the spirituall persons would not obey this ordinance, whom he banished without remorse.

About

Earle of Britaine.

Simon Dun. *Matth. Paris* maketh mention but of Sweine and Osborne whom he calleth brethren.

Wil. Malms.

Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 4. 1070.

Polydor.

Priuileges and freedoms reuoked.

Matth. Paris.

About this time the archbishop Stigand, and Alexander bishop of Lincolne fled to Scotland, where they kept themselues close for a season. But the king still continued in his hard procéeding against the Englishmen, insomuch that now protesting how he came to the gouernance of the realme only by plaine conquest, he seized into his hands most part of euery mans possessions, causing them to redeeme the same at his hands againe, and yet reteined a propertie in the most part of them; so that those that should afterwards enioy them, should acknowledge themselues to hold them of him, in yéelding a yéerlie rent to him and his successors for euer, with certeine other prouisions, whereby in cases of forfeiture the same lands should returne to him, and his said successors againe. The like order he appointed to be vsed by other possessors of lands, in letting them forth to their tenants. He ordeined also, that the Termes should be kept foure times in the yéere, in such places as he should nominate, and that the iudges shuld sit in their seuerall places to iudge and decide causes and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie, in manner as is vsed vnto this day. He decréed moreouer, that there should be shiriffes in euerie shire, and iustices of the peace to keepe the countries in quiet, and to sée offendors punished. Furthermore, he instituted the court of the Excheker, and the officers belonging to the same, as the barons, the clearks, and such other, and also the high court of Chancerie.

Stigand.
Alexander bishop of Lincolne.
Polydor.
The hard deling of K. William against the Englishmen.
The institution of the foure Termes.
The Excheker.
The Chancerie.

After he had in this sort ordeined his magistrates and ministers of the lawes, he lastlie tooke order what ordinances he would haue obserued: wherevpon abrogating in maner all the ancient lawes vsed in times past, and instituted by the former kings for the good order and quietnes of the people, he made new, nothing so equall or easie to be kept; which neuerthelesse those that came after (not without their great harme) were constreined to obserue: as though it had beene an high offense against GOD to abolish those euill lawes, which king William (a prince nothing friendly to the English nation) had first ordeined, and to bring in other more easie and tollerable. ¶ Here by the waie I giue you to note a great absurditie; namelie, that those lawes which touched all, and ought to be knowne of all, were notwithstanding written in the Norman toong, which the Englishmen vnderstood not; so that euen at the beginning you should haue great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partlie by ignorance in misconstruing the same, to be wrongfullie condemned: some to death, and some in the forfeitures of their goods; others were so intangled in sutes and causes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continuallie were tossed from post to piller; in such wise that in their minds they curssed the time that euer these vnequall lawes were made.

New lawes.
The lawes were written in the Norman toong.

The maner for the triall of causes in controuersie, was deuised in such sort as is yet vsed. Twelue ancient men (but most commonlie vnlearned in the lawes) being of the same countie where the sute laie, were appointed by the iudges to go togither into some close chamber, where they should be shut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they should agrée vpon the condemnation or acquiting of the prisoner, if it were in criminall causes; or vpon deciding in whom the right remained, if it were vpon triall of things in controuersie. Now when they were all agréed, they came in before the iudges, declaring to what agréement they were growne: which doone, the iudges opened it to the offendors or sutors, and withall gaue sentence as the qualitie of the case did inforce and require. There may happilie be (as Polydor Virgil saith) that will mainteine this maner of procéeding in the administration of iustice by the voices of a iurie, to haue béene in vse before the conquerors daies, but they are not able to prooue it by any ancient records of writers, as he thinketh: albeit by some of our histories they should séeme to be first ordeined by Ethelred or Egelred. Howbeit this is most true, that the Norman kings themselues would confesse, that the lawes deuised and made by the Conqueror were not verie equall; insomuch that William Rufus and Henrie the sonnes of the Conqueror would at all times, when they sought to purchase the peoples fauer, promise to abolish the lawes ordeined by their father, establish other more equall, and restore those which were vsed in

Matters to be tried by a Iurie of 12. men.

in S. Edwards daies. The like kind of purchasing fauour was vsed by king Stéephen, and other kings that followed him. But now to the matter, king William hauing made these ordinances to keepe the people in order, set his mind to inrich his cofers, and therevpon caused first a tribvte to be leuied of the commons; then the abbeies to be searched, and all such monie as any of the Englishmen had laid vp in the same, to be kept. Besides all this, he seized into his hands their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon kings of the land, and spared not so much as the iewels and plate dedicated to sacred vses. All this did he (as some write) by the counsell of the earle of Hertford.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Wil. Mal. Wil. Thorne.

Abbeis searched.

Polydor. Simon Dun. Wil. Thorne. Polydor. Sim. Dunel.

Shortlie after betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, a great synod was holden at Winchester by the bishops and cleargie, where Ermenfred the bishop of Sion or Sitten, with two cardinals Iohn and Peter sent thither from pope Alexander the second, did sit as chéefe commissioners. In this synod was Stigand the archbishop of Canturburie depriued of his bishoprike, for three speciall causes.

Stigand archbishop of Canturburie depriued.

1 First, for that he had wrongfullie holden that bishoprike, whilest the archbishop Robert was liuing.

2 Secondlie, for that he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his inuestiture vnto Canturburie, which he ought not to haue doone.

3 Thirdlie, for that he had receiued the pall at the hands of pope Benedict the tenth, whom the cardinals, as one not lawfullie elected, had deposed.

Howbeit, manie writers burthen king William (who was present at this synod) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the end he might place a stranger in his roome. For as he had rooted out the English Nobilitie, and giuen awaie their land and liuings to his Normans; so meant he to turne out the English cleargie from bearing any office of honor within the realme, which meaning of his did well appeare at his councell, wherin diuers bishops, abbats, and priors were deposed, and Normans preferred to their places. Stigand after his depriuation was kept in perpetuall prison at Winchester, till he died, and yet (as some write) the same Stigand was an helper vnder hand for king William to atteine the crowne.

Agelmarus bishop of Thetford was one that was deposed.

Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king being at Windsor, gaue the archbishoprike of Yorke vnto one Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and to Walkelme one of his chaplins he gaue the Bishoprike of Winchester. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was abbat, he made him archbishop of Canturburie, who was consecrated there in the feast of S. John Baptist, in the yeare folowing, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 1071. The foresaid Thomas was the fiue and twentith bishop that had gouerned in that see of Yorke, & Lanfranke the thrée & thirtith in the see of Canturburie. But yer long, betwixt these two archbishops there rose great contention for the primasie of their churches, in so much that the archbishop of Yorke appealed to Rome, where they both appeared personallie before pope Alexander, in whose presence Lanfranks cause was so much fauoured, that not onelie the foresaid Thomas, but also Remigius the bishop of Dorchester were for reasonable causes depriued of their crosiers and rings: and Lanfranke at their humble request was a meane to the pope for them in the end, that they might be restored to their staues, which was accordinglie obteined. For when the pope heard Lanfranke declare in their fauour, how necessarie their seruice might be to the king, in the establishment of his new gotten kingdome, he said to Lanfranke; "Well, looke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrie, and therefore consider what is expedient to be done therein: their staues which they haue surrendered, there they be, take them, and dispose them as you shall thinke most profitable for the aduancement of the christian religion in that countrie." Wherevpon, Lanfranke tooke the staues, and deliuered them to the former possessours, and so were they in the popes presence restored to their former dignities. One cause why Thomas was depriued (as some writers saie) was, for that he had holpen duke William towards his iournie into England when he came to conquer it, for the which pleasure to him then shewed, the duke promised

Thomas a canon of Bayeux made archbishop of Yorke. Lanfranke consecrated archbishop of Canturburie. *Matth. Westm.* hath the eight Kal. of Maie, but *Wil. Mal.* and *Eadmerus* the fourth Kal. of September. 1071.

An. Reg. 5. *Wil. Mal. Eadmerus.*

mised him a bishoprike, if euer he obteined victorie ouer the English: an other cause, for that he was a priests sonne. Now, when the pope vnderstood the full ground of their contention to be for the primasie of the two sees, Canturburie and Yorke, and had heard what could be alledged on both sides, he remitted the determination thereof to the king and bishops of England, that by the histories and records of the land, the matter might be tried, iudged, and ordered. *Wil. Malm.*

Wherefore, at their comming home, and after long debating and discussing of the cause (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a synod holden at Windsor, in the yeare 1072, sentence was giuen on Lanfranks side, so that in all things concerning religion and the faith of holie church, the archbishop of Yorke should be euer subiect to the archbishop of Canturburie, and come with all the bishops of his prouince to what place soeuer the archbishop of Canturburie should summon any councell within the realme of England. Moreouer, when anie elected bishop of Canturburie was to be consecrated, the archbishop of Yorke (for the time being) should come to Canturburie, and consecrate him there. And if the archbishop of Yorke was to be installed and consecrated, then should he come to Canturburie, or to what place it should please the archbishop of Canturburie to assigne, and there to be confirmed of him, taking an oth with profession of due obedience vnto the higher see. Now, as the said Thomas of Yorke did yéeld obedience to Lanfranke of Canturburie, so likewise the elect bishop of Glascow in Scotland named Michaell, was soone after consecrated of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Yorke, and made an oth of obedience vnto the said archbishop, as to the primate of all Scotland: and after him Tothade the bishop of S. Andrewes did the like, by commandement of Malcolme the third of that name king of Scotland, and Margaret his wife, who thought good by this recognisance of obedience and dutie, so to prouide against further inconuenience to come, that hereafter, one of the bishops of their realme should not take vpon them to consecrate an other: or doo any thing contrarie to the ancient decrées of the old fathers, that might be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the archbishop of Yorke, at whose appointment those and the like things were accustomed to be doone. In this controuersie (or the like) it is left written, that in a court held at Rome (the time is not mentioned) the pope perceiuing the strife betwéene these two prelats to be but for the highest place or primasie in the church; he solemnlie gaue sentence, that the séc of Yorke should haue in title Primas Angliæ, & Canturburie Primas totius Angliæ, which titles doo yet remain to them both.

Anno Reg. 6. 1072.

Matth. West. The subiection of the archbishoprike of Yorke, to the archbishoprike of Canturburie.

Polydor. The archbishop of Yorke, acknowledged primate of all Scotland.

Ranulph. Cestren. lib. 1. cap. 57. & lib. 7. cap. 2.

But to leaue this, and to speake of other things which chanced in the meane time that this controuersie depended betwixt the two archbishops, I find that Edwin and Marchar earles of Mertia and Northumberland, hauing of late obteined pardon for their former misdemeanor, & reconciled to the king, began now so much to mislike the state of the world againe, as euer they did before. For perceiuing how the Englishmen were still oppressed with thraldome & miserie on ech hand, they conspired, & began a new rebellion, but with verie ill successe, as shall heraster appeare. The king vnderstanding of their dealings, and being not onelie armed throughlie with temporall force, but also endued with the spirituall power of his archbishop Lanfranke (who aided him in all that he might, for the suppressing of those rebels) wasted the countries excéedinglie, where he vnderstood that they had gotten any releefe, minding vtterlie to vanquish them with sword, fire and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them vnder. They on the other part make as stout resistance; and perceiuing that it stood them vpon, either to vanquish or to fall into vtter ruine, they raise a mightie strong host, and make Edgar Etheling their capteine, a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole hope of the English nation was reposed, as appeareth by this his accustomed by-word, Edgar Etheling Englands dearling. Amongst other noble men that were chiefe dooers in the assembling of this armie, Frederike abbat of S. Albons, a prelate of great wealth and no lesse puissance, was a principall. *Matt. Paris.*

The

The king perceiuing his estate to be now in no small danger, is in a great perplexitie what to doo, in the end, he counselleth with the said Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, how he might remedie the matter; who told him that in such a desperate case, the best waie for him should be to séeke by faire words and friendly offers to pacifie the English Nobilitie, which by all meanes possible would neuer ceasse to molest him in the recouerie of their liberties. Wherevpon he made meanes to come to some agréement with them, and so well the matter procéeded on his side, that the Englishmen being deceiued through his faire promises, were contented to common of peace, for which purpose they came also vnder the conduct of the abbat Frederike vnto Berkamsted, where (after much reasoning and debating of the matter for the conclusion of amitie betwixt them) king William in the presence of the archbishop Lanfranke and other of his lords, tooke a personall oth vpon all the relikes of the church of S. Albons, and the holie euangelists (the abbat Frederike ministring the same vnto him) that he would from thencefoorth obserue and keepe the good and ancient approoued lawes of the realme, which the noble kings of England his predecessors had made and ordeined heretofore; but namelie those of S. Edward, which were supposed to be most equall and indifferent.

The peace being thus concluded, and the Englishmen growne thereby to some hope of further quietnesse, they began to forsake their alies, and returned each one, either to his owne possessions, or to giue attendance vpon the king. But he warilie cloking his inward purpose, notwithstanding the vnitie latelie made, determineth particularlie to assaile his enimies (whose power without doubt so long as it was vnited, could not possiblie be ouercome, as he thought) and being now by reason of this peace disseuered and dispersed, he thought it high time to put his secret purposes in execution: wherevpon taking them at vnwares and thinking of nothing lesse than warres and sudden inuasion, he imprisoneth manie, killeth diuers, and pursueth the residue with fire and sword, taking awaie their goods, possessions, lands, and inheritances, and banishing them out of the realme. In the meane time, those of the English Nobilitie, which could escape this his outragious tyrannie, got awaie, and amongst other, Edgar Etheling fled againe into Scotland: but Edwin was slaine of his owne souldiers, as he rode toward Scotland. Earle Marchar, and one Hereward, with the bishop of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Ile of Elie, in purpose there to defend themselues from the iniurie of the Normans, for they tooke the place (by reason of the situation) to be of no small strength. Howbeit king William endeuouring to cut them short, raised a power, and stopped all the passages on the east side, and on the west part he made a causie through the fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them, and constreined them to yeeld. But Marchar, or (as others haue) Hereward, foreséeing the imminent danger likelie to take effect, made shift to get out of the Ile by bote, and so by spéedie flight escaped into Scotland. The bishop of Durham being taken, was sent to the abbey of Abingdon, to be kept as prisoner, where he was so sparinglie fed, that within a short space he died for hunger.

Ran. Higa. H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was so stubborne-harted, that after he knew he should remaine in perpetuall prison, he refused his meate, and so pined himselfe to death.

In this meane time, and whilest king William was thus occupied in rooting out the English, Malcolme king of Scotland had wasted the countries of Theisedale, Cleueland, and the lands of S. Cuthbert, with sundrie other places in the north parts. Wherevpon Gospatrike being latelie reconciled to the king & made earle of Northumberland, was sent against him, who sacked and destroied that part of Cumberland which the said Malcolme by violence had brought vnder his subiection. At the same time Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire which his people had kindled in the church of Saint Peter to burne vp the same, and there hearing what Gospatrike had doone, he tooke such displeasure thereat, that he commanded his men they should leaue none of the English nation aliue, but put them all to the sword without pity or compassion, so oft as they came to hand. The bloudie slaughter which was made at this time by the Scots, through that cruell commandement of Malcolme, was pitifull to consider, for women, children, old and yong, went all one way: howbeit, manie of those that were strong and able to serue for

A bloudie cõmandement executed vpon the English by the Scots.

drudges and slaues, were reserued, and carried into Scotland as prisoners, where they remained manie yeares after; in so much that there were few houses in that realme, but had one or mo English slaues and captiues, whom they gat at this vnhappie voiage. Miserable was the state of the English at that time, one being consumed of another so vnnaturallie, manie of them destroied by the Scots so cruellie, and the residue kept vnder by the king so tyrannicallie.

But to returne to the purpose in hand, king William hearing of all these things, was not a little mooued at the same, but chéefelie with Malcolme king of Scots, for that his countrie was the onelie place wherein all the mal-contents of his realme had their refuge. Wherfore, thinking to reuenge the losse of his subiects, and to bring that realme also vnto his subiection, he went thither with an huge armie, about the middle of August, where he first inuaded the bounds of Galloway, bicause he heard how the English were latelie fled thither. But after he had wearied his souldiers in vaine pursuit of them (who kept themselues in the mountaines and marres grounds) he gaue ouer the enterprise, and drew towards Lothiam, where king Malcolme laie with all his power, & sundrie English fugitiues, with whome he determined by battell either to end his trouble, or else to loose his life. Now as both the kings with their armies were readie to encounter, Malcolme began to doubt somewhat of the fiersenesse of the battell, bicause he saw the great puissance and readie willes of the English and Normans to fight, wherevpon he sent an harrold to king William to treat of peace, wherewith he was content at the last (though with much adoo) and so a vnitie insued betwixt them, vpon these conditions; namelie, that king Malcolme should doo homage to king William for the realme of Scotland, and therevpon deliuer sufficient hostages: and that on the other side, king William should pardon all the English outlawes in Scotland which then rebelled against him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirnethi. After this, king William returned into England, where he yer long tooke the earledome of Northumberland from Gospatrike, and gaue it to Waltheof the sonne of Siward; bicause of right it séemed to descend vnto him from his father, but cheefelie from his mother Alfreda, who was the daughter of Aldred sometime earle of that countrie.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

H. Hunt.

The king of Scots did homage to king William for Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The kings iustice.

At the same time also the king caused a castell to be built at Durham, and returned to London, where he receiued aduertisement that his subiects in Normandie toward the the parties of Angiew had begun a rebellion against him. Heérevpon with all spéed he leuied an armie, whereof the most part consisted of English (whose seruice he liked rather in a forren countrie than in their owne) and sailed ouer into Normandie, where he easilie subdued his enemies by the valiancie of the English, whom from thenceforth he began somewhat to fauour and better thinke of than before. Yoong Edgár also grew in verie good credit with him, for though he had twise broken his oth of allegiance, and run to the Scots as a rebell, yet now of his owne motion, returning to the king and crauing pardon, he was not onelie receiued, but also highlie honoured and preferred in his court.

The yeare 1074. thrée moonks of the prouince of Mercia, purposing to restore religion after their maner within the prouince of Northumberland, came into Yorke, and required of Hugh Fitz Baldricke (then shirife of the shire) to haue safe conduct vnto Monkaster, which afterwards hight Newcastell, and so is called to this day. These moonks, whose names were Aldwin, Alswin, and Remfred, comming unto the foresaid place, found no token or remanent of any religious persons, which sometime had habitation there (for all was defaced and gone:) wherevpon, after they had remained there a while, they remooued to Jarrowe, where finding the ruines of old decaied buildings and churches, perteining in times past to the moonks that there inhabited, they had such assistance at the hands of Walkher bishop of Durham, that at length, by the diligent trauell and sute of these moonks, three monasteries were newlie founded and erected in the north parts, one at Durham, an other at Yorke, and the third at Whitby. For you must consider that

Mountcaster now Newcastell.

by the inuasion of the Danes, the churches and monasteries throughout Northumberland were so wasted and ruinated, that a man could scarselie find a church standing in all that countrie, as for those that remained, they were couered with broome or thatch: but as for any abbey or monasterie, not one was left in all the countrie, neither did any man (for the space of two hundred yeares) take care for the repairing or building vp of any thing in decaie, so that the people of that countrie wist not what a moonke ment, and if they saw any, they woondered at the strangenesse of the sight.

An. Reg. 9. 1075. Whilest the king remained thus in Normandie, Roger earle of Hereford (contrarie to the kings mind and pleasure) married his sister vnto Rafe earle of Cambridge, or (as other haue) Northfolke, and withall began a new conspiracie against him. Amongst other also of the associats, earle Walteof the sonne of earle Siward was one, who afterward mistrusting the successe of this deuise, first vttered it to archbishop Lanfranke, and by his aduice sailed ouer into Normandie, and there disclosed the whole matter to king William: but in the meane time, the other two earles; namelie, Hereford and Cambridge had so farre procéeded in the matter, that they were vp in armour. Howbeit, Wolstan bishop of Worcester, and Egelwine abbat of Euesham, with the shirife of Worcester & Walter Lacie, so resisted the earle of Hereford, that he could not passe the Seuerne to ioine with the earle of Cambridge. On the other side, Odo the bishop of Bayeux, and Gefirey the bishop of Constances pursued the earle of Cambridge so narrowlie with an other armie, which they had gathered of the English and Normans, that they constreined him to flée into Britaine, whereby the rebellion was verie much appeased.

Rafe Earle of Cambridge. *Matth. West. Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.*

A rebellion raised against K. William.

John Pike.

An. Reg. 10. 1076. In the meane time, the king vnderstanding by earle Walteof how the matter went in England, came ouer with all speed out of Normandie, & within a short space brought the residue of the conspirators into such a feare, that they were scattered and put to flight, without attempting anie further exploit or conspiracie against him. Manie of them also were apprehended and put to death, among whom Roger and Walteof were most famous. And though Walteof (as yée haue heard before) disclosed the treason, yet to the end he should offend no more hereafter, he was beheaded at Winchester by the kings commandement, and his bodie hauing béene first buried in the same place where he suffered, was afterward conueied vnto Crowland, and there more honorablie interred.

H. Hunt.

Earle Walteof beheaded.

This earle Walteof or Waldeue was sonne (as ye haue heard) to Siward the noble earle of Northumberland, of whose valure in the time of K. Edward the confessor ye haue heard. His son the foresaid Walteof in strength of bodie and hardinesse did not degenerate from his father, for he was tall of personage, in sinews and musculs verie strong and mighty. In the slaughter of the Normans at Yorke, he shewed proofe of his prowesse, in striking off the heads of manie of them with his owne hands, as they came foorth of the gates singlie one by one: yet afterwards, when the king had pardoned him of all former offenses, and receiued him into fauour hée gaue to him in mariage his néece Judith the daughter of Lambert earle of Lens, sister to Stephen erle of Albermare, and with hir he had of the kings gift, all the lands and liberties belonging to the honor of Huntingdon; in consideration whereof, he assigned to hir in name of hir dower, all the lands that he held from Trent southward. Shée bare by him two daughters, Maud and Alice. We find, that he was not onlie earle of Northumberland, but also of Northampton and Huntingdon.

Earledome of Huntingdon.

Matth. Paris.

The countesse of Cambridge or Northfolke (as other haue) wife of earle Rafe, being fled into the citie of Norwich, was besieged in the same by the kings power, which pressed the citie so sore, as it was forced for verie famine to yéeld; but yet by composition; namelie, that such as were besieged within, should depart the realme, as persons abiured and banished the land for euer. This was the end of the foresaid conspiracie. At this verie time the Danes being confederate with these rebels, and by them solicited, set forth towards England vnder the leading of Cnuto, sonne to Sueno, and earle Haco, and (vnlooked for) arriue here in England with two hundred sailes. But hearing that the ciuill

Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

tumult was ended, and seeing no man readie either to countenance or encourage them in their enterprise, they sailed first into Flanders, which they spoiled, and after into their owne countrie, with little desire or will to come againe into England. King William also vnderstanding that they were thus departed, passed ouer into Britaine, and there besieged the castell of Doll that belonged to Rafe earle of Cambridge or Northfolke: but by the comming of Philip the French king, king William being vnprouided of sufficient vittels for his armie, was constreined to raise his siege, although with great losse both of men and horsses.

On the 27. daie of March was a generall earthquake in England, and in the winter following a frost that continued from the first of Nouember vntill the middle of Aprill. A blasing starre appeered on palme sundaie, beeing the sixteenth daie of Aprill, about six of the clocke, when the aire was faire and cleere. An. Reg. 11. 1077. *Matth. Paris.* An earthquake, a long frost, a comet.

About the same season, pope Gregorie perceiuing that married préests did choose rather to run into the danger of his cursse, than to forsake their wiues, meaning to bridle them by an other prouiso, gaue commandment by his bull published abroad, that none should heare the masse of a married préest. Married préests.

King William after his comming from the siege of Doll, remained a certeine time in quiet, during which season, Lanfranke the archbishop called a synod or counsell of the cleargie at London, wherein amongst other things it was ordeined, that certeine bishops sees should be remoued from small townes to cities of more fame, whereby it came to passe that Chichester, Exceter, Bath, Salisburie, Lincolne & Chester were honored with new sees and palaces of bishops, whereas before they kept their residence at Sellewey, Kirton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorchester, and Lichfield. An. Reg. 12. 1078. *Polydor.* A synod holden at London. Bishops sées remoued.

At this synod also Woolstan bishop of Worcester was present, whom Lanfranke would haue deposed for his insufficiencie of learning; as he colourablie pretended, but indeed to pleasure the king, who faine would have placed a Norman in his roome: but (as they saie) by a miracle which he presentlie wrought, in causing his crosier staffe to sticke fast in the toome of saint Edward (to whom he protested and said he would resigne it, for that he obteined the same by his gift) he did put the king and the archbishop into such feare, that they suffered him still to enioy his bishoprike without any further vexation. These things with other (touching a reformation in the church and cleargie) being handled in this councell, it was soone after dissolued. *Woolstan.*

In the yeare following, king William led a mightie armie into Wales, and subdued it; receiuing of the rulers and princes there their homages and hostages. About the same time, Robert the kings eldest sonne, a right worthie personage, but yet as one of nature somewhat vnstable, entered into Normandie as a rebell to his father, and by force tooke diuers places into his hands. Which he did by the practise of Philip the French king, who now began to doubt of the great puissance of king William, as foreseeing how much it might preiudice him, and the whole realme of France in time to come. Wherefore to stop the course of his prosperous successe, he deuised a meane to set the sonne against the father. True it is that king William had promised long afore to resigne the gouernment of Normandie vnto the said Robert his sonne. Wherevpon the yoong man, being of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the sinister counsell of his adherents, seeketh to obteine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he should atteine by curtesie. King William hereof aduertised, was not a little mooued against his disobedient sonne, and cursed both him and the time that euer he begat him. Finallie, raising an armie, he marched towards him, so that they met in the field. Assoone as the one came in sight of the other, they encountred at a place called Archenbraie, and whilest the battell was at the hottest, and the footmen most busied in fight, Robert appointed a power of horssemen to breake in upon the réereward of his enemies; & he himselfe following after with all his might, chanced among other to haue a conflict with his owne father, so that thrusting him through the arme with his lance, he bare him beside his horsse, and ouerthrew An. Reg. 13. 1079. *Matth. Paris. Matth. West.* The French king setteth the sonne against the father. *Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.*

The sonne ouerthroweth the father.

ouerthrew him to the ground. The king being falne, called to his men to remount him. Robert perceiuing by his voice that it was his father, whom he had vnhorssed, spéedilie alighted, and tooke him vp, asking him forgiuenesse for that fact, and setting him vp on his owne horsse, brought him out of the prease, and suffered him to depart in safetie. King William being thus escaped out of that present danger, and séeing himselfe not able to resist the puissance of his enimies, left the field to his son, hauing lost many of his men which were slaine in battell and chace, besides a great number that were hurt and wounded, among whom his second sonne William surnamed Rufus or Red, was one; and therefore (as some write) he bitterlie curssed his son Robert, by whom he had susteined such iniurie, losse, and dishonor. Howbeit, other write, that for the courtesie which his sonne shewed, in releeuing and helping him out of danger, when he was cast off his horsse, he was mooued with such a fatherlie affection, that presentlie after they were made friends, the father pardoned his sonne all his former offenses, and therevpon found him euer after more tractable and obedient than before.

Simon Dun.

Malth. Paris.

The father and the sonne made friends.

An. Reg. 14. 1080.

After this battell, king William being thus accorded with his sonne, returned with him into England, and immediatlie sent him against Malcolme king of Scotland, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixt king William and his sonne, had doone much hurt by forraies vpon the English borders, wasting all Northumberland euen to the riuer of Tine. Howbeit, when he heard that Robert approched with his armie towards him, he retired into Scotland. Robert Curthuze then lodged with his armie vpon the banks of the riuer of Tine, where he began the foundation of a castell, whereof the towne of Newcastell did after take both beginning and name, for before this season it was called Moncaster.

Simon Dunel.

The foundation of New castell upon Tine, which before that season was called Moncaster.

About the same time, Odo the bishop of Bayeux was sent to Northumberland, to reuenge the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, whom not long before the people of Northumberland had slaine in a tumult. The occasion of his death grew by the death of one Liulfus, a noble man of those quarters, and déerelie beloued of the people, bicause he was descended of honorable parentage, and had married the ladie Algitha daughter vnto earle Alered, and sister to Alfleda the mother of earle Walteof.

Simon Dun.

This Liulfus, a man of great possessions through England, now that the Normans ruled in all places, quietlie withdrew himselfe vnto Durham, and grew into such familiaritie and credit with the bishop, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would doo nothing without his aduice. Whereat Leofwin the bishops chapline conceiued such enuie (for that he was not so often called to counsell as before) that in the end he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whom the bishop had committed the rule of the earledome) to murther the said Liulfus by night in his manor place not farre from Durham. Whereof the bishop hauing vnderstanding, and knowing that the matter would be gréeuouslie taken of the people, sent out letters and messengers into the countrie, offering to purge himselfe of the slaughter of this man, according to the order of the canon lawes: howbeit he did nothing lesse. Among other things concerning his purgation, he said that he had banished Gilbert and others, (who had committed the murther) out of Northumberland. Hervpon the malice of the people was kindled against him. For when it was knowne that he had receiued the murtherers into his house, and fauoured them as before, they stomached the matter highlie: insomuch that when by the trauell of those that went to and fro betwixt the bishop and the kinsfolks of Liulfus, a daie was appointed, on the which the bishop should come to farther communication with them at Gateshead, he repaired thither according to his promise, but refusing to talke with them abroad, he kept himselfe still within the church, and sent foorth such of his counsell as should commune with them. But when the people that were there gathered in great numbers, had signified in plaine words that he should either come foorth and shew himselfe amongst them, or else that they should fire the place where he sat: he caused Gilbert to go foorth vnto them first, whom they slue, and his partakers also that issued

out

out of the church with him for his defense. But when the peoples furie was not so quenched, the bishop himselfe casting the skirts of his gowne ouer his face, came likewise foorth, and was immediatlie slaine of the people. After this, they set the church on fire, bicause Leofwine the bishops chapline and others were yet within, and refused to come foorth: howbeit in the end, being compelled by the rage of the fire to come out, the said Leofwine was also slaine and hackt in péeces (as he had well deserued) being the ring-leader of all the mischéefe.

¶ Thus maie we sée what followed of the neglecting of iustice in the bishop: for if he had either banished Gilbert and other his complices (accordinglie as he pretended to doo) or otherwise had séene due punishment executed against them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded so far as it did: for they could not persuade themselues, but that the bishop was guiltie and priuie to Liulfus death, sith he had receiued the murtherers into his house, the verie same night in which the fact was done, and kept them still about him, which his bearing with them cost him his owne life. But now to the historie. Note the sequele of the neglect of iustice in the former storie.

When bishop Odo was come into those parties to reuenge the bishops death with an armie (as we haue said) he sore afflicted the countrie, by spoiling it on euerie side with great crueltie. Here king William placed and displaced diuerse rulers ouer the Northumbers: for first he appointed one Copsi to haue the rule of that countrie, in place of Marchar who before had held the same. This Copsi expelled Osulfe the sonne of earle Edulfe brother to earle Aldred, which Osulfe was substitute vnto the earles Edwine and Marchar, who although he was driuen out of his gouernement by Copsi, yet recouering his forces againe, he slue the same Copsi as he entred into the church of Newburne. But within a few moneths after, the same Osulfe (as he ran with his horsse against a theefe) was thrust through the bodie with a speare, which the theefe held in his hand, and so died. Then Gospatrike was assigned by king William to haue the gouernement there: whose mother Aldgitha was daughter to Vthred sometime earle of Northumberland begotten vpon Elfgiua the daughter of king Egelred. *Sim. Dunel.* Copsi. Gospatrike.

Some write, that Gospatrike purchased the earledome of king William, and so held it, till the king tooke it from him againe, and then gaue it vnto earle Walteof or Waldeue. Next after him Walkher the foresaid bishop of Durham had the whole administration committed to him, but (after he was slaine as yée haue heard) one Alberike ruled that countrie, and lastlie, Robert Mulbray a right noble personage (for his wisedome and valiancie highlie renowmed with all men) was created earle of Northumberland, and gouerned the people of those parties in such politike and wise order, that during his time, it is hard to saie, whether his quietnesse or the obedience of the people was greater. Robert Mulbray earle of Northumberland.

In like manner, after the foresaid Walkher; one William was created bishop of Durham, who was the originall founder of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford, and by whose assistance, the moonkes gaping both for riches, ease, and possessions, found the means to displace the secular priests of the colledge of Durham, that they might get into their roomes, as they did indeed soone after, to their great gaine and aduantage. But to returne againe to the course of the historie. Shortlie after the reuenge of the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, the fornamed bishop Odo the kings brother was suspected of some vntruth and sinister dealing, wherevpon he was sent as a banished man into Normandie, or rather (as other write) committed to prison, where he remained, not as a clerke, but as a baron of the realme; for he was both bishop and earle of Kent. The foundation of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford. An. Reg. 15. 1081. An. Reg. 16. 1082. Odo suspected and banished.

The king hauing at length obteined some rest from wars, practised by sundrie meanes to inrich his cofers, and therefore raised a tribute through out the whole kingdome; for the better leuieng whereof, he appointed all the subiects of his realme to be numbred, all the cities, townes, villages, and hamlets to be registred, all the abbies, monasteries An. Reg. 17. 1083.

nasteries and priories to be recorded. Moreouer, he caused a certificat to be taken of euerie mans substance, and what he might dispend by the yeare; he also caused their names to be written which held knights fees, and were bound thereby to serue him in the wars. Likewise he tooke a note of euerie yoke of oxen, & what number of plow lands, and how manie bondmen were within the realme. This certificat being made & brought vnto him, gaue him full vnderstanding what wealth remained among the English people. Herevpon he raised his tribute, taking six shillings for euerie hide of land through out this realme, which amounted to a great masse of monie when it was all brought togither into his Excheker.

Plow land.

Gervasius Tilberiensis. The true definition of a hide of land.

¶ Here note by the waie, that an hide of land conteineth an hundred acres, and an acre conteineth fortie perches in length, and foure in bredth, the length of a perch is sixtéene foot and an halfe: so that the common acre should make 240. perches; & eight hides or 800. acres is a knights fée, after the best approued writers and plaine demonstration. Those therefore are deceiued, that take an hide of land to conteine twentie acres (as William Lambert hath well noted in his De priscis Anglorum legibus) where he expoundeth the meaning of the old Saxon termes perteining to the lawes.

But to proceed & come, a little after the temporals dealing, to some of the spirituall affaires. It hapned about the same time, that when king William had finished the rating of his subiects, that there rose a strife betwixt Thurstane abbat of Glastenburie a Norman, and the moonkes of that house. One cause thereof was, for that the abbat would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine song or note for the seruice which pope Gregorie had set foorth, and to haue vsed an other kind of tune deuised by one William of Fescampe: beside this, the said abbat spent and wasted the goods that belonged to the house, in riot, leacherie, and by such other insolent meanes (withdrawing also from the moonkes their old accustomed allowance of diet) for the which they first fell at altercation in words, and afterwards to fighting. The abbat got armed men about him, and falling vpon the moonkes, slue thrée of them at the high altar, and wounded xviij. Howbeit the moonkes for their parts plaied the pretie men with formes and candelsticks, defending themselues as well as they might, so that they hurt diuers of the abbats adherents, and droue them out of the quier.

An. Reg. 18. 1084.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Thurstan abbat of Glastenburie. William of Fescampe. *Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.* have two slaine and xiiij. hurt. *Matt. Westm.*

In the end, complaint hereof was brought to the king, by whose iudgement the matter was so ordered, that Thurstane lost his roome, and returned vnto Caen in Normandie from whence he came, and the moonkes were spred abroad into diuerse houses of religion through the realme, Glastenburie being replenished with more quiet persons, and such as were supposed readier to praie than to quarell, as the other did: yet is it said, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurstane obteined the rule of that abbeie againe for fiue hundred pounds.

Sim. Dunel. Hen. Marle. Matth. Paris.

There be which write, that the numbring of men and of places, the valuation of goods and substance, as well in cattell as readie monie, was not taken till about the xix. yéere of this kings reigne (although the subsidie afore mentioned was gathered about two yeares before of euerie hide of land as yée haue heard) and that the certificat hereof being inrolled, was put into the kings treasurie at Winchester, in the xix. yeare of his reigne, and not in the xvj. But in what yeare soeuer it was, and howsoeuer the writers agrée or disagree herein; certaine it is, that the same was exacted, to the great gréefe and impouerishment of the people, who sore lamented the miserable estate whereinto they were brought, and hated the Normans in their harts to the verie death. Howbeit, the more they grudged at such tolles, tallages, customes, and other impositions wherewith they were pressed; the more they were charged and ouerpressed. The Normans on the other side with their king perceiuing the hatred which the English bare them, were sore offended, and therefore sought by all meanes to kéepe them vnder. Such as were called to be iustices, were enimies to all iustice; wherevpon greater burdens were laid upon the English, insomuch

Hen. Marle. An. Reg. 19. *Simon Dun.*

Polydor. Matth. Paris.

The Conqueror séeketh to kéepe the English men low. *Polydor.*

insomuch that after they had béene robbed and spoiled of their goods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturallie (as they doo vnto this daie) they tooke great pleasure in hunting of déere, both red and fallow, in the woods and forrests about without restraint, king William seizing the most part of the same forests into his owne hands, appointed a punishment to be executed vpon all such offendors; namelie, to haue their eies put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penall lawes (a pestilent policie of a spitefull mind, and sauoring altogither of his French slauerie) he deuised meanes how to bréed, nourish, and increase the multitude of déere, and also to make roome for them in that part of the realme which lieth betwixt Salisburie and the sea southward: he pulled downe townes, villages, churches, and other buildings for the space of 30. miles, to make thereof a forrest, which at this daie is called New forrest. The people as then sore bewailed their distres, & greatlie lamented that they must thus leaue house & home to the vse of sauage beasts. Which crueltie, not onelie mortall men liuing here on earth, but also the earth it selfe might seeme to detest, as by a woonderfull signification it séemed to declare, by the shaking and roaring of the same, which chanced about the 14. yeare of his reigne (as writers haue recorded.) There be that suppose how the king made that part of the realme waste and barren vpon a policie, to the intent that if his chance were to be expelled by ciuill wars, and he compelled to leaue the land, there should be no inhabitants in that part of the Ile to resist his arriuall vpon his new returne.

The forrests seized into the kings hands. *Matth. Paris.*

New forrest.

Matth. Paris. An earthquake. *Polydor.*

But to go foorth with our purpose. About the same time, a rumor was spred in England that Sueine king of Denmarke meant to inuade England with a puissant armie, hauing the assistance of the earle of Flanders whose daughter he had maried. Whervpon king William being then in Normandie, reteined a great power of French soldiers, both archers and footmen which togither with his Normans he brought ouer into England in haruest season, and meaning to disburthen himselfe of the charge of their keeping, he caused their finding and wages to be borne by the lords and peeres of the realme, by the shirifs of shires, and other officers. Howbeit, when he vnderstood that the Danes changed their purpose, and would not hold on their iourneie, he dismissed part of his power, and sent them home againe, keeping the residue all the winter with him in England, readie for his defense, if anie rebellion or other necessitie should befall.

Simon Dun. 1085.

A rumor spred of the coming of the Danes.

Anno 20.

The same yeare, he kept his Christmasse at Glocester, and made his sonne Henrie knight at Westminster in Whitsunwéeke insuing. Shortlie after, calling togither aswell lords spirituall as temporall he caused them all to sweare fealtie to him and his heires after him in the possession of this kingdome.

1086.

Matth. West. 1087.

About this season, the people in all places were pitifullie plaged with burning feuers, which brought manie to their end: a murren also came to their cattell, whereof a woonderfull number died. At the same time (which is more maruellous) tame foules, as hens, géese, & peacocks, forsaking their owners houses, fled to the woods and became wild. Great hurt was doone in manie places of the realme by fire, and speciallie in London, where vpon the 7. daie of Julie a sudden flame began, which burnt Paules church, and a great part of the citie downe to the verie ground.

An oth taken to be true to the king. Great sickenes reigning. Murren of cattell. *Matth. West.* Paules church burned. *Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.*

Now when K. William had taken the oth of fealtie and loialtie of all his lords, Edgar Etheling, who was reconciled vnto his fauour (as you haue heard) obteining licence of him to depart the realme for a season, sailed into Puglia with two hundred souldiers: of whose acts there and returne into England I spare to speake, bicause I find little or nothing of moment recorded. And now king William, who hauing brought the Englishmen so lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge masse of mony, where soone after he fell sicke, so that he was constrained to keepe his bed longer than he had beene accustomed to doo, whereat Philip the French king in iesting manner said, that king William his cousine laie now in childbed (alluding belike to his big bellie, for he was verie corpulent) and withall added;

An. Reg. 21.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris.

added; "Oh what a number of candels must I prouide to offer vp at his going to church! certeinelie I thinke that 100000. will not suffice," &c. This frumping speech so moued the king, that he made this answere: "Well, I trust when I shall be churched, that our cousine shall be at no such cost, but I will helpe to find him a thousand candels myselfe, and light them too, to some of their paines, if God grant me life." Which promise he bound with an oth, and in déed performed. For in Julie next insuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were most florishing, and readie for the sickle, he entered France with a great armie, set fire on manie of their cities and townes in the west side of that countrie, and came at last to the citie of Maunt, which he burnt with the church of our ladie, and an ankresse inclosed in the wall thereof as an holie closet, for the force of the fire was such as all went to wrecke. In this heat king William tooke such a sicknesse (which was likewise aggrauated by the fall of an horsse as he rode to and fro, bicause he was not able to trauell on foot about his palace by reason of his disease) that cost him his life; so that when he had ordeined his last will, and taken order for the staie of things after his decease, he departed this life on the 9. day of September, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1087. and 74. (as Polydor saith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie about 51. yeres, and reigned ouer England 20. yeares, ten moneths, and 28. daies (as all writers doo report.)

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd.

He inuadeth France. *Gemeticensis.*

The citie of Maunt burnt by K. William. *Matth. West. Matth. Paris.*

King William departed this life. *Simon Dun. Matth. West.*

The lix. of his age hath *Wil. Malm.*

Not long before his death, he released his brother Odo bishop of Bayeux out of prison, Marchar earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the sonne of king Harold, or (as some say) his brother. Moreouer he repented him (as some say) when he lay on his death bed, of his cruell dealing with the English, considering that by them he had atteined to such honour and dignitie, as to weare the crown and scepter of a kingdome: but whether he did so or not, or that some moonke deuised the excuse in fauour of the prince: surely he was a puissant prince, and though his time was troublesome, yet he was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe, if a man shall consider that in a strange realme he could make such a conquest, and so exactlie and readilie assure the same to his heires, with new lawes, orders and constitutions (which are like for euer to endure) he would thinke it a thing altogither void of credit. Yet so it was, and so honourable were his doings in the sight of the world, that those kings, which succeeded sithens his death, begin their account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renewed the state of the realme, and instituted an other forme of regiment, in atchiuing whereof he did not so much pretend a rightfull challenge by the grant of his coosine king Edward the Confessor, as by the law of armes and plaine conquest, than the which (as he supposed) there could be no better title.

He set all prisoners at libertie saith *Wil. Malm. Polydor.*

Herevpon also those that haue sithens succeeded him, vse the same armes as peculiar to the crowne of England, which he vsed in his time; namelie, three lions passant gold in a field gewels (as Polydor writeth) the three floure delices were since that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reason of his claime to the crowne of France, whereof hereafter ye shall heare. Among other greeuances which the English susteined by the hard deling of the Conquerour, this is to be remembered, that he brought Jéwes into this land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie.

He bare but two lions or rather leopards as some thinke.

Polydor.

There be that write, how the inconstancie of the English people by their oft rebellions occasioned the king to be so rough and rigorous against them; wheras (of his naturall disposition and proper inclination) he was rather gentle and courteous than sharpe and cruell. But sith he continued his extremitie euen to his last daies, we may rather beléeue, that although from his childhood he shewed some tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie; yet by following the wars, and practising to reigne with sternenesse, he became so inured therewith, that those peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, and in maner clearelie quenched. He was indued with a certeine stoutnesse of courage and skill in feats of warre, which good hap euer followed: he was frée from lecherous lusts, without suspicion of bodilie vices, quicke of wit, desirous of honor, painefull, watchfull,

watchfull, and able to tolerate heat and cold, though he were tall of stature, and verie grosse of bodie.

Toward the end of his daies he waxed verie deuout, and became desirous to aduance the state of the church, insomuch that he builded three abbeies in three seuerall places, endowing them with faire lands and large possessions, one at the place where he vanquished king Harold, fiue miles from Hastings, which he named Battell, of the field there fought: the other at Celby in Yorkeshire: and the third in Normandie at Caen, where his wife Quéene Maud had builded a nunnerie, which Maud died in the yéere 1084, before the decease of the king hir husband.

After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephans church; but before it could be committed to the ground, the executors were constreined to agree with the lord of the soile where the church stood, which (as he said) the king in his life time had iniuriouslie taken from him, and gaue him a great summe of monie to release his title. *They gaue him an hundred pound, saith Hen. Marle.*

¶ By this we may consider the great miserie of mans estate, in that so mightie a prince could not haue so much ground after his death as to couer his dead corps, without dooing iniurie to another. This also may be a speciall lesson for all men, and namelie for princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, doo not regard what wrong they offer to the inferiour sort.

The said king William had by Maud his wife the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders, foure sonnes, Robert surnamed Curthose (vnto whome he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard who died in his youth, William surnamed Rufus, to whom he gaue by testament the realme of England, and Henrie surnamed Beauclerke for his cunning, knowledge and learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treasure and moueable goods, with the possessions that belonged to his mother. Besides these foure sonnes, he had also by his said wife fiue daughters, Cecilie, who became a nunne; Constance, who was married to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, who was giuen in mariage to Stephan earle of Blois (of whom that Stephan was borne which reigned after Henrie the first) Adeliza, who was promised in mariage to Harold king of England (as before you haue heard) but she died yer she was maried either to him, or to any other, and so likewise did the fift, whose name I cannot reherse. *Hen. Marle.*

But to conclude, though king William held the English so vnder foot, that in his daies almost no Englishman bare any office of honor or rule in his time, yet he somewhat fauoured the citie of London, and at the earnest sute of William a Norman then bishop of that see, he granted vnto the citizens the first charter, which is written in the Saxon toong, sealed with greene wax, and expressed in viij. or ix. lines at the most, exemplified according to the copie, and so printed, as followeth. *Iohn Rous.*

"Willem King grets Willem Bisceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen London Frencisce, & Englise frendlice, & Icкiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man eoy aenis wrang beode. God eoy heald."

"Wilhelmus rex salutat Wilhelmum Episcopum, & Goffridum Portegrefium, & omnem Burghware infra London, Frans. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notum facio, quòd ego volo quòd vos sitis omni lege illa digni qua fuistis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer sit patris sui hæres post diem patris sui. Et ego nolo pati quòd aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos saluet."

But howsoeuer he vsed the rest of the English, this is recorded of some writers, that by his rigorous proceedings against them, he brought to passe that the countrie was so rid of theeues and robbers, as that at length a maid might haue passed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not haue met with any misdoer to haue bereft hir of the same: a thing right strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reigne there were such routs *Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt.*

of outlawes and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be safelie possessed of their owne houses, were the same neuer so well fortified and defended.

Iohn Rous. Hen. Marle. Among manie lawes made by the said William, this one is to be remembred, that such as forced any woman, should lose their genitals.

Salisburie vse. In this kings daies also liued Osmond the second bishop of Salisburie, who compiled the church seruice, which in times past they commonlie called after Salisburie vse.

Shooting. The vse of the long bowe (as Iohn Rous testifieth) came first into England with this king William the Conquerour: for the English (before that time) vsed to fight with axes and such hand weapons: and therefore in the oration made by the Conquerour before he gaue battel to king Harold, the better to encourage his men, he told them they should encounter with enimies that wanted shot.

In the yeare of our Lord 1542. Monsieur de Castres bishop of Baieulx and abbat of Saint Estienne in Caen, caused the Sepulchre of this William to be opened, wherein his bodie was found whole, faire and perfect; of lims, large and big; of stature and personage, longer than the ordinarie sort of men: with a copper plate fairlie gilt, and this epitaph therevpon ingrauen:

"Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cœnomenses virtute contudit enses,
Imperijq. suilegibus applicuit,
Rex magnus parua iacet hæc Guilhelmus in urna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter septem gradibus se voluerat atq. duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obijt:" that is;

"Who ouer Normans rough did rule, and ouer Britons bold
Did conquest stoutlie win, and conquest woone did stronglie hold:
Who by his valure great the fatal vprores calmed in maine,
And to obeie his powers and lawes, the Manceaux did constraine:
This mightie king within this little vault entoomed lies,
So great a lord sometime, so small a roome dooth now suffice.
When three times seuen and two by iust degrees the sunne had tooke
His woonted course in Virgos lap, then he the world forsooke."

W. Patten collecteth this to be the 23. after the sun was in *Virgo*: which is the 6. of September.

Thus far William Conquerour.

WILLIAM RUFUS, OR WILLIAM THE RED.

1087. An. Reg. 1. WILLIAM, surnamed Rufus or William the Red, second sonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer England the ninth of September, in the yeare 1087. about the 31. yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, and the 37. of Philip the first, king of France, Urbane the second then gouerning the sée of Rome, and Malcolme Cammoir reigning in Scotland. Immediatlie after his fathers decéasse, and before the solemnitie of the funerals were executed, he came ouer into England with no lesse spéed than was possible, and following the counsell of Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie (in whome he reposed all his trust) he sought to win the fauour of the Péers and Nobilitie

Polydor. Sim. Dunel. Matth. Paris.

litie of the realme by great and liberall gifts. For although there were but few of the homeborne states that bare rule in the land at this season; yet those that remained, and whome his father in extreme sort had wronged, he verie gentlie enterteined, promising them not onlie to continue their good lord and souereigne, but also to make more fauourable ordinances than his father had left behind him; and furthermore to restore the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his said father had abolished. Thus by faire words and policie he obtained his purpose. Howbeit soone after he forgat himselfe, and imprisoned Marchar and Wilnot, whom he had brought ouer with him from Normandie, being set at libertie by his father. *Sim. Dunel.* Marchar and Wilnot.

The nobles at the first wished rather to haue had the elder brother duke Robert to haue gouerned them: howbeit by the aide onelie of the said Lanfranke, whose authoritie was of no small force amongst all the lords of the land, this William (according to his fathers assignation) was proclaimed and crowned at Westminster on the 26. of September (being Sundaie, the 6. kalends of October) and the 11. indiction, as the best writers doo report. After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he went to Winchester, where he found great treasure which his father had laid vp there for his owne vse: this he fréelie spent in large gifts, and all kind of princelie largesse. He set verie manie prisoners at libertie, and did many other things to benefit the people, wherein the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile. For he perceiued that there was in the king a variable mind, an vnstable nature, and a disposition to lightnesse and follie. Wherefore hée tooke oftentimes the more paines in persuading him not onelie to liberalitie (which is none of the least vertues in a prince) but also to vse a discreet and orderlie behauiour in all his dooings. Moreouer, he sticked not to put him in feare of an euill end, and troublesome regiment likelie to insue, if he did giue himselfe to vice and wilfulnesse, & neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of GOD committed to his hands. After this maner did the said prelat trauell with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were hearkening to his admonitions, and set foorth by the waie what his brother Robert did, whilest William Rufus his brother was occupied in such wise as you haue heard.

Lanfranke had fauoured him euen of a child. *Matth. Paris.* William Rufus is crowned the 26. of September. *Polydor.* His bountifull munificence.

It happened that this Robert was abroad in Germanie, when king William his father died (whither he went to raise a power, to the intent he might therby obteine the possession of Normandie, which he trusted to enioy in his fathers life time) where hearing newes of his death, he hasted straightwaies into Normandie, and there being ioyfullie receiued, was peaceablie proclaimed duke of that countrie, with great gladnesse and shouting of the people.

After this, considering with himselfe how dishonorable a thing it was for him, that his yoonger brother should possesse the crowne of England, which of right (as he said) belonged vnto him, by reason of his age; he determined with all expedition to passe the seas with an armie, and recouer that into his hands, which his father had giuen from him, partlie (as it is thought) for his wilfulnesse and disobedience towards him, and partly also bicause he doubted that if he should leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentlenesse and facilitie, giue occasion to the English to resume strength, and therby to reuolt. Wherefore he iudged his yoonger brother the saied William (a man of a rougher nature) the meeter of the twaine for the gouernement. 1088.

As duke Robert was thus mooued by his owne desire to bereue his brother of the dominion of England, so he was not a little incensed thervnto by such of the English Nobilitie and Normans, as came dailie ouer vnto him out of the realme, complaining of the present state of the world, as those that misliked of the whole maner of regiment vsed in the beginning of the reigne of his brother William. His vncle Odo also (then bishop of Baieux) furthered the matter all that he might. This Odo was at first in great estimation with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length for enuie that the archbishop Lanfranke was preferred before him, he conspired

spired against him, who vnderstanding thereof, committed him foorthwith to prison, where he remained, till the said prince then lieng on his death-bed, released and restored him to his former libertie. When the king was dead, William Rufus tooke him backe into England, supposing no lesse but to haue had a speciall frēend and a trustie counceller of him in all his affaires. But yer long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the same offense of ingratitude, wherof he became culpable in the Conquerors daies: for perceiuing that Lanfranke was so highlie esteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partlie suspecting that Lanfranke had been cheefe causer of his former imprisonment, he conspired with the rest against his nephue, and thervpon wrote sundrie letters ouer vnto duke Robert, counselling him to come ouer with an armie in all hast, to take the rule vpon him, which by his practise should easilie be compassed.

Odo the bishop of Baieux conspireth against his nephue William Rufus.

Duke Robert being thus animated on all sides, and yet wanting sufficient monie to the furniture of this iournie, engaged a portion of his duchie of Normandie, as the countie of Constantine to his yoongest brother Henrie, for a great sum of gold, and therwith returned answer to the foresaid bishop, that he should prouide and looke for him vpon the south coast of England, at a certeine time appointed. Herevpon Odo fortified the castell of Rochester, & began to make sore wars against the kings friends in Kent: he procured others of the complices also to do the like in other parts of the realme; and first on the west part of England, where Geffrey bishop of Constans with his nephue Robert de Mowbray earle of Northumberland setting foorth from Bristow, came toward Bath, which towne they tooke and sacked, and likewise Berkley, with a great part of Wiltshire, and brought the spoile and booties backe to Bristow, where they had a castell stronglie fortified for their more safetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing from Norwich, with great forraies ouerrode and robbed all the countries about, and conueied such riches as he had gotten into the said citie. In like sort did Hugh de Grandmesnill at Leiceister, spoiling and wasting all the countries about him.

The castell of Rochester.

Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
The bishop of Constance taketh the town of Bath.
Hugh Grandmesnill.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Mal.

The earle of Shrewsburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welshmen set foorth from Shrewsburie, and with him were William bishop of Durham the kings houshold chapline, Barnard of Newmerch, Roger Lacie, and Rafe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togither, inuaded the countrie, and with fire and sword did much hurt where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards comming to Worcester, they assaulted the citie, ouerran the suburbs, & set the same on fire. But the citizens shutting fast the gates of their citie (though with the sudden comming of the enimies they were somewhat afraid) made valiant resistance: and conueieng their goods, their wiues, and their children into the castell, got them to the walles and places of defense, to repell and beat backe the enimies. Among them in the towne was bishop Woolstan, whom the citizens would haue compelled to go into the castell for his surer safegard, but he refused it.

The earle of Shrewsburie.

Worcester assaulted.

Bishop Woolstan.

At length it chanced that the enimies (continuing the said siege) began to wax negligent, and ranged abroad in the countrie, little regarding watch and ward about their campe, wherevpon the English within the citie tooke this oportunitie, being mooued thereto with the comfortable exhortation of bishop Woolstan, and sailing foorth of the towne did set on their enimies with great fiercenes, whome they got at such aduantage, that they slue and tooke that daie aboue fiue M. men (as Henrie of Huntingdon recordeth.) For the English bearing a continuall malice in their hearts against the French and Normans, did now their best to be fullie reuenged of them, vpon so conuenient an occasion offered. Those that escaped by flight, hid themselues in the next townes, making such shifts for their liues as the present necessitie could minister.

They slue fiue hundred, and chased the residue as saith *Simon Duncl.*

Whilest the realme was thus troubled on ech side, archbishop Lanfranke sendeth, writeth, and admonisheth all the kings frēends to make themselues readie to defend their

The diligence of the archbishop Lanfranke.

their prince. And after he vnderstood that they were assembled togither for that purpose, he counselleth the king to march into the field with them speedilie, to represse his enimies. The king following his counsell, first appointed his nauie to scowre and keepe the seas, and to withstand (if it were possible) the arriuall of his brother by faire words. Also he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie earle of Shrewsburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promises to the English, that he would out of hand giue and restore vnto them such fauourable lawes as they would wish or desire. Moreouer he commanded all vniust imposts, tolles and tallages to be laid downe, and granted free hunting in the woods, chases and forrests. All which grants and promises he kept not long, though for the time he greatlie contented the people with such a shew of good meaning towards them. This doone, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the sedition began, and first comming to the castell of Tunbridge, he compelled capteine Gilbert to yeeld vp the fortresse into his hands. Then went he to Horne castell, where he heard saie Odo was (but the report was vntrue, for he had betaken himselfe to the castell of Pemsey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he hasted forth vnto Pemsey, and besieged the castell there a long season, which the bishop had stronglie fortified.

The great curtesie shewed to the Englishmen by Wil. Rufus. *Simon Dun.*

Wil. Malm.

During this time, and about the fiftieth daie after the beginning of the siege, word was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, and minded with all possible speed to come to the succour of the bishop, and of other his freends, whom he and his power had not a little afflicted. ¶ Here authors varie: for some report that duke Robert came not ouer himselfe at the first at all, but sent a part of his armie, with a certeine number of ships, which encountring with the kings fleet, were discomfited. Others write that duke Robert hearing of the losse of his men, came after himselfe, and landed with a mightie armie as before, which is most likelie. And certeinlie (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might easilie as then haue recouered England from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, considering that Eustace earle of Bullongne, Odo bishop of Baieux, and the earle of Mortaigne, with other lords of Normandie that were passed to England, had alreadie taken Rochester, and diuers other castels in the prouince of Canturburie, keeping the same a certeine time, still looking that he should haue come ouer to their aid, which he deferred to doo, till they were constreined by siege and lacke of necessarie succor to returne into Normandie, leauing those places which they had won vnto the king, and that to their great dishonor. But howsoeuer it was, the king still continued the siege before Pemsey castell, till Odo (through want of victuals) was glad to submit himselfe, and promised to cause the castell of Rochester to be deliuered: but at his comming thither, they within the citie suffered him to enter, and streightwaies laid him fast in prison. Some iudge that it was doone vnder a colour by his owne consent.

H. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Gemeticensis. Eustace earle of Bullongne.

Simon Dun.

There were in Rochester a sort of valiant gentlemen (the flower in maner of all Normandie) with Eustace earle of Bolongne, and manie gentlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defend the place against the king: who hearing what was doone, came with his armie and besieged the citie of Rochester on ech side so sharpelie, that they within were glad to deliuer it vp into his hands. Thus lost bishop Odo all his liuings and dignities in England, and so returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the chéefe gouernement of the countrie committed vnto him.

Rochester besieged by the king. An. Reg. 2 *Polydor.* 1089.

After this he ouercame diuers of his enimies some by faire and some by fowle meanes. Notwithstanding this, there yet remained the bishop of Durham, one of the chéefe conspirators, who withdrew himselfe into the citie of Durham, there to lie in safetie, till he saw how the world would go: but being therein besieged by the king, who came thither personallie, he was at length forced to surrender the citie, and yeeld himselfe: wherevpon also he was exiled the land, with diuerse of his complices. But within two yeares after, he was called home againe, and restored to his church, wherein he liued

The bishop of Durham exiled

not long, but died for sorrow, bicause he could not cleere himselfe of offense in the said rebellion, albeit that he laboured most earnestlie so to doo, that he might thereby haue atteined to the kings fauor againe.

Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie departeth this life.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, the archbishop Lanfranke falleth sicke and dieth, in the 19. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of the sea of Canturburie. This Lanfranke (as should seeme) was a wise, politike, and learned prelate, who whilest he liued, mollified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, instructing him to forbeare such wild and outragious behauiours as his youthfulnesse was inclined vnto: and moreouer persuaded the English to obey the same king as their loiall prince, whereby they should occasion him to be their good lord and king, not vsing them rigorouslie as his father had doon. So that Lanfranke could not well haue beene spared in the time of the rebellion, without great danger of subuerting the state of the commonwealth. He builded two hospitals without the citie of Canturburie, for the releefe of poore people and strangers, the one of S. John, the other at Harbaldowne. He aduanced the church of Rochester from foure secular clerkes, to the number of fiftie moonkes: he repaired Christes church in Canturburie, and the abbey of S. Albons, whereof he made one Paule that was his nephue abbat, which Paule gouerned that house by his vncles assistance greatlie to the aduancement thereof, as well in temporall as spirituall preferments, as it was then iudged. Likewise the said Lanfranke was verie fortunate in the gouernement of his church and sée of Canturburie, recouering sundrie portions of lands and rents alienated from the same before his daies, insomuch that he restored to that sée 25 manors. For amongst other, whereas Odo the bishop of Baieux, who also was earle of Kent, bearing great rule in England vnder his nephue king William the Conquerour, had vsurped diuerse possessions which belonged to the sée of Canturburie, and had seized the franchises apperteining to the same Lanfranke, into his owne hands, by sute and earnest trauell he recouered the same, and being impleaded about that matter by the said Odo, he so defended his cause, that in the end (though with much adoo) he had his will, and so remained in quiet possession of his right after that so long as he liued, without any trouble or vexation concerning the said possessions and liberties.

Matth. Westm. Paule abbat of S. Albons.

Eadmerus.

Whereas also not onelie Walkhem the bishop of Winchester, but diuerse other bishops in England were in mind to haue displaced moonks out of their cathedrall churches, and to haue brought canons into their roomes, Lanfranke withstood them, and would tollerate no such dislocation: an act at that time so well liked, that he was highlie commended for the same. After Lanfrankes death, the king began greatlie to forget himselfe in all his dealings, insomuch that he kept many concubines, and waxed verie cruell and inconstant in all his dooings, so that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people. For he was so much addicted to gather goods, that he considered not what perteined to the maiestie of a king, insomuch that nothing tending to his gaine, and the satisfieng of his appetite, was estéemed of him vnlawfull, sith he measured all things by the vncontrolled rule of his roialtie, and considered nothing what so high an office required. He kept the sée of Canturburie foure yeares in his hands, to see who would giue most for it, in the meane time taking the profits thereof, and making the vttermost of the same that by any meanes could be deuised.

Lanfranke praised for holding with the moonks.

The king giuen to sensuall lust and couetousnesse.

Matth. Paris.

The like he vsed when other benefices and abbeies were vacant, and furthermore that little which the prince spared, his officers and farmers, no lesse couetous than he, conuerted to their aduantage: so that what by the king, and what by his procurators, the church of England was now sore charged and fléeced of hir wealth. Diuerse of hir prelates in like maner were not a little offended, to sée their mother so spoiled of hir treasure and liuelihood, insomuch that they practised a redresse: and to begin withall, complained of the king to pope Vrban: but he was so busied with other troubles of his owne néerer home, that he could haue no time to séeke meanes how to redresse enormities

mities a far off, whereby the lands and goods belonging to the church here in England were still wastfullie spent and consumed by the king and others, to whome he gaue or let them foorth to farme at his owne pleasure, and to his most commoditie. *Wil. Malm. Matt. Paris.*

But albeit the prince was of such a disposition by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admonish vs that there is no man of so euill an affection, but that sometime he dealeth vprightlie, though it be by hap or other extraordinarie motion. It chanced that an abbeie was void of an abbat, wherein were two moonkes verie couetous persons aboue the rest, and such as by scraping and gathering togither, were become verie rich, for such (saith Polydor) in those daies mounted to preferment. These two appointed to go togither to the court, ech hoping at their comming thither to find some meanes that he might be made abbat of that house. Being thus agréed, to the court they come, and there offer verie largelie to the king to obteine their sute: who perceiuing their gréedie desires, and casting his eies about the chamber, espied by chance an other moonke (that came to beare them companie, being a more sober man, and simple after his outward appearance) whom he called vnto him, and asked what he would giue him to be made abbat of the foresaid abbeie. The moonke after a little pause, made answere, that he would giue nothing at all for anie such purpose, since he entred into that profession of méere zeale to despise riches & all worldlie pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie serue God in holinesse & puritie of conuersation. Saiest thou so, quoth the king, then art thou euen he that art worthie to gouerne this house: and streightwaie he bestowed the house vpon him, iustlie refusing the other two, to their open infamie and reproch.

But to returne to our historie. After the expulsion of the bishop of Durham, and other of his adherents, the king passed ouer into Normandie, purposing to depriue his brother of that dukedome, and being arriued there, he besieged and tooke S. Ualerie, Albemarle, and diuerse other townes and castels, wherein he placed a number of his best souldiers, the better to mainteine warre against his foresaid brother. Herevpon also the said Robert sent vnto the French king for aid, who came downe at his request with a noble armie, and besieged one of those castels which king William had latelie woone; howbeit by such meanes as king William made, in sending to the French king an huge summe of monie, he raised his siege shortlie & returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt king William and the duke his brother, but yet verie dishonorable to the said Robert: for it was accorded, that king William should reteine & still inioy the countie of Ewe, with Fescampe, the abbasie of mount S. Michell, Chereburg, and all those other places which he had woone & gotten out of his hands in this his late voiage. On the other side it was agréed, that king William should aid the duke to recouer all other places beyond the seas, which belonged to their father. Also, that such Normans as had lost anie of their lands & liuings in England, for taking part with the duke in the late rebellion, should be restored to the same. And furthermore, that whether soeuer of both should die first, the suruiuer should be his heire, and succeed in his dominions.

Matt. Paris. An. Reg. 3. 1090.

Simon Dun. Warres betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

An. Reg. 4. 1091.

Gemeticensis. A peace concluded. *Simon Dun. Matth. West. Matt. Paris.*

This peace was concluded at Caen, and that by procurement of the French king, at what time king William was verie strong in the field neare vnto Ewe. After which conclusion, they vnited their powers, and besieged their yoongest brother Henrie in the castell of mount S. Michell, which (being situat in the confines of Normandie and Britaine) he had stronglie fortified not long before for feare of afterclaps. But when they had lien about it by the space of all the Lent season, and had made manie bickerings with his men, more to their losse than lucre, they raised their siege, and voluntarilie departed. Not long after this, king William depriued Edgar Etheling of his honor, which duke Robert had assigned vnto him, banishing him out of Normandie for euer.

Gemeticensis. *Sim. Dunel.*

Shortlie after also the aforesaid Henrie wan a strong towne called Damfront, and furnishing

furnishing it at all points, he kept the same in his possession as long as he liued, mauger both his brethren. Thus the war waxed hot betwéene those three, howbeit suddenlie (I wot not vpon what occasion) this Henrie was reconciled with king William and his brother Robert, so that all debates being quieted on euerie side, they were made friends and welwillers. King William also returned into England, hauing his brother Robert in his companie, all men reioising at their pacification and amitie, which happened in the yeare 1091, and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the end whereof, and vpon the fift daie of October, a maruellous sore tempest fell in sundrie parts of England, but especiallie in the towne of Winchcombe, where (by force of thunder and lightning) a part of the steeple of the church was throwne downe, and the crucifix with the image of Marie standing vnder the rood-loft, was likewise ouerthrowne, broken, and shattered in péeces; then folowed a foule, a noisome, and a most horrible stinke in the church. On the 17. daie of the same moneth much harme was doone in London with an outragious wind, the violence whereof ouerturned and rent in péeces aboue fiue hundred houses, at which time and tempest the roofe of S. Marie bowe church in cheape was also ouerthrowne, wherewith two men were slaine. Moreouer, at Salisburie much hurt was doone with the like wind and thunder, for the top of the stéeple and manie buildings besides were sore shaken and cast downe.

A mightie wind.

An. Reg. 5. 1092.

But now we will speake somewhat of the doings of Scotland, as occasion moueth. Whilest (as yée haue heard) variance depended betweene king William and his brother duke Robert, the Scotish king Malcolme made sore wars vpon the inhabitants of Northumberland, carrieng great booties and preies out of that countrie, which he inuaded euen to Chester in the street. Wherefore king William, soone after his returne, gathered his power togither, and sped him northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his puissance & great strength sent to him for peace, which was granted in the end.

The Scots inuade England.

Wil. Malm. Sim. Dun.

Some writers affirme, that king William prepared a great armie both by sea and land against Malcolme; and that his nauie being abroad on the seas, was lost by tempest, and the most part of his ships drowned; that the armie by land entring into Scotland, suffered manie damages through want of vittels, and so recoiled: finallie, that duke Robert lieng on the borders with an armie in his brothers name (wherby it should appeare that the king himselfe was not there) by the helpe and furtherance of Edgar Etheling, who then serued K. Malcolme in his wars, concluded a peace betwixt his brother and the said Malcolme, vpon certeine articles, by vertue wherof certeine places in Northumberland were restored vnto Malcolme, which he had held in William Conquerours daies. Some other write in like maner, that king Malcolme did homage to king William and duke Robert that brought the said Edgar Etheling into the fauour of the king.

Howsoeuer the truth of the storie dooth stand in this behalfe, certeine it is, that the king returned out of Northumberland into the west parts of the realme, reteining still with him duke Robert, who looked dailie when he should performe such couenants as were concluded vpon betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he saw that the king meant nothing lesse than to stand to those articles, and how he did onlie protract and delaie the time for some other secret purpose, he returned into Normandie in great displeasure, and tooke with him the said Edgar Etheling, of whom he alwaies made verie great account. Soone after king William returned into the north parts, and (as it chanced) he staied a few daies about Carleil, where being delited with the situation of the towne (which had beene destroied by the Danes two hundred yeares before) he set workemen to repaire the same (meaning to vse it in steed of a bulworke against the Scots on those west borders) which when he had fensed with walles, and builded a castell in the most conuenient place thereof, he caused churches and houses to be erected for the benefit of such people as he had determined to bring vnto the same. This being doone, he placed a colonie of southren men there with their wiues and children and gaue large priuiledges vnto the towne, which they inioy at this daie.

The repairing and new peopling of Carleil.

¶ Here

¶ Here haue I thought good to aduertise you of an error in Matth. West. crept in either through misplacing the matter by means of some exemplifier, either else by the authors mistaking his account of yeares, as 1072. for 1092. referring the repairing of Carleil vnto William Conquerour, at what time he made a iournie against the Scots in the said yeare 1072. And yet not thus contented; to bewraie the error more manifestlie, he affirmeth that the king exchanged the earledome of Chester with Rafe or Ranulfe de Micenis, aliàs Meschines, for the earledome of Carleil, which the said Meschines held before, and had begunne there to build and fortifie that towne: whereas it is certeine that Ranulfe de Meschines came to enioy the earledome of Chester by way of inheritance, as after shall appeare. For better proofe whereof ye shall vnderstand, that we find by ancient records, how one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioied the earledome of Chester all the daies of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was sonne to Richard earle of Auranges and the countesse Emma daughter of a noble man in Normandie named Herlowin, who maried Arlet the daughter of a burgesse in Falois, and mother to William Conquerour. So that the said Hugh, being sisters sonne to the Conqueror, receiued by gift at his hands the earledome of Chester, to hold of him as fréelie by right of the sword, as he held the realme of England in title of his crowne. For these be the words: "Tenendum sibi & hæredibus ita liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse (Rex) totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam." *Matth. West.*

Earle Hugh then established in possession of this earledome, with most large priuileges and fréedoms, for the better gouernement thereof, ordeined vnder him foure barons; namelie, his cousine Nigell or Neal baron of Halton, sir Piers Malbanke baron of Nauntwich, sir Eustace *** baron of Mawpasse, and sir Warren Uernon baron of Shipbrooke. Nigell held his baronie of Halton by seruice, to lead the Uauntgard of the earles armie when he should make anie iournie into Wales; so as he should be the foremost in marching into the enimies countrie, and the last in comming backe: he was also conestable and Marshall of Chester. From this Nigell or Neal, the Lacies that were earles of Lincolne had their originall. When earle Hugh had gouerned the earledome of Chester the terme of 40. yeares, he departed this life, in the yeare 1107. He had issue by his wife Armetrida, Richard the second earle of Chester after the conquest; Robert, abbat of Saint Edmundsburie: and Otnell, tutor to the children of king Henrie the first. Moreouer, the said earle Hugh had a sister named Margaret, that was maried to John Bohun, who had issue by hir, Ranulfe Bohun, otherwise called Meschines, which Ranulfe by that meanes came to enioy the earledome of Chester in right of his mother (after that earle Richard was drowned in the sea) and not by exchange for the earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue alreadie recited may sufficientlie be prooued.

Foure barons, Nigell or Neal, Piers Malbanke.
* Eustace whose surname we find not.
Warren Vernon.
The Lacies.
John Bohun.

Now to returne where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the building, fortifieng, and peopling of Carleil, he returned southwards, and came to Glocester, where he fell into a greeuous and dangerous sicknesse; so that he was in despaire and doubt of his life: wherefore he repented him of his former misdéeds, and promised (if he escaped that dangerous sicknesse) to amend and become a new man. But when he had his health, that promise was quickelie broken, for his doings which were so bad and wicked before his sicknesse, being compared with those which followed after his recouerie, might haue béene reputed good and sufferable.

An. Reg. 6.
1093.
Simon Dun. Flen. Hunt. Matth. Paris.
The king being sicke promiseth amendment of life.

Moreouer, whereas he reteined and kept in his hands the bishoprike of Canturburie the space of foure yeares, he now bestowed it vpon Anselme, who was before abbat of Bechellouin in Normandie; and for certeine abbeis which he had held long time in his possession, he ordeined abbats: by meane wherof all men (but especiallie the spiritualtie) began to conceiue a verie good opinion of him. The yere wherein Anselme was thus elected, was from the birth of our Sauiour 1093. on the sixt of March, being the first sundaie in Lent (as Eadmerus recordeth.) Furthermore he gaue the see of Lincolne

Polydor. Eadmerus.
Anselme elected archbishop of Canturburie.
Eadmerus.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. Robert Bluet L. Chancelor elected bishop of Lincolne.

(being void by the death of Bishop Remigius) to his councellour Robert Bluet; but afterward repenting himselfe of such liberalitie, in that he had not kept it longer in his hands towards the inriching of his coffers, he deuised a shift how to wipe the bishops nose of some of his gold, which he performed after this maner. He caused the bishop to be sued, quarelinglie charging him that he had wrongfullie vsurped certeine possessions, togither with the citie of Lincolne, which apperteined to the sée of Yorke. Which al- *Hen. Hunt.* though it was but a forged cauillation, and a shamefull vntruth; yet could not the bishop be deliuered out of that trouble, till he had paid to the king fiue thousand pounds. And as he dealt with the spiritualtie, so he caused diuerse of the Nobilitie to be put to gréeuous fines, for transgressing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer so little. He also caused the archbishop Anselme to paie him a great summe of monie, vnder colour of a contribution which was due in Lanfrankes daies, though it was certeinlie knowne that Lanfranke had paied it. Thus grew king William from time to time more sharpe and rigorous to his subiects, so that whosoeuer came within the danger of the laws, was sure to be condemned; and such as would plaie the promooters and giue informations against any man for transgressing the lawes, were highlie rewarded.

In this sixt yeare there chanced such an excessiue raine, and such high flouds, the riuers ouerflowing the low grounds that lay néere vnto them, as the like had not béene seene of many yeares before; and afterwards insued a sudden frost, whereby the great streames were congeled in such sort, that at their dissoluing or thawing, manie bridges both of wood and stone were borne downe, and diuerse water-milles rent vp and caried awaie.

Polydor. Furthermore king William perceiuing that by his cruell and couetous gouernment, sundrie of his subiects did dailie steale out of the realme, to liue in forreine countries, he A proclamation that none should depart the realme. published a proclamation, charging that no man should depart the realme without his licence and safe-conduct. Hereof it is thought, that the custome rose of forbidding passage out of the realme, which oftentimes is vsed as a law, when occasion serueth. Soone after, he went against the Welshmen, whom he vanquished in battell néere to Brecknocke, and slue Rees their king, who had doone much hurt within the English borders, when he was their incamped. This Rise or Rées was the last king that reigned *Ran. Higd.* Rées king of Wales slaine. ouer the Welshmen, as authors affirme: for afterwards, though they oftentimes rebelled, yet the kings of England were reputed and taken as supreme gouernors of that part of the *Wil. Thorne.* Iland. Moreouer, to haue the countrie the better in quiet, he did cut downe their woods, and builded manie castels and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were somewhat tamed, and trained in due time to obedience, though not at the first, nor in the daies of sundrie of his successors.

Malcolme king of Scots cometh to Glocester. *Wil. Malm. Polydor.* Hauing thus finished his iournie into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Glocester to sée the king, and to common with him of sundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realms, as he returned homewards: but bicause king William disdained to enterteine him in such pompous maner as he expected and made account of; and forsomuch as he did not at the verie first admit him to his presence, the said Malcolme returned into Scotland in great displeasure, and immediatelie raising a power, entred K. Malcolme inuadeth England. into England, destroieng the country vnto Alnewike castell, where he was so enuironed with an ambushment laid by Robert earle of Northumberland, that he and his eldest sonne Edward were slaine. At which mishap his whole host being vtterlie discomfited, fled out of the field with the losse of manie, whereof some were slaine, and some taken *Simon Dun.* by pursute. Thus came king Malcolme to his end (by the iust prouidence of God) in that prouince which he had wasted and spoiled at fiue seuerall times, as first in the daies of king Edward, when earle Tostie was gone to Rome; the second time, in the daies of William Conquerour, when he spoiled Cleueland; thirdlie, in the same Conquerours daies, whilest bishop Walkher possessed the see of Durham, at what time all the countrie was spoiled and forraied, euen to the riuer of Tine; fourthlie, about the fourth or fift yeare

yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which time he entered the land as farre as Chester in the stréet, whilest king William was in Normandie; the fift time was now, when he lost his life on saint Brices day, by the hands of a verie valiant knight named Morkell. King Malcolme being thus surprised by death, his bodie was buried at Tinmouth (as in the Scotish histories more plainelie appeareth) where also ye may find, how the sonnes of king Malcolme were aided by king William Rufus to obteine the crowne of Scotland, wherevnto they were interessed; whereas otherwise by the force and practise of their vncle Donald they had beene kept from the scepter and crowne of the kingdome.

This yeare England and Normandie were sore vexed with mortalitie both of men and beasts, insomuch that tillage of the ground was laid aside in manie places, by reason whereof there folowed great dearth & famine. Manie grizelie and hideous sights were seene also in England, as hosts of men fighting in the aire, flashes of fier, stars falling from heauen, and such like strange wonders. About this time new occasions of breach of amitie grew betwixt the king and his brother Robert, who accused him of periurie, for not obseruing the articles of the last peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purposed to saile ouer into Normandie, and so came vnto Hastings, about the first of Februarie, where he soiourned for a time, and caused the church of Battell abbeie to be dedicated in the honour of S. Martin. He depriued Herbert bishop of Thetford of his bishops staffe, because he meant to haue stolen awaie secretlie to Rome, and there to haue purchased absolution of pope Urban for his bishoprike, which he had bought of the king for himselfe; and likewise for the abbasie of Winchester, which he had purchased for his father, paieng for them both a thousand pounds.

Ran. Higd. An. Reg. 7. 1094.

Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Death & murren of cattell. Strange woonders. *Matth. Paris. Polydor. Simon Dun.*

After this, about midlent he passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, purposing to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battell, that thereby he might rather grow to some certeine point of losse or lucre, than to stand euer vpon vncerteinties, whether to haue peace or war, that he must be constreined to be at all times in a readinesse to defend himselfe. But after he was come into Normandie, & had forraied part of the countrie once or twice, he fell to a parle with his brother duke Robert, & in the end condescended to put the matter in compromise to the arbitrement of certeine graue persons, whose iudgement the king reiected, bicause they gaue not sentence on his side. Herevpon both parts prepared for war afresh, insomuch that the king perceiuing how his brother was aided by the French king, and that his power was too weake to withstand them both, he sent his commission into England for the leuieng of 20. thousand men, commanding that they should be sent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a daie, which was diligentlie performed. But as they were come togither about Hastings, readie to enter a shipboord, immediatlie commeth the kings lieutenant with a countermand, and signifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and spare them for that iournie, would that euery of them should giue him 10. shillings (as Matt. Paris hath, or 20. shillings as others haue) towards the charges of the war, and therevpon depart home with a sufficient safeconduct; which the most part were better content to doo, than to commit themselues to the fortune of the sea, and bloudie successe of the wars in Normandie. In deed king William changing his mind, was now determined to end the matter with monie, and not with the sword, as it afterward appeered; for by bribing of king Philip, in whom duke Robert had reposed his whole trust, he concluded peace vpon such articles and conditions as he himselfe required.

King William passeth ouer into Normandie.

Wars betwixt the king and his brother.

Matth. West.

Polydor.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

Hauing dispatched his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England, where he happened to méet with new and more dangerous wars: for the Welshmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accustomed maner begin to inuade the English marshes, taking booties of cattell, destroieng the countries, killing and spoiling many of the kings subiects, both English and Normans. After this (waxing proud of their good successe) they besieged the castell of Mountgomerie, where though the garison made stout

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The Welshmen inuade England.

The castell of Mountgomerie won by the Welshmen.

resistance for a time, yet in the end the enimie finding shift to ouerthrow the walles, entred perforce, and slue all that they found within. Wherewith though king William was offended when he heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter as then, being troubled with a conspiracie newlie kindled against him by Robert earle of Northumberland, who vpon displeasure conceiued against him (bicause he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good seruice shewed in the killing of Malcolme king of Scotland) refused to come vnto him being sent for by letters, and herewith began to practise with certeine other Noble men of that countrie, how to depose king William. But yer he could bring anie peece of his purpose to passe, the king hauing aduertisement of his attempts, first appointed his brother the lord Henrie to go thither with an armie, and foorthwith foloweth himselfe; and comming to Newcastell, where the most part of his complices were assembled, he surprised them yer they could haue time to prouide for their safetie. That doone, he went to Tinmouth, and in the castell tooke the earles brother there, and after came to Banbourgh castell, which the said earle with his wife and children did hold for their better safegard and defense.

An. Reg. 8. 1095.

Robert earle of Northumberland refuseth to come to the king.

Matth. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Some authors write, that when the king perceiued it would be hard for him to win Banbourgh castell (by reason of the great strength thereof) without famine, he builded vp an other castell or bastilion fast by it, calling the same Maluoisin, wherein he placed a great power of men, by whose meanes at length the earle was so narrowlie driuen, that when he sought to haue escaped by night, he was espied, and therewith pursued so closelie by the kings souldiers, that he was forced to take sanctuarie within the church of S. Oswins at Tinmouth, from whence he was quicklie taken, and brought as prisoner to the kings presence. Notwithstanding, those that remained within the castell vpon trust of the strength of that place, would not yeeld by anie meanes; but stood still to their tackling: whereupon the king caused the earle their maister to be brought foorth before the gates, and threatened that he should haue his eies put out, if they within did not streightwaies giue vp the hold into his hands. Herevpon it came to passe, that the castell was yéelded, and those that kept it were diuerslie punished, some by banishment, some by loosing their eares, & diuerse by the losse of their hands, in example to others. The earle himselfe was conueied to Windsor castell, and there committed to prison.

Maluoisin a fortresse built against Banbourgh.

Polydor.

Banbourgh yéelded to the king.

Simon Dun. The earle of Ewe.

Some write that the meaning of the earle and his complices (amongst whom was William earle of Ewe, who renouncing his allegiance to Robert duke of Normandie, was become the kings man) was to haue displaced the king from his roiall throne, and to haue set vp his sonne William de Albemarle, whom he had begotten of his concubine. But whatsoeuer their purpose was, after that the king had quieted his countrie in the north parts, he bent all his force against the Welshmen, who the yeare before had destroied and ouerthrowne the castell of Moungomerie, and slaine the Normans that laie there in garison to defend it, whereat he was verie much offended, & therefore entering into Wales, he began to spoile and wast the countrie. For he saw that the Welshmen would not ioine in battell with him in the plaine field, but kept themselues still aloofe within the woods and marishes, and aloft vpon mountaines: albeit oftentimes when they saw aduantage, they would come foorth, and taking the Englishmen and Normans at vnawares, kill manie, and wound no small numbers, he still pursued them by hils and dales, though more to the losse of his owne people than the hurt of the Welshmen, who easilie eschewed the danger of battell, and still at the straites and combersome passages distressed manie of their enimies: whereby the king at length perceiuing that he could not preuaile against them, ceassed further to follow on with his purposed voiage, and therewith returned home, not without some note of dishonor.

Matth. Paris.

King William inuadeth Wales.

The king returneth out of Wales with dishonour.

About the same time Murcherdach king of Ireland, with the clergie and people of the citie of Dublin, elected one Samuell a moonke of S. Albons, an Irish man borne, to the gouernement of the church and bishops sée of Dublin, and (according to the ancient custome) presented him by sufficient letters of testimonie vnto Anselme archbishop of

Eadmerus. Murcherdach king of Ireland.

Canturburie, to be consecrated of him, who (according to their request) did so, and receiued from him a promise of his canonicall subiection, after the old vsuall maner, hauing foure bishops (suffragans to the sée of Canturburie) ministring to him at that consecration.

The councell of Clermount. The iournie into the holie land. Godfray de Bullion.

In like maner, pope Urban calling a councell at Clermont in Auuergne, exhorted the christian princes so earnestlie to make a iourneie into the holie land, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the said great and generall iournie was concluded vpon to be taken in hand; wherein manie Noble men of christendome went vnder the leading of Godfray of Bullion, and others, as in the chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the holie land dooth more plainlie appeare. There went also among other diuers Noble men foorth of this relme of England, speciallie that worthilie bare the surname of Beauchampe. Robert duke of Normandie minding also to go the same iournie, and wanting monie to furnish and set foorth himselfe, morgaged his duchie of Normandie to his brother king William, for the summe of ten thousand pounds. About this time another occasion was offered vnto king William, to laie a new paiment vpon his subiects, so grieuous and intollerable, as well to the spiritualtie as the temporaltie, that diuerse bishops and abbats, who had alreadie made away some of their chalices and church iewels to paie the king, made now plaine answer that they were not able to helpe him with any more. Unto whom on the other side (as the report went) the king said againe; "Haue you not (I beséech you) coffins of gold and siluer full of dead mens bones?" Meaning the shrines wherein the relikes of saints were inclosed. Which (as his words seemed to import) he would haue had them conuert into monie, therewith to helpe him in that need, iudging it no sacrilege, though manie did otherwise esteeme it, considering (as he pretended) that it was gathered for so godlie an vse, as to mainteine warres against Infidels and enimies of Christ.

An. Reg. 9. 1096.

Flen. Hunt. Wil. Thorne. Simon Dun. A subsidie.

The archbishop Anselme tooke the worth of two hundred markes of siluer of the iewels that belonged to the church of Canturburie (the greater part of the couent of moonks winking thereat) towards the making vp of such paiment as he was constreined to make vnto the king towards his aid at that time. But bicause he would not leaue this for an example to be followed of his successours, he granted to the church of Canturburie the profits and reuenues of his manour of Petteham, vnto the vse of the same church for the terme of seauen yeares, which amounted to the summe of thirtie pounds yearelie in those daies.

Eadmerus.

Thus king William seeking rather to spoile the realme of England, than to preserue the roiall state thereof, after he had gotten togither a great masse of monie, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there deliuering vnto the duke the ten thousand pounds aforesaid, was put in possession of the duchie, to enioy the same, and the profits rising thereof, till the said ten thousand pounds were paid him againe: or (as some write) it was couenanted that in recompense thereof, the king should enioy the profits for terme onelie of three yeares, and then to restore it without any further interest or commoditie. This doone, he returned againe into England.

Polydor.

The duchie of Normandie morgaged to king William. *Eadmerus. Polydor.*

Now duke Robert setteth forward on his iornie, in companie of other Noble men, towards the holie land. In which voiage his valorous hart at all assaies (when any seruice should be shewed) was most manifestlie perceiued, to his high fame and renowme among the princes and nobilitie there and then assembled.

About the same time, the citizens of Waterford in Ireland, perceiuing that by reason of the great multitude of people in that citie, it was necessarie for them to haue a bishop, obteined licence of their king and rulers to erect in their citie a bishops sée, and besought them that it might please them to write vnto Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie their primate, to haue his consent therein, so as it might stand with his pleasure to institute and ordeine such a one bishop, to haue gouernement of their church, as they should name, knowing him to be a man of such learning, knowledge, discretion and worthines, as were fit

An. Reg. 10. 1097.

Eadmerus. Waterford in Ireland made a bishoprike. The archbishop of Canturburie primate of Ireland.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

fit for the roome. Herevpon were letters sent by messengers from Murcherdach king of Ireland vnto Anselme, informing him of the whole matter: wherein one Malchus was commended and presented vnto him to be admitted and consecrated, if he thought good. These letters were subscribed with the hands, not onelie of king Murcherdach, but also of his brother duke Dermeth, bishop Dufnald, Idiman bishop of Methe, Samuell bishop of Dublin, Ferdomnachus bishop of Laginia or Leinister, and many others both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie.

Anselme considering their request to be iust and necessarie, granted to fulfill their desires, and so vpon examination had of the man, and taking of him his oth of obedience, according to the maner, he consecrated the same Malchus, and so ordeined him to rule the church of Waterford as bishop. This was doone at Canturburie the 28. day of October, Rafe bishop of Chichester, and Gundulfe bishop of Rochester helping Anselme in the consecration as ministers vnto him in that behalfe. The said Malchus was a monke, and sometime vnder Walkhelme bishop of Winchester.

Malchus consecrated bishop of Waterford.

But to the purpose, king William after his returne into England, remembring what damage he had susteined two yéeres before at the hands of the Welshmen, determined eftsoones to inuade their countrie, and therefore doubling his power, commeth into the marshes, pitcheth his field, and consulteth with his capteines what order he were best to vse in that his enterprise, for the taming of his enimies. The Welshmen hearing of the kings approch, and that his armie was farre greater than the last which he brought into their countrie, fell to their woonted policie, and got them into the woods, there to lie in wait, trusting more to the aduantage of starting holes, than to their owne force & puissance.

The king eftsoones inuadeth the Welshmen. *Polydor.*

The Welshmen withdraw into the woods. *H. Hunt.*

When the king vnderstood their practise, he set armed men in diuers places, and builded towers and fortifications to defend him and his, bicause he durst not assaie to enter into wild and wast grounds where he had béene hindred and damnified before that time, hoping by this meanes in stopping vp the waies and passages of the countrie, to bring the rebels to more subiection. But when this policie was found by proofe to wearie the kings souldiors rather than to hurt the enimies, which straieng vp and downe in the woods intrapped oftentimes the Normans and English, in taking them at aduantage, the king without bringing his purpose to any good effect, departed home into England. After this he sent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotland, that he might place his coosine Edgar the sonne of king Malcolme in the gouernement of that kingdome, and expell his vncle Duffnald, who had vsurped the same.

Simon Dun. R. Houed.

An. Reg. 11. 1098.

King William, being still inflamed with ire, for that he could not haue his will, determined with continuall warres to wearie the rebellious stomachs of the Welshmen: and therefore was fixed first to set vpon them of Anglesey, which being an Ile enuironed with the sea, was euer a refuge for them when they were sharpelie pursued This enterprise was chéeflie committed vnto Hugh earle of Shrewsburie and Arundell, and to Hugh earle of Chester, who at their first comming wan the Ile, and tempered the victorie with great crueltie and bloudshed, putting out the eies of some, cutting off the noses, the armes, or hands of others, and some also they gelded. Moreouer (as authors write) the said earle of Shrewesburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, laieng his hounds within it for the night time, but in the morning he found them all raging wood. How true so euer this report is I wote not, but shortlie after they had executed (in maner as before is said) such strange kinds of crueltie in that Ile, it chanced that a nauie of rouers came thither from the Iles of Orkney, whose chéefe admirall was named Magnus, who incountring with the said earle of Shrewesburie, shot him into the eie with an arrow, which part of his body remained bare and vnarmed, so that by & by he fell downe dead out of his ship into the sea. When Magnus beheld this, he said scornefullie in the Danish toong, *Leit loupe*, that is; Let him leape now: the English neuerthelesse had the victorie at that time (as some write) and ouercame their enimies with great slaughter and

Malth. Paris.

Giral. Cam.

Hugh earle of Shrewsburie slaine.

and bloudshed. Not long after, the earle of Chester going ouer to Wales, with long and continual warres tired and tamed the wild Welshmen, who for a good while after durst not shew their faces. *Fab. ex Guido de Columna.*

The king being thus at quiet and without warre in all places, began now to set his mind on building, and first caused new walles to be made about the tower of London, and also laid the foundation of Westminster hall, which though it be a verie large and roomthie place, yet after it was finished at his returne out of Normandie, he came to view it, and held his court therein with great pompe and honor. He repented that he had made it no larger, saieng; it was too little by the halfe, and therefore determined to haue made a new, and that this other should haue serued but for a dining chamber. A diligent searcher (saith Matthew Paris) might yet find out the foundation of the hall, which he had purposed to build, stretching from the Thames side vnto the common street. But though those his buildings were great ornaments to the realme, yet bicause he tooke vp monie by extortion of his subiects towards the charges of the same, he was euill spoken of; the report being spred, that he should take them in hand but onelie vnder a colour to spoile his subiects, in gathering a farre greater summe than the expenses of them did amount vnto. About the same time that king William beganne these buildings, he went ouer into Normandie, to vnderstand in what state that countrie stood. An. Reg. 12. 1099. *Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. Polydor.* The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

About the same time also, or rather two yéere before; to wit 1097. néere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamsteed in Barkshire, a well or fountaine flowed with bloud, in maner as before it vsed to flow with water, and this continued for the space of three daies, or (as William Malmes. saith) fifteene daies togither. Finchamsteed. *Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Wil. Malm.*

After the king had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, & was returned into England (as he was making prouision to ride foorth on hunting) a messenger came suddenlie vnto him, bringing word, that the citie of Mans was besieged, and like to be surprised. The king was then at dinner, meaning first to make an end thereof, and after to take aduice in that matter: but being reproued by the messenger, for that to the great danger of his subiects which were besieged he passed not to make delaies, rather than to go and succour them with all spéed, he taketh the mans blunt spéech in so good part, that he called straightwaie for masons to breake downe the wall, to the end he might passe through the next way, and not be driuen to step so farre out of his path, as to go foorth by the doores: and so without any long aduisement taken in the cause, he rode straightwaie to the sea, sending his lords a commandement to follow; who when they came in his presence, counselled him to staie till his people were assembled. Howbeit he would not giue eare to their aduice in that point, but said; Such as loue me, I know well will follow me, and so went a shipboord, setting apart all doubts of perils; and yet was the weather verie darke, rough and cloudie, insomuch that the maister of the ship was afraid, and willed him to tarrie till the wind did settle in some quiet quarter: but hee commanded to hoise vp sailes, and to make all spéed that could be for life, incouraging the shipmaister with these words, "that he neuer heard as yet of anie king that was drowned." *Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris Wil. Malm.* The saieng of king William Rufus.

Thus passing the seas, he landed in Normandie, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans. When those which held the siege before the citie, heard of his approch, they brake vp their campe and departed thence: howbeit, the capteine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be earle of Mans, was taken by a traine, and brought before the king, who iested at him, as though he had beene but a foole and a coward. Wherevpon, the said Helias kindled in wrath, boldlie said vnto him; "Whereas thou hast taken me prisoner, it was by méere chance, and not by thy manhood: but if I were at libertie againe, I would so vse the matter with thee, that thou shouldest not thinke I were a man so lightlie to be laughed at." "No should (saith the king); Well then I giue thée thy libertie, and go thy waies, doo euen the worst that lieth in thy power against me, for I care not a button for thée." Helias being thus set at libertie, did nothing. Mans deliuered from an assége. Helias.

thing after (to make anie account of) against the king, but rather kept himselfe quiet. Howbeit some write, that he was not taken at all, but escaped by flight. To procéed, king William being returned into England, and puffed vp with pride of his victories, and now séeing himselfe fullie deliuered from all troubles of warre, began after his old manner to spoile and wast the countrie by vnreasonable exactions, tributes and paiments.

Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

Herevpon fell a great controuersie betweene Anselme and the king, who pretended a reproch of cruell surcharging of his commons with subsidies, lones, and vnreasonable fines: but the cheefe cause was, for that he might not call his synods, nor correct the bishops, but all to be doone as the king would. The king also chalenged the inuestiture of prelates, and indéed sore taxed both the spiritualtie and temporaltie, spending the monie vpon the reparations and buildings of the Tower, & Westminster hall, as is before remembred. Besides this, his seruants spoiled the English of their goods by indirect meanes: but especiallie one Rafe sometime chaplaine vnto William the Conquerour, & at this time the kings proctor and collector of his taskes and subsidies was so malicious & couetous, that in stéed of two taskes, he would leuie thrée, pilling the rich, and powling the poore, so that manie through his cruell dealing were oftentimes made to forfeit their lands for small offenses: and by his meanes also diuerse bishoprikes were bought and sold as other kinds of merchandizes, whereby he was in singular fauour with the king. The clergie also were vsed verie streightlie, and (as I suppose) not without good cause; for suerlie in those daies it was far out of order, not onelie in couetous practises, but in all kinds of worldlie pompe and vanitie: for they had vp bushed and braided perukes, long side garments verie gorgeous, gilt girdels, gilt spurs, with manie other vnséemelie disorders in attire. To be short, the contention grew so hot betwixt the king and Anselme, who would also haue corrected such vices in the clergie (as some write) that in the end the archbishop was quite cast out of fauour. There are which alledge the verie first and originall occasion of their falling out to be, for that the archbishop denied to paie a thousand marks of siluer at his request: in consideration of the kings great beneuolence shewed in preferring him to his sée, whereas the archbishop iudged the offense of simonie, to rest as well in giuing after his promotion receiued, as if he had bribed him aforehand, and therefore refused to make anie such paiment: but yet (as Eadmerus writeth) he offered him fiue hundred pounds of siluer, which would not be receiued, for the king was informed by some of his councell, that the archbishop (in consideration of his bountious liberalitie extended towards him) ought rather to giue him two thousand pounds, than fiue hundred, adding, that if he would but change his countenance, and giue him no fréendlie lookes for a while, he should perceiue that Anselme would ad to the first offer, other fiue hundred pounds. But Anselme was so far from being brought to the kings lure with such fetches, that openlie to the kings face he told him, that better it should be for his maiestie to receiue of him a small summe granted of him with a free and franke hart, so as he might helpe him eftsoones with more, than to take from him a great deale at once, without his good will, in such sort as if he were his bondman. For your grace (saith he) may haue me, and all that is mine, to serue your turne with fréendlie beneuolence: but in the waie of seruitude and bondage you shall neither haue me nor mine. With which words the king was in maruellous choler, and therewith said in anger: "Well then, get thee home, take that which is thine to thy selfe, that which I haue of mine owne I trust will suffice me." The archbishop béeing on his knees, rose herewith and departed, reioising in his mind that the king had refused his offer, whereby he was deliuered out of suspicion to haue bribed the king, and giuen him that monie in waie of reward for his preferment to the miter, as of malicious men would happilie haue béene construed. Wherevpon béeing after laboured to double the summe, he vtterlie refused, and determining rather to forsake the realme than to commit such an offense, made suit to the king for licence to go to Rome to fetch his pall of the pope.

Variance betwixt the king and the archbishop Anselme.

The clergie out of order.

Matth. Paris.

A thousand markes demanded of Anselme.

Eadmerus.

Matth. Paris.

The

The king hearing the pope named, waxed maruellous angrie; for they of Rome began al- The king could not abide to heare the pope named.
readie to demand donations and contributions, more impudentlie than they were hitherto accustomed. And as it chanced, there was a schisme at that time in the church, by reason the emperor Henrie had placed a pope of his owne aduancing, (namelie Wibteth archbishop of Rauenna) against pope Urban: for the emperor mainteined that it belonged to his office onlie to elect and assigne what pope it pleased him.

King William therefore conceiued displeasure against Urban, who withstood the emperours pretense, and alledged by the like, that no archbishop or bishop within his realme should haue respect to the church of Rome, nor to anie pope, with whome they had nothing to doo, either by waie of subiection, or otherwise; sith the popes wandered out of the steps which Peter trode, séeking after bribes, lucre, and worldlie honor. He said also that they could not reteine the power to lose and bind, which they sometime had, since they shewed themselues nothing at all to follow his most vertuous life and holie conuersation. He added furthermore, that for himselfe, sithens the conuersion of the realme to the christian faith, he had as great authoritie, franchises and liberties within the same, as the emperour had in his empire. And what hath the pope then to doo (quoth he) in the empire, or in my kingdome touching temporall liberties, whose dutie it is to be carefull for the soule of man, and to sée that heresies spring not vp, which if the prelates of the prouince be not able to reforme, then might the pope doo it, either by himselfe or his legats. Againe, by reason of the schisme, & for the displeasure that he bare pope Urban, he asked Anselme of which pope he would require his pall, sith he was so hastie to go to Rome for it. Wherto Anselme answered, that he would require it of pope Urban. Which words when the king had heard, he said, I haue not as yet admitted him pope: adding further that it was against the custome vsed either in his or his fathers time, that anie man within the realme of England should name or obeie anie man for pope, without the kings licence and consent, saieng moreouer, that if the said Anselme would séeke to take that prerogatiue and dignitie from him, it should be all one, as if he should go about to take awaie from him his crowne, and all other roiall dignitie. Wherevnto Anselme answered, that at Rochester (before he was consecrated bishop) he had declared his mind therein, and that beeing abbat of Bechellouin in Normandie, he had receiued Urban for pope; so that whatsoeuer chanced, he might reuolt from his obedience and subiection. *Eadmerus.* The kings demand to Anselme.

The king beeing the more kindled herewith, protested in plaine words, that Anselme could not kéepe his faith and allegiance towards him, and his obedience also to the see of Rome, against his will and pleasure. But (to conclude) this matter went so far in controuersie betwixt the king and the bishop, that a councell was called at Rockingham in Rutlandshire, and there in the church within the castell, the matter was earnestlie decided, and much adoo on euerie side, to haue constreined Anselme to renounce his opinion, but he would not. Wherfore it was then deuised, that if he would not agrée to the kings pleasure, they would by and by sée if they might by any meanes depriue him: but Anselme still held hard, and could not be feared by all these threats; and in like maner to iudge of an archbishops cause, the other bishops concluded that they had no authoritie. A councell at Rockingham in Rutlandshire.

Moreouer, while the matter was in consultation among the bishops, another of the kings councell that was a knight, came before Anselme in place where he sat almost alone, to looke for an answer by them from the king, which knight knéeling downe before the archbishop, spake these words vnto him: "Reuerend father, your humble children beséech your Grace not to haue your heart troubled with these things which you heare; but call to remembrance that blessed man Job, vanquishing the diuell on the dunghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had ouercome in paradise." Which words the archbishop considering with a fréendlie countenance, perceiued that the minds of the people remained on his side, whereof both he and such as were about him, were right ioyfull and greatlie comforted,

* If they be Gods people.

comforted, hauing hope, (according to the scripture) that the * voice of the people was the voice of God. When the king vnderstood all these things, he was maruelouslie disquieted in mind, and therefore perceiuing that the bishops and other of his councell had promised more than they could performe, he blamed them for it: vnto whom the bishop of Durham that was the chéefe dooer in this matter, framed this answer: "He spake so faintlie (quoth he) and so coldlie at the first, that he séemed not to haue any store of wit or wisdome."

Finallie, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the said bishop of Durham, alledging that they could not well ouercome him by arguments, so long as he grounded his opinion in such sort vpon the scripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter; "The best way therefore (said he) shall be, to compell him by force, either to agrée to the kings mind, or else to depriue him of his ring and staffe, and after banish him the realme." But the lords of the councell allowed not the bishops words herein. "Well (saith the king) and what other way will you thinke good, if this like you not: so long as I may liue, I will not surelie suffer any to be my péere within my realme: and if you knew his cause to be so good, why did you suffer me to commense this action against him: go your waies therefore, and take aduice togither, for by Gods face (for that was his oth) if you condemne him not at my will, I will reuenge myself vpon you." Neuerthelesse, when he was informed, that bicause he was an archbishop, they had no power to iudge or condemne him, though his cause prooued neuer so euill, which they could not perceuie so to be; he told them yet they might at the leastwise renounce their obedience to him, and forsake his companie, which they said they might doo. "Then doo it (saith the king) with spéed, that he may (when he shall sée himselfe abandoned, and despised of all men) repent that he hath followed Urban, and neglected me his souereigne lord and maister. And that he may doo it the more safelie, first of all I depriue him of the suertie and allegiance which he may pretend to haue of me within all my dominions, and from hencefoorth I will haue no affiance in him, nor take him for an archbishop."

The king renounceth the archbishop for his subiect.

The bishops would faine haue persuaded Anselme to haue shewed himselfe comformable to the kings pleasure, and therefore tooke paines with him earnestlie in that behalfe, but all would not serue. He answered indéed verie curteouslie, but his benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior things he were neuer so much disquieted. The king perceiuing him to stand stiffe in his opinion, said vnto his lords; "His words are euer contrarie to my mind, and I will not take him for my frend, whosoeuer dooth fauour him. I shall therefore require you that be péeres of my realme, to renounce all the faith and freendship which you beare him, that he may see what he hath gained by that allegiance, which (to the offending of my person) he obserueth to the apostolike sée." Whereto the lords answered; "As for vs, we were neuer his men, and therefore we cannot abiure any fealtie which we neuer acknowledged. He is our archbishop, and hath rule in matters perteining to christian religion within this land, for which cause we that are christians may not refuse his authoritie whilest we remaine here on earth, bicause he is attainted with no blemish of any heinous crime, which may constreine vs otherwise to doo." The king refrained and dissembled his wrath, least he should prouoke them to further displeasure by speaking against their reason.

The bishops driuen to their shifts how to shape an answer.

The bishops were sore abashed hereat, and driuen to a shrewd pinch. Now when, not long after, the king required to know of euerie of them apart, whether they vtterlie renounced all manner of subiection and obedience vnto Anselme without any condition intermitted, or else that onelie which he did pretend by authoritie of the pope: the bishops making answer diuerslie herevnto, the king appointed those to sit downe by him as faithfull subiects, who acknowledged that their renuntiation was absolutelie made, without intermitting of any condition: as for the other, who protested that they renounced their subiection and obedience vnto him onelie in that which he presumed vpon in the behalfe

behalfe of the pope, he commanded them to go aside, and to remaine in a corner of the house to heare the sentence of their condemnation pronounced.

Wherefore being put in a maruellous feare, they withdrew themselues aside, but yet straightwaies they deuised a shift wherewith they had beene well acquainted before, as followeth. They presented to the king a great masse of monie to appease his wrath, and so thereby were restored to his fauour. Anselme notwithstanding was obstinate in his opinion, so that in the end, the sentense touching this controuersie betwixt him and the king, was respited till the octaues of Pentecost next ensuing. All this was notified well inough to the pope, who vsed the matter with such moderation, that by secret aduertisements giuen, he tooke awaie from his brethren all rigorous waies of procéedings, saieng;

The meane to pacifie the king.

The stiffenes of Anselme in withstanding the kings pleasure.

Matth. Paris.

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

But yet the kings enmitie towards Anselme was openlie declared, and that chéefelie for the deniall of the monie which he demanded; but at length he got it, though not with any frée heart or goodwill of the archbishop: insomuch that the king reputed him giltie of treason. Within a few daies after, Walter bishop of Alba, bringing to him his pall, verie wiselie reconciled the pope and the king. Notwithstanding all this, Anselme could not purchase the kings goodwill to his contentment, though he wiselie dissembled for the time: so that when the bishop of Alba should returne to Rome, he made sute for licence to go with him. Neuerthelesse, the king offered him, that if he would desist from his purpose, and sweare vpon the euangelists neither to go to Rome, nor to appeale in any cause to the popes court, he might and should liue in quietnesse frée from all danger: but if he would not be so contented, he might and should depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither againe. " For surelie (saith he) if he go, I will seize the archbishoprike into mine owne hands, and receiue him no more for archbishop."

Eadmerus.

Anselme herewith departing from the court, came to Canturburie, declaring openlie what had bin said vnto him, and immediatelie sought to flee out of the realme in the night, prouiding for himselfe a ship at Douer. But his purpose being reuealed to the king, one William Warlewast the kings seruant was sent after him, and finding him readie to depart, tooke from him all that he had, & gaue him a frée pasport out of the land. Anselme repairing to Rome, made vnto pope Urban a greeuous information against the king, declaring into what miserable state he had brought the Realme, and that for want of assistance in his suffragans it laie not in him to reforme the matter.

Fabian.
Matth. Paris.

Anselme comming to Rome complaineth of the King.

Indéed we find not that any of the bishops held with Anselme in the controuersie betwixt him and the king, Ranulph bishop of Chichester excepted, who both blamed the king and rebuked all such bishops as had refused to stand with Anselme, and fauoured the king in cases concerning the foresaid variance. Moreouer, the same bishop of Chichester withstood the king and his officers in taking fines of préests for the crime of fornication; by reason of which presumption, the king became sore offended with him; & found meanes to suspend many churches of his diocesse. Howbeit in the end, the bishop demeaned himselfe in suchwise, that he had his owne will, and his church doores were opened againe, which had béene stopped vp before with thornes. Besides this, the king was contented, that the said bishop should haue the fines of préests in crimes of fornication within his diocesse, and enioy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall soeuer he was vnto the see of Chichester, true it is (as Polydor writeth) that he let out diuers abbeies, and the bishoprike of Winchester and Salisburie, with the archbishoprike of Canturburie vnto certeine persons that farmed the same at his hands for great summes of monie, in so much that (beside the said sees of Canturburie, Winchester, and Salisburie, which at the time of his death be kept in his hands) he also receiued the profits of eleuen abbeies which he had let out, or otherwise turned to his mostaduantage.

Ranelfe bishop of Chichester.

Fines of préests that had wiues as by some writers it seemed.

Polydor.

Robert

Robert Losaunge. *Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm.*

Robert Losaunge, of some called Herbert, that sometime had bin abbat of Ramsey, and then bishop of Thetford by gift of a thousand pounds to the king (as before ye haue heard) repented him, for that he was inuested by the king, who after he had bewailed his offense, went to Rome, and did penance for the same in all points as the pope enioined him. Which being doone, he returned into England, remouing yer long his sée from Thetford to Norwich, where he founded a faire monasterie of his owne charges, and not of the churches goods (as some say) wherein is a doubt, considering he was first an abbat, and after a bishop.

Stephan Harding a moonke. *Ran. Higd. Iacobus Philippus Berigonias.*

About this time, by the meanes of Stephan Harding a Monke of Shireborne, an Englishman, the order of Cisteaux or white moonkes had his beginning within the countrie of Burgongne, as witnesneth Ranulph the moonke of Chester: but other writers (as Iacob. Philippus) say that this Stephan was the second abbat of that place, and that it was founded by one Robert abbat of Molmense, in the yeare of Grace 1098. This order was after brought into England by one called Walter Espeke, who founded the first abbeie of that religion within this relme at Riuall, about the yeare of Grace 1131.

An. Reg. 13. 1100.

The kings lauish prodigalitie. Strange woonders. *Wil. Malm.*

But to returne againe to the king, who still continued in his wilfull couetousnesse, pulling from the rich and welthie, to waste and spend it out in all excesse, vaine riot, and gifts bestowed on such as had least deserued the same. And yet he was warned by manie strange woonders (as the common people did discant) to refraine from these euill dooings: for the Thames did rise with such high springs and tides, that manie townes were drowned, and much hurt doone in places about London, and elsewhere. Diuerse rare things happened also at the same time, which I passe ouer. But the king hearing hereof, did nothing regard those which were so bold as to tell him that they were euident significations of some vengeance to follow therevpon. The king also himselfe on a night as he slept & dreamed, thought that the veines of his armes were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance. Likewise, he was told by Robert Fitz Hammon, that a moonke should dreame in his sléepe, how he saw the king gnaw the image of Christ crucified, with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite awaie the legs of the same image, Christ with his feet should spurne him downe to the ground, insomuch that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, and such abundance of smoke, that the aire was darkened therewith. But the king made a iest of these and the like tales; "He is a right moonke (saith he) and to haue a péece of monie, he dreameth such things, giue him therefore an hundred shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our person." Neuerthelesse, the king was somewhat mooued herewith in the end, and doubted whether he should go into the new forest to hunt on Lammas day (as he had purposed) or no, bicause his fréends councelled him not to trie the truth of dreames to his owne losse and hinderance. Wherevpon he forbare to go foorth before dinner, but when he had dined and made himselfe merrie with receiuing more drinke than commonlie he vsed to doo, abroad he got him into the forest with a small traine: amongst whom was one sir Walter Tirell a French knight, whom he had reteined in seruice with a large stipend.

A dreame. *Matth. West. Wil. Malm.*

Sir Walter Tirel.

This Sir Walter chanced to remaine with the king, when all the rest of the companie was dispersed here and there, as the maner in hunting is. Now as the sunne began to draw lowe, the king perceiuing an hart to come alongst by him, shot at the same, and with his arrow stroke him; but not greatlie hurting him, the beast ran awaie. The king, to mark which way the hart tooke, and the maner of his hurt, held vp his hand betweene the sunne and his eies; who standing in that sort, out came another hart, at whom as sir Walter Tirell let driue an arrow, the same by glansing stroke the king into the brest, so that he neuer spake word, but breaking off so much of the arrow as appeared out of his bodie, he fell downe, and giuing onelie one grone, immediatlie died, without more noise or mooving. Sir Walter running to him, and perceiuing no spéech nor sense to remaine

The king slaine.

in

in him, straitwaies got to his horsse, and riding awaie, escaped and saued himselfe: for few there were that pursued him, euerie man being amazed at the chance, some departing one waie, and some another, euerie one for his owne aduantage and commoditie, as the time then serued. The dead bodie of the king was straight conueied to Winchester, and there buried the morrow after, which was the second day of August, the yere of our Lord 1100. To this end came king William, after he had reigned almost 13 yeares, and liued 43 and somewhat more. *Wil. Malm.*

This prince, although euill reported of by writers for the couetous tasking of his subiects, and reteining of ecclesiasticall liuings in his hands; yet was he endued with manie noble and princelie qualities. He had good knowledge in feats of warre, and could well awaie with bodilie labour. In all his affaires he was circumspect; of his promise, trustie; of his word, stedfast; and in his wars no lesse diligent than fortunate. He gaue to the moonkes called Monachi de charitate in Southwarke, the great new church of S. Sauiour of Bermondsay, and also Bermondseie itselfe. He founded a goodlie hospitall in the citie of Yorke, called S. Leonards, for the sustentation and finding of the poore as well brethren as sisters. Towards souldiers and men of warre he was verie liberall, and to enrich them, he passed not for taking from farmers and husbandmen what soeuer could be gotten. He was indéed of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the begining of his reigne, doubting some troubles, he had assembled manie men of warre for his defense, there was nothing that they could aske which he would denie them, insomuch that his fathers treasures were soone consumed, by reason whereof he was put to his shifts to prouide more. For though substance wanted to shew his liberalitie, yet there failed not in him a mind still to be bountifull, sith continuall vse of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, so that to furnish himselfe with monie and necessaries, he was put to extremities vnbeséeming a king; and to bestow his beneuolence vpon some, he spared not to impouerish others. For in such sort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall; and in such wise stout of courage, as proud withall; and in such maner seuere, as he séemed cruell and inexorable. But what meanes he vsed to make his best of benefices and spirituall liuings, partlie appeareth before. The liberall hart of king William.

In déed such was his condition, that who soeuer would giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without respect, whether their sute was reasonable and allowable or not, in somuch that it is said of him, that being in Roan on a time, there came to him diuerse Jewes who inhabited that citie, complaining to him, that diuerse of their nation had renounced their Jewish religion, and were become christians: wherefore they besought him, that for a certeine summe of monie which they offered to giue, it might please him to constreine them to abiure christianitie, and turne to the Jewish law againe. He was contented to satisfie their desires, and so receiuing the monie, called them before him, & what with threats, and putting them otherwise in feare, he compelled diuerse of them to forsake Christ, and returne to their old errors. Jewes.

There was about the same time a yoong man a Jew, who by a vision appearing vnto him (as is said) was conuerted to the christian faith, and being baptised, was named Stephan, bicause S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the vision, as by the same he was informed. The father of the yoong man being sore troubled, for that his sonne was become a christian, and hearing what the king had doone in such like matters, presented to him 60 markes of siluer, conditionally that he should inforce his sonne to returne to his Jewish religion. Herevpon was the yoong man brought before the king, vnto whom he said; "Sirra, thy father here complaineth that without his licence thou art become a christian: if this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of thy nation, without anie more adoo". To whom the yoongman answered, "Your grace (as I gesse) dooth but iest." Wherewith the king being mooued said, "What

"What thou dunghill knaue, should I iest with thée? Get thée hence quicklie, and fulfill my commandement, or by S. Lukes face I shall cause thine eies to be plucked out of thine head." The yoongman nothing abashed hereat, with a constant voice answered "Trulie I will not doo it, but know for certeine, that if you were a good christian, you would neuer haue vttered anie such words, for it is the part of a christian to reduce them againe to Christ which be departed from him; & not to separate them from him, which are ioined to him by faith." The king herewith confounded, commanded the Jew to auant & get him out of his sight. But his father perceiuing that the king could not persuade his sonne to forsake the christian faith, required to haue his monie again. To whom the king said, he had doone so much as he promised to doo, that was, to persuade him so far as he might. At length, when he would haue had the king to haue dealt further in the matter, the king (to stop his mouth) tendered backe to him the one halfe of his monie, & reteined the other to himselfe

An answer of a good Jew.

A prettie diuision.

Moreouer, to increase the suspicion which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he caused a disputation to be kept betwixt the Jewes & the christians, promising that if the Jewes ouercame the christians in argument, he would be a Jew: but the Jewes being ouercome, and receiuing the foile, would not confess their errors, but alledged, that by factions (and not by reason) they were put to the worse. Howbeit, what opinion soeuer he had of the Jewes faith, it appéereth by writers that he doubted in manie points of the religion then in credit. For he sticked not to protest openlie, that he beléeued no saint could profit anie man in the Lords sight, and therefore neither would he nor anie other that was wise (as he affirmed) make intercession, either to Peter, or to anie other for helpe.

King William suspected of infidelitie.

Eadmerus.

Praieng to saincts.

He was of stature not so tall as the common sort of men, red of haire, whereof he tooke his surname Rufus, somwhat big of bellie, and not readie of toong, speciallie in his anger, for then his vtterance was so hindered, that he could scarselie shew the conceits of his mind: he died without issue, and vsed concubines all the daies of his life. I find that in apparell he loued to be gaie and gorgeous, & could not abide to haue anie thing (for his wearing) estéemed at a small valure. Wherevpon it came to passe on a morning, when he should pull on a new paire of hose, he asked the groome of his chamber that brought them to him what they cost? Thrée shillings saith he; "Why thou hooreson (said the king) dooth a paire of hose of thrée shillings price become a king to weare? Go thy waies, and fetch me a paire that shall cost a marke of siluer." The groome went, and brought him another paire, for the which he paid scarselie so much as for the first. But when the king asked what they stood him in, he told him they cost a marke: and then was he well satisfied, and said; "Yea marie, these are more fit for a king to weare, and so drew them vpon his legs."

His stature. Whereof he tooke his surname Rufus.

Wil. Malm.

In this kings daies John bishop of Welles ioined the monasterie of Bath vnto his see, and repairing the same monasterie, began to inhabit there in the yeere 1094. The Church of Couentrie was in like sort ioined vnto the sée of Chester by Robert bishop of that diocesse. Woolstan bishop of Worcester died about the same time, and Anselme hauing purchased bulles of pope Paschall, wherein was conteined an admonition vnto king William to desist from his gréeuous oppressing of the church, and to amend his former dooings, was now on his returne towards England, and by the waie heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Chester in this kings daies builded the abbeie of Chester, and procured Anselme (afterwards archbishop of Canturburie) to come ouer from Normandie, that he might erect the same abbeie, and place such religious persons as were necessarie and conuenient for so good a foundation.

Couentrie church ioined to the sée of Chester.

Long it was yer Anselme would come ouer, bicause he doubted to be had in suspicion of an ambitious desire in seeking to be made archbishop of Canturburie. For it was talked that if he went ouer into England, he should surelie be elected before he returned

returned into Normandie. But at length so it chanced, that the aforesaid Hugh earle of Chester fell sicke, and despairing of life, sent with all spéed to Anselme, requiring him most instantlie to come ouer to him lieng in extremitie of sickness; adding, that if he hasted not the sooner, it would be too late, whereof he would after repent him. Then Anselme, for that he might not faile his frèend in such necessitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the abbeie, according as it séemed best to him for the establishment of religion there.

thus farre William Rufus.

HENRIE THE FIRST, YOONGEST SONNE TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR.

HENRIE the yoongest sonne to William the first, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the first of that name that ruled heere in England, & for his knowledge in good literature surnamed Beauclerke, was admitted king by the whole assent of the lords and commons, and began his reigne ouer England the first of August, in the yeare after the creation of the world 1067. after the birth of our Sauiour 1100. and 44. of the emperour Henrie the fourth, Paschall the second then gouerning the sée of Rome, which was about the 51. yeare of Philip the first of that name king of France, and in the beginning of the reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was consecrated and crowned at Westminster, the fift daie of August, by Thomas archbishop of Yorke, and Maurice bishop of London, bicause at that time Anselme archbishop of Canturburie was exiled. This prince had aforehand trained the people to his humor and veine, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceiue a maruellous euill opinion of his brother duke Robert, persuading them moreouer, that the said duke was likelie to prooue a sharpe and rigorous gouernour, if he once obteined the crowne and dominion of the land. Moreouer, he caused to be reported for a certeine truth, that the same Robert was alreadie created king of Jerusalem. And therefore considering that the kingdome of Palestine (as the rumor ran) was of greater reuenues than that of England, there was no cause why they should staie for him, who would not willinglie leaue the greater for the lesser. By which meanes the Nobilitie and Commons were the sooner persuaded to decline from the election of the said Robert, and to receiue his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the other side ceased not to promise mountaines, till his enterprise tooke effect; and then at leisure paied some of them with molhils: as by the sequele of the storie shall more at large appéere.

An. Reg. 1. 1100.

Wil. Thorne. Gervasius Dorobernensis.

Matth. Paris.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the crowne, considered furthermore with himselfe, that hereafter, when his eldest brother Robert should returne, and vnderstand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himselfe to haue had much wrong, and béene verie euill dealt withall, sith that as well by birthright, as also by agréement made with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, and thereupon would not faile but make earnest claime against him. Wherefore yer he should come home out of the holie land (where he then remained) the king studied by all possible

The king seeketh to win the peoples fauour.

meanes how to gratifie all the states of his realme, & to plant in their harts some good opinion of him. And first of all he reformed such things as his brother had left verie preiudiciall to the estate of the church, setting the same frée which before was sore oppressed. And furthermore, somewhat to releeue the common-wealth, he promised to restore the lawes of good king Edward, and to abolish or amend those which by his father and brother were alreadie ordeined to the hurt & preiudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yee haue heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. Moreouer, he placed in the see of Winchester, one William Gifford, a graue and discréet person, and also ordeined moonkes of honest reputation to be abbats in certeine abbeies which had beene long void, and in the hands of William his brother: in like maner he remitted certeine paiments which his brother and predecessour had caused to be raised by waie of taxes and customes. Besides this, on the 8. daie of September, he committed Rafe bishop of Durham to the Tower of London, by whose lewd counsell his said brother being seduced, had in his life time doone manie oppressions to his people. He ordeined also that one length of measuring should be vsed through this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme. Manie other things he redressed, to the contentation and commoditie of his subiects, who gaue God thanks that he had in such wise deliuered them out of the hands of cruell extortioners.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.
Anselme called home.
Wil. Malm.
William Gifford bishop of Winchester.
Hen. Hunt.
Rafe bishop of Durham committed to the Tower.
Simon Dun.
The first ordeining of the yard measure.
Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in so good estate, he consulted with his Nobilitie, where he might best get him a wife, and thereby leaue vnlawfull companie keeping with concubines: which demand was not misliked at all. Herevpon they considered that Edgar king of Scotland had a sister named Maud, a beautifull ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a professed nunne in a religious house, to the end she might auoid the stormes of the world, and lead hir life in more securitie after hir fathers deceasse. This gentlewoman, notwithstanding hir vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he sent ambassadors to hir brother Edgar, requesting that he might haue hir in mariage. But she refusing superstitiouslie at the first to breake hir professed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, sent new ambassadors to moue the case in more earnest sort than before, in somuch that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambassage, set the abbesse of the house (where then she abode) in hand to persuade hir, who so effectuallie and diuerselie telling hir how necessarie, profitable, & honorable the same should be both to her countrie and kinred, did so preuaile at the last, that the yoong ladie granted willinglie to the mariage. Herevpon she was transported into England, and wedded to the king, who caused the archbishop Anselme to crowne hir queene on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a sundaie, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

¶ It should séeme by Eadmerus, that she was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by hir mother, and placed amongst nunnes against hir will (as she protested to the whole world) at such time as archbishop Anselme refused to solemnize the mariage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occasion remoued, wherevpon euill disposed men would haue surmised ilfauoredlie, and reported the worst. Howbeit whether she were professed, or veiled onelie, loth she was to consent at the first (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that she was coupled with the king in mariage, she prooued a right obedient wife.

The archbishop of Vienna the popes legat.

About this season the archbishop of Vienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended) to be legat ouer all Briteine, which was strange newes vnto England, and greatlie woondered at (as Eadmerus saith) of all men. For it had not beene heard of in England before that time, that any person should supplie the popes roome, except the archbishop of Canturburie. And so he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exercise anie legantine authoritie. Not long

He is not receiued for legat.

after, the king sent ambassadours to Rome, about a suit which he had against the archbishop Anselme, for that he denied not onelie to doo him homage, but also would not consecrate such bishops and ecclesiasticall gouernours as he vndertooke to inuest. Touching which matter no small trouble arose, as hereafter shall appeere.

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertisement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yoonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatlie displeased in his mind, and meant with all spéed to assaie if he might recouer it out of his hands. 1101.

¶ We read, that when christian princes had woone Hierusalem, they met togither in the temple to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrie, in which conuent duke Robert was chosen before all the residue to be king there, by reason of a miracle (as some haue left recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the sudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the same in his hand, standing in the church before the altar amongst other on Easter euen: so as thereby it should be thought he was appointed among all the residue to be king, and so was nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him: wherevpon after that daie he neuer greatlie prospered in anie businesse which he tooke in hand: as some doo gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anie such matter, but declare, that Godfraie of Bolongne was by the generall consent of all the princes and capiteins there elected king, as in the description of that voiage more plainelie appéereth. But now to returne from whence I haue digressed. *Ran. Higd.* Duke Robert chosen king of Hierusalem. *Polydor.*

When the fame was blown into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuerse which desiring innouations, deliting in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernment of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, signifieng to him, that if he would make hast, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who vsurped it by an vniust title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Herewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterprise, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earnest to make hast about this businesse: in so much as, where he would not séeme at the first to estéeme greatlie of the offer made to him by the Englishmen, who had thus writteh ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the English Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the seruice of the christian common-wealth against the infidels, they would suffer him to be in such wise defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to dissemble with them for a time, than to commit the successe of his affaires and person to their inconstancie; shortlie after being set on fire, and still incouraged by the persuasion of Rafe bishop of Durham (who by a woonderfull wilie shift, about the first of Februarie had broken out of prison) with all speed possible he gathered an armie, purposing out of hand to passe ouer with the same into England, and to hazard his right by dent of sword, which was thus by plaine iniurie most wickedlie deteined from him. *An. Reg.* 2. Duke Robert is solicited to come into England to claim the crowne. *Wil. Malm. Simon Dun.* In the Kal. of Februarie. *R. Houe. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

King Henrie in the meane time vnderstanding his meaning, assembled likewise his power, and rigged foorth a great number of ships, appointing them to lie in a readinesse to stop his brothers comming to land if it might be. He himselfe, also lodged with his maine armie neere the towne of Hastings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert also meaning to set foreward, sent certeine of his ships before, to choose some conuenient place where he might land with his armie: which ships by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet absteining from battell, they re-

couered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, signifieng from point to point how they had sped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of so gentle a nature that he beleeued he should win their good wils, with whom he should haue any thing to doo, passed forward, and approching to the kings nauie, vsed such mild persuasions, that a great part of the souldiours which were aboord in the kings ships, submitted themselues vnto him, by whose conduct he arriued in Portsmouth hauen, and there landed with his host, about the begining of August. Now when he had rested a few daies & refreshed his men, he tooke the way towards Winchester, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

Duke Robert arriued at Portsmouth. *Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arriuall of his enimies, as also of the reuolting of his subiects, raised his campe, and came to lodge neere vnto his enimies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purposed to doo. They were also in maner readie to haue ioined battell, when diuerse Noble men that owght good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds so vnnaturall discord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henrie (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) should now enioy the same, yeelding and paieng yeerelie vnto duke Robert the summe of iij. M. marks. Prouided, that whose hap of the two it should be to suruiue or outliue, he should be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agreement. Conditionallie also, that those English or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, should be pardoned of all offenses that could be laid vnto them for the same by either of the princes. There were twelue Noble men on either part that receiued corporall othes for performance of this agréement, which being concluded vpon in this sort, duke Robert, who in his affaires shewed himselfe more credulous than suspicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feast of S. Michaell, and then shewing himselfe well contented with the composition, returned into Normandie. In the second yeare of this kings reigne, the Quéene was deliuered of hir daughter Maud or Mathild, so called after hir owne name, who afterward was empresse, of whom yée shall heare by Gods grace anon in this historie.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Thorne. Matth. West. Geruasius. Dorober.

1102. The king being now rid of forren trouble, was shortlie after disquieted with the seditious attempts of Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, sonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the castell of Bridgenorth, and an other castell in Wales at a place called Caircoue, and furnished the towne of Shrewsburie, with the castels of Arundell & Tickehill (which belonged to him) in most substantiall maner. Moreouer he sought to win the fauour of the Welshmen, by whose aid he purposed to defend himselfe against the king in such vnlawfull enterprises as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkeling whereabout he went, straightwaies proclaimed him a traitor, wherevpon he got such Welshmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entered into Staffordshire, which they forraied and wasted excéedinglie, bringing from thence a great bootie of beasts and cattell, with some prisoners, whom they led foorthwith into Wales, where they kept themselues as in a place of greatest safetie.

Simon Dun. Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie.

Stafford wasted.

The king in the meane time with all conuient spéed raised a power, first besieging the castell of Arundell, and then planting diuerse bastillions before it, he departed from thence, and sending the bishop of Lincolne with part of his armie to besiege Tickehill, he himselfe went to Bridgenorth, which he enuironed about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: so that what with gifts, large promises, and fearefull threatnings, at the last he allured to his side the fickle Welchmen, and in such wise wan them, that they abandoned the earle, and tooke part against him. Wherevpon the king within 30. daies subdued all the townes and castels (which he held) out of his hands, and banished him the relme, and shortlie after confined his brother Arnold for his

Arundell castell besieged.

Bridgenorth besieged.

An. Reg. 3. The earle of Shrewsburie banished the realme.

his traitorous demeanour vsed against him, whereby their attempts were brought vnto an end.

After this, at the feast of saint Michaell, Anselme archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminster, whereat were present the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Worcester, Chester, Bath, Norwich, Rochester, and two other bishops latlie elected by the king, namelie, Salisburie and Hereford: the bishop of Excester was absent by reason of sicknesse. A synod of bishops. *Eadmerus.*

At this councell or synod, diuerse abbats and priors, both French and English, were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anselme, bicause they had come vnto them otherwise than he pretended to stand with the decrées of the church; as the abbats of Persor, Ramsey, Tauestocke, Peterborow, Middleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Elie, and others. The chéefest cause of their deposing, was, for that they had receiued their inuestitures at the kings hands. Abbats & priors depriued. *Matth. Paris.* The cause why they wer depriued. *Hen. Hunt. Sim. Dun.*

Diuerse constitutions were made by authoritie of this councell, but namelie this one. *Eadmerus.*

1 That preests should no more be suffered to haue wiues, which decree (as saith Henrie of Huntingdon) séemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilest diuers of those that coueted to professe such cleannesse and puritie of life as passed their powers to obserue, might happilie fall into most horrible vncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almightie. Mariage of préests forbidden. *Hen. Hunt.*

2 That no spirituall person should haue the administration of any temporall office or function, nor sit in iudgment of life and death. Decrées instituted in this councell.

3 That preests should not haunt alehouses, and further, that they should weare apparell of one maner of colour, and shooes after a comelie fashion: for a little before that time, préests vsed to go verie vnséemlie. Against préests that were alehouse hunters.

4 That no archdeaconries should be let to farme. Archdeaconries

5 That euerie archdeacon should at the least receiue the orders of a deacon.

6 That none should be admitted to the orders of a subdeacon, without profession of chastitie. Subdeacons.

7 That no préests sonnes should succéed their fathers in their benefices. Préests sons.

8 That moonks and préests which had forsaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) should be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profession againe.

9 That préests should weare broad crownes. Préests to wear crowns.

10 That no tithes should be giuen but to the church. Tithes.

11 That no benefices should be bought or sold. Benefices.

12 That no new chappels should be builded without consent of the bishop. New chapels.

13 That no church should be consecrated except prouision were first had to the maintenance of it and the minister. Consecration of churches.

14 That abbats should not be made knights or men of war, but should sléepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houses, except some necessitie moued them to the contrarie. Abbats.

15 That no moonks should inioyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for those of whose soules they had cure. Moonks.

16 That no moonks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

17 That moonks should not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands. Farmes.

18 That no moonks should receiue any parsonages, but at the bishops hands, nor should spoile those which they did receiue in such wise of the profits and reuenues, that curats which should serue the cures might thereby want necessarie prouision for themselues and the same churches. Parsonages.

19 That contracts made betwéene man and woman without witnesses concerning marage should be void, if either of them denied it. Contracts.

20 That

Wearing of haire.

20 That such as did weare their heare long should be neuerthelesse so rounded, that part of their eares might appéere.

21 That kinsfolke might not contract matrimonie within the seuenth degrée of consanguinitie.

Buriall.

22 That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes, least the préest might lose his dutie.

Fond worshipping of men.

23 That no man should vpon some new rash deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the bishops authoritie, which hath béene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

24 That there should be no more buieng and selling of men vsed in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had béene kine or oxen.

25 That all such as committed the filthie sinne of Sodomitrie should be accursed by the decrée of this councell, till by penance & confession they should obteine absolution. Prouided that if he were a preest or any religious person, he should lose his benefice, and be made vncapeable of any other ecclesiasticall preferment: if he were a laie man, he should lose the prerogatiue of his estate. Prouided also that no religious man might be absolued of this crime, but at the bishops hands.

The curse to be read euerie sundaie.

26 That euerie sundaie this cursse should be read in euerie church.

The king also caused some necessarie ordinances to be deuised at this councell, to moone men to the leading of a good and vpright life.

S. Bartholomewes by Smithfield founded. Smithfield sometimes a common laiestall & a place of execution, *An. Reg.* 3.

About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of saint Bartholomews by Smithfield was begun by Raier one of the kings musicians (as some write) who also became the first prior thereof. In those daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was also the appointed place of execution, where felons and other malefactors of the lawes did suffer for their misdeeds.

In this third yeare of king Henries reigne the quéene was deliuered of a sonne called William.

When the earle of Shrewesburie was banished (as ye haue heard) the state of the realme seemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietnesse: so that king Henrie being aduanced with good successe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any maner of waie. Howbeit herein he somewhat displeased the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he tooke vpon him both to nominate bishops and to inuest them into the possession of their sées: amongst whom was one Remclid, bishop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Remclid or Remeline did afterwards resigne that bishoprike to the king, bicause he was pursuaded he had greatlie offended in receiuing the same at a temporall mans hands.

Polydor. The king bestoweth bishoprikes. *Matth. Paris.* *Sim. Dunel.*

Trulie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but also other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the same season, challenged this right of inuesting bishops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predecessors, without all prescription of time, as they alledged, which caused no small debate betwixt them and the spiritualtie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more easilie appeere.

Anselme refuseth to consecrate the bishops inuested by the king.

Howbeit Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie more earnest in this case than any other, would not admit nor consecrate such bishops as were nominated and inuested by the king, making no account of their inuestiture: and further he tooke vpon him to admonish the K. not to violate the sacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of christian religion so latelie decréed concerning those matters. But so far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he stood the more stiffelie in his chalenge. And where Thomas the archbishop of Yorke was not long before departed out of this transitorie life, he gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as some writers report) more desirous of honor than was requisite for his calling, and willed him

Gerard inuested archbishop of Yorke.

in

in despite of Anselme to consecrate those bishops whom he had of late inuested. This Gerard therefore obeieng his commandement, did consecrate them all, William Gifford bishop of Winchester excepted; who refused to be consecrated at his hands, wherevpon he was depriued and banished the relme. The archbishop Anselme also was quite out of fauour, for that he ceased not to speake against the K. in reproouing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paschall, and to stand to his decree and determination: also, that such as he had placed in any bishoprike, should haue licence to go to Rome to plead their causes, whither he promised shortlie to send his ambassadours, and so he did: appointing for the purpose, Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Lichfield, being both of his priuie councell, and William Warlewast, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commission.

W. Gifford bishop of Winchester. *Matth. Paris. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.* *Polydor.* 1103. An. Reg. 4. Ambassadors sent to Rome.

After them also folowed Anselme archbishop of Canturburie, Gerard archbishop of Yorke, & William the elect of Winchester, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of interteinement. But Anselme was highlie honored aboue all the residue, whose diligence and zeale in defense of the ordinances of the sée of Rome, he well inough vnderstood. The ambassadours in like maner declaring the effect of their message, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuersie begun betweene the king and Anselme, & with good arguments went about to proone the kings cause to be lawfull. Vpon the otherside, Anselme and his partakers with contrarie reasons sought to confute the same. Wherevpon the pope declared, that sith by the lawes of the church it was decréed, that the possession of any spirituall benefice, obteined otherwise than by meanes of a spirituall person, could not be good or allowable; from thencefoorth, neither the king nor any other for him, should challenge any such right to apperteine vnto them.

Anselme goeth also to Rome.

The kings ambassadours hearing this, were somwhat troubled in their minds: wherevpon Willam Warlewast burst out and said with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: "Whatsoeuer is or may be spoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be present should well vnderstand, that the king, my maister will not lose the inuestitures of churches for the losse of his whole realme." Vnto which words Paschall himselfe replieng, said vnto him againe: "If (as thou saiest) the king thy maister, will not forgo the inuestiture of churches for the losse of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I speake it before God, that for the ransome of his head, pope Paschall will not at any time permit that he shall enioie them in quiet." At length by the aduise of his councell, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and customes, which his predecessours had vsed and enioied: but as for the inuestitures of bishops, he would not haue him in any wise to meddle withall: yet did he confirme those bishops whom the king had alreadie created, least the refusall should be occasion to sowe any further discord.

Eadmerus. The saieng of Wil. Warlewast to the pope. The popes answer to him. *Polydor.*

This businesse being in this maner ordered, the ambassadours were licenced to depart, who receiuing at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbishop of Yorke his pall, they shortlie after returned into England, declaring vnto the king the popes decrée and sentence. The king being still otherwise persuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleased with this matter. Long it was yer he would giue ouer his claime, or yéeld to the popes iudgement, till that in processe of time, ouercome with the earnest sute of Anselme, he granted to obeie the popes order herein, though (as it should appeare) right sore against his will.

In this meane time, the king had seized into his hands the possessions of the archbishop of Canturburie, and banished Anselme, so that he staied at Lions in France for the space of one yeare and foure moneths, during which time there passed manie letters and messages to and fro. The pope also wrote to king Henrie in verie courteous maner, exhorting

Wil. Malm.

The pope writeth courteouslie to the king.

exhorting him to call Anselme home againe, and to release his claime to the inuestitures of bishops, wherevnto he could haue no right, sith it apperteined not to the office of any temporall magistrate: adding furthermore, if the king would giue ouer that vngodlie and vsurped custome, that he would shew such fréendlie fauour in all things, as by the sufferance of God in any wise he might be ablé to performe, and further would receiue not onelie him, but also his yoong soone William (whom latelie it had pleased God to send him by his vertuous wife queene Maud) into his protection, so that who so euer did hurt either of them, should be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

In one of the letters which the said pope wrote vnto Anselme (after that the king was contented to renounce the inuestitures aforesaid) he willed Anselme, according to the promise which he had made, to assoile as well from sinne as from penance due for the same, both the king and his wife queene Maud, with all such persons of honour as in this behalfe had trauelled with the king to induce him to be agréeable to his purpose.

1104.

The earle of Mellent. An. Reg. 4.

Moreouer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Riuers (who had counselled the king to stand stoutlie in the matter, and not to giue ouer his title of such inuestitures, sith his ancestors had vsed them so long a time before his daies, by reason whereof, in renouncing his right to the same, he should doo a thing greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall estate and princelie maiestie) were now earnest labourers to agree the king and the pope, in so much that in the end the king was persuaded by Anselme and them to let go his hold, resigning the inuestitures with staffe and ring; notwithstanding that, he reserued the right of elections, and such other roialties as otherwise apperteined to his maiestie, so that such bishops as had doone homage to the king, were not disabled thereby, but quietlie permitted to receiue their iurisdictions.

The K. persuaded to renounce his title to the inuestiture of preiats. *Eadmerus.*

Duke Robert commeth into England to visit his brother.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to see his brother: who through the sugred words and sweet enterteinment of the king, released the yeerelie tribute of 3000. markes, which he should haue had out of the realme vpon agreement (as before ye haue heard) but cheefelie indéed at the request of the queene, being instructed by hir husband how she should deale with him that was knowne to be frée and liberall, without any great consideration what he presentlie granted.

Now hauing béene here a certeine time, and solaced himselfe with his brother and sister, he returned into Normandie, where shortlie after he began to repent him of his follie, in being so liberall as to release the foresaid tribute: wherevpon he menaced the king, and openlie in his reproch said that he was craftilie circumuented by him, and flatlie couzened. Diuerse in Normandie desired nothing more than to set the two brethren at square, and namelie Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, with William earle of Mortaigne: these two were banished the realme of England. The earle of Shrewesburie for his rebellious attempts (as before you haue heard) and the earle of Mortaigne left the land of his owne willfull and stubborne mind, exiling himselfe onelie vpon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earledome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the earledome of Cornewall in England, he made sute also for the earledome of Kent, which his vncle Odo sometime held. Now bicause he was not onelie denied of that sute, but also by order of lawe had certeine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfullie deteined, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both against those places which the king held, and also against other that belonged to Richard earle of Chester, who was then vnder the kings tuition and gouernement by reason of his minoritie.

Wil. Malm. Factious persons practise to set the two brethren at variance.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Richard earle of Chester.

The threatning words of duke Robert comming at the last to king Henries eares, caused him foorthwith to conceiue verie sore displeasure against the duke, in so much that he sent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great resistance, did much hurt in the countrie, by fetching and carieng spoiles and preies. Againe the Normans rather fauoured

A power of men sent into Normandie.

fauoured than sought to hinder the enterprise of king Henrie, bicause they saw how duke Robert with his foolish prodigalitie and vndiscréet liberalitie had made awaie all that belonged to his estate; so that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne possession, Roan onelie excepted, which he also would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue consented to his fond motion. *Genetiensis.*

Now king Henrie hearing of the good successe of his men, passed ouer himselfe soone after with a mightie armie, and with little adoo tooke Eureux or (as others haue) Baieux and Caen, which cities when he had furnished with sufficient garisons of men, he repassed the sea into England, bicause the winter approched, and the wether waxed troublesome for such as laie in the field. Herevpon duke Robert considering how vnable he was (by reason that his people failed him at néed) to resist king Henrie, sith the Britans also, and they of Aniou, tooke part with the said king, he thought good to laie armour aside, and to passe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this present danger. But at his arriuall here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherefore he hasted thither, and comming to him, made earnest sute for peace, beséeching the king in respect of brotherlie loue to grant the same; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to consider at least wise what apperteined to his accustomed gentlenesse, and to think with himselfe that warre betwixt brethren could not be mainteined without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obteined against his owne flesh. Wherefore he required him not to refuse peace, freendship, and voluntarie beneuolence, sith he was now readie to render all that euer he had into his hands.

1105. The k. passeth ouer to Normandie. An Reg. 6. *Simeon Dun. Genetiensis. Polydor.*

1106. An. Reg. 7.

The king nothing mooued herewith, but as one that disdained to make a direct answer, murmured certeine things with himselfe, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and vnstable mind, or as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the vttermost. Duke Robert also, abhorring and vtterlie detesting this his brothers pride, streightwaies returned home, purposing with himselfe to trie the hazard of warre, sith he sawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Wherevpon he prouided for wars with all his power, seeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him small leisure thereto, who followed him incontinentlie with a new supplie of souldiours, desiring nothing more than to get him within his danger.

The brethren depart in displeasure.

K. Henrie passeth into Normandie to pursue his brother.

Soone after, both the brethren approching neere togither, ech of them pitched their campe within the sight of other, preparing themselues to giue battell with princelie stomachs. The king surmounting the duke his brother in number, first bringeth foorth his men in order of battell, and streightwaies the duke likewise, both being readie to trie the matter by dint of sword. Then the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets sounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings souldiers trusting too much in their owne force, by reason of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and assailed their enimies on ech side verie disorderlie: but the Normans being wiselie ordered and instructed by their duke, kept themselues close togither: so that the kings battell, which had without order stept foorth to assaile them, finding sturdie resistance, began now to result or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but also William earle of Mortaigne preased foreward amongst their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Whervpon the king, when he perceiued how his men began to shrinke, cried vpon them to staie, and withall commanded his horssemen to breake vppon the flanks of his enimies battell: which they did, with such violence that they disparkled the same, and caused the enimies to scatter. Herewith also the kings footmen, togither with the horssemen inuaded the Normans afresh, who neuerthelesse resisted a while, till being compassed about in maner on euerie side, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few driuen in sunder by a multitude, are assailed on all sides. The king then hauing vanquished his aduersaries, followeth the chase, and maketh great slaughter of them, though not without

They ioine in battell.

The Normans vanquished.

some losse of his owne: for the Normans despairing of safetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their pursuers.

The earle of Mortaigne. *Eadmerus.* W. Crispine. W. Ferreis. Robert de Estoutuille. The number slaine.

Duke Robert and the earle of Mortaigne fighting most manfullie in the verie prease of their enimies, were taken or (as other saie) betraied, and deliuered into their enimies hands: beside which twaine, William Crispine, William Ferreis, Robert Estoutuille the elder, with foure hundreth men of armes, and to the number of 10. thousand footmen were taken. As for the number that were slaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certeintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in those daies was sorer fought, nor with greater bloudshed either in Normandie, or elsewhere.

Gemeticensis.

Gemeticensis sheweth breefelie, that king Henrie was offended with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for wasting his reuenues with such riotous demeanour as he vsed, so that he left himselfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not passed to haue giuen awaie also, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their consent. The king (I saie) taking displeasure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and assuming a mightie power, first besieged Baieux, & then halfe destroieng it, he tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen also, and then besieged a castell called Tenerchbray perteining to the earle of Mortaigne, during which siege his brother Robert, and the said earle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chase him out of the countrie. But the punishment of God fell so vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their freends with them, as Robert de Estoutuille, William de Crispine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as prisoners. ¶ Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloodshed, for he lost not a man: as for his aduersaries, there died in the field not past three score persons.

Wil. Mal.

This séemeth also to agree with that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth: for he saith, that king Henrie with small adoo brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troope of men came against him then lodging néere the said castell of Tenerchbray. The

Robert de Belesme.

earle of Mortaigne was also taken, but the earle of Shrewsburie escaped by flight, notwithstanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practise some priuie conspiracie against the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the same Wil. Malme. affirmeth) vpon a

The 27. of September chro. de Nor.

saturdaie, being the daie of S. Michaell, In gloria, and (as may be thought) by the prouident iudgment of God, to the end that Normandie should be subdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares passed, king William the Conquerour first set foot on land at Hastings, when he came out of Normandie to subdue England. Neither dooth

Simon Dun.

Simon Dunelmensis varie in anie thing from Gemeticensis touching the conclusion of this businesse, and the taking of duke Robert.

Matth. West. 1107.

These wars being thus finished, and the countrie set in quiet, which through the méere folie of duke Robert was woonderfullie impouerished, the king receiued the keies of all

Anselme returneth home.

the townes and castels that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Mortaigne, and furnished the same with garisons to be kept for his behoofe. Hauing thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouin, where archbishop Anselme then remained, whome by mediation of freends he receiued to fauour againe, and sending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himselfe.

Duke Robert prisoner in the castell of Cardiff. *Gemeticensis.* *Polyd.*

Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortlie committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the space of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warrior, & comparable with the best capiteines that then liued, had he béene somwhat more warie and circumspect in his affaires, and therewithall constant in his opinion. His worthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie atchiued against the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and sundrie writers to his high commendation and long lasting praise. It is said also, that he was after his taking once

set

set at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forsweare the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auoid within the space of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But bicause he was perceiued to practise somewhat against the king, he was eftsoones taken againe, and hauing his eies put out, committed to prison, where finallie worne through age and greefe of mind, he ended his miserable life. ¶ The forme of banishing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confessor, and remained as a law in vse till these our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to escape the punishment of death due for their offenses. By a latter custome it was also deuised, that they should beare a crosse in their hand, as a signe that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place sake where they sought for succour.

But duke Robert (as it should appeere by that which others write) found no such fauour, saue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forests, parks, and chases néere the place where he was appointed to remaine; so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horsse, and with all post hast rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped: howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue and crie, and at length ouertooke him in a medow, where he had laid his horsse vp to the beilie in a quauemire. Then being brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison, aduertising the king of his demeanour: wherevpon he commanded that the sight of his eies should be put out, but so, as the balles of them should remaine unbroken, for the auoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glassie tunicles should take hurt. *Matth. West.*

In his returne out of the holie land, he maried one Sibell, the earle of Conuersans sister in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Geffrey (as some bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyshard duke of Puglia, and by hir had issue one sonne named William afterward earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter. *Iohn Pike.*

Here must I leaue duke Robert, and speake somwhat of Anselme the archbishop, who shortlie after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Paschall, wherein Anselme was authorised to dispose and order things as should séeme to him most expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the English clergie consisted of préests sonnes, he committed to his discretion the order to dispense with them; namelie, that such as were of commendable life and sufficient learning, might be admitted to the ministerie, as the necessitie of time and state of the church should require. The pope also by the same letters gaue Anselme authoritie to absolue Richard the prior of Elie, vpon his satisfaction pretermitted, and to restore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Elie, if the king thought it conuenient. Richard prior of Elie.

About the calends of August, in this yeare 1107. the king held a councell of bishops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his pallace at London, where in the absence of Anselme, the matter touching the inuestitures of churches, was argued vpon for the space of thrée daies togither, and in the end bicause the pope had granted the homages of bishops and other prelats to the king, which his predecessor Urban had forbidden, togither with the inuestitures; the king was contented to consent to the popes will in forbearing the same. So that when Anselme was come, the king in presence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thenceforth no bishop nor abbat should be inuested within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other side it was granted againe by Anselme, that no person elected into the prelacie, should be depriued of his consecration for dooing his homage to the king. 1107.

These things thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inuestiture of staffe or ring. About this time, Anselme consecrated fiue bishops at Canturburie in one day, archbishop

William to the sée of Winchester, Roger that was the kings chancellor to Salisburie, William Warlewast to Excester, Remaline the quéenes chancellor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamorgan in Wales.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an exundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beséeching the king to haue some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the riuer of Twéed: but within foure yeres after, they were remooued into a corner by the sea side in Wales, called Penbrokeshire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the vnquiet Welshmen.

Flemings cõming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

Wil. Malms. ¶ It should appeare by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came ouer about that time by reason their countrie was ouerflowne with the sea (as ye haue heard) but of other also that arriued here long before, euen in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the freendship of the quéene their countriewoman, sithens which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them: wherevpon king Henrie deuised to place them in Penbrokeshire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercenesse of the Welshmen. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe: for after they were setled there, they valiantlie resisted their enimies, and made verie sharpe warres vpon them, sometimes with gaine, and sometimes with losse.

1108. In the yeare 1108. Anselme held an other synod or councell, whereat in presence of the king, and by the assent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

A councell. *Sim. Dunel. Eadmerus.*

1 That préests, deacons, and subdeacons should liue chastlie, and kéepe no women in their houses, except such as were neere of kin to them.

An. Reg. 9. Préests are sequestred frõ their wiues.

2 That such preests, deacons, and subdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the councell holden at London, had either kept their wiues, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus saith, there was no small number) they should put them quite away, if they would continue still in their préesthood.

3 That neither the same wiues should come to their houses, nor they to the houses where their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to say to them, they should take two or thrée witnesses, and talke with them abroad in the street.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accused of breaking this ordinance, he should be driuen to purge himselfe with six sufficient witnesses of his owne order, if he were a préest: if a deacon, with foure: and if a subdeacon, with two.

5 That such preests as would forgo seruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wiues) should be depriued of their benefices, and not suffered to come within the quire.

6 That such as contemptuouslie kept still their wiues, and presumed to say masse, if being called to satisfaction, they should neglect it, they should then be excommunicated. Within compasse of which sentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were comprised, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie, and also the punishment by the censures of the church, if they transgressed the ordinance.

Archdeacons and canons.

Archdeacons to be sworne.

7 That euerie archdeacon should be sworne, not to take any monie for fauouring any person transgressing these statutes: and that they should not suffer any preests, whome they knew to haue wiues, either to say masse, or to haue any vicars. The like oth should a deane receiue. Prouided that such archdeacons or deanes as refused this oth, should be depriued of their roomes.

8 That préests, who leauing their wiues, would be content to serue God & the altar, should be suspended from that office, by the space of fortie daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to serue for them: and after, vpon performance of their inioined penance by the bishop, they might return to their function.

Penance.

In

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertised of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his sonne Lewes, surnamed Crassus might happilie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, sailed ouer into Normandie, to see the countrie in good order, and the townes, castels, and fortresses furnished accordinglie as the doubtfull time required. Now after he had finished his businesse on that side, he returned into England, where he met with ambassadours sent to him from the emperour Henrie. The effect of whose message was, to require his daughter Maud in mariage vnto the said emperour, wherevnto (though she was not then past fiue yeares of age) he willinglie consented, and shewing to the ambassadours great signes of loue, he caused the espousals by waie of procuration to be solemnized with great feasts and triumphs. This being ended, he suffered the ambassadors honored with great gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

Polydor. Philip king of Fran. dead. Lewis le gros K. of France. Ambassadors from the emperor. Maud the kings daughter fianced vnto the emperour.

About this time Gerard archbishop of Yorke died, whom one Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded, who for lacke of monie to furnish his iournie, and for other causes (as in his letters of excuse, which he wrot to Anselme it dooth appeere) could not come to Canturburie for to be consecrated of him in so short a time as was conuenient. But Anselme at length admonished him by letters, that without delaie he should dispatch and come to be consecrated. And wheras Anselme vnderstood that the same Thomas was purposed to send vnto Rome for his pall, he doubted, least if the pope should confirme him in his see by sending to him his pall, he would happilie refuse to make vnto him profession of his due obedience. Wherefore to preuent that matter, Anselme wrote to pope Paschall, requiring him in no wise to send vnto the nominated archbishop of Yorke his pall, till he had according to the ancient customes) made profession to him of subiection, least some troublesome contentions might thereof arise, to the no small disquieting of the English church. He also aduertised pope Paschall, that bicause he permitted the emperour to inuest bishops, and did not therefore excommunicate him, king Henrie threatened, that without doubt he would resume the inuestitures into his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well as he; and therefore besought him to consider what his wisedome had to doo therein with spéed, least that building which he had well erected, should vtterlie decaie, & fall againe into irrecouerable ruine. For K. Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (saith he) what order you take with the emperour.

Eadmerus. The death of Gerard archbish. of Yorke. Thomas the kings chapleine succéeded in that sée. The doubt of Anselme. Anselme writeth to the Pope.

The pope receiuing and perusing these letters, wrote againe vnto Anselme a verie freendlie answer concerning the archbishop of Yorke. And as for suffering of the emperour to haue the inuestitures, he signified to him that he neither did nor would suffer him to haue them: but that hauing borne with him for a time, he now ment verie shortlie to cause him to feele the weight of the spirituall sword of S. Peter, which alreadie he had drawen out of the scaberd, therewith to strike if he did not the sooner forsake his horrible errour & naughtie opinion.

The popes answer to Anselme.

There was another cause also that moued Anselme to doubt of the archbishop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appéered. For being summoned to come and receiue his consecration at Canturburie (as alreadie yee haue heard) through counsell of the canons of Yorke he refused so to doo: bicause they informed him that if he so did, it should be greatlie preiudiciall to the liberties of that sée, whose archbishop was of like authoritie in all things vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, so that he was bound onelie to fetch his consecration and benediction at Canturburie, but in no wise to acknowledge anie subiection vnto that sée. ¶ For ye must vnderstand, that there was great stomaching betwixt the clergie of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Yorke, about the metropolitane prerogatiue: and euer as occasion serued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels, they of Yorke sticked not to vtter their gréefes, in that (as they tooke it) some iniurie was offered them therein.

The archbishop of Yorke refuseth to come vnto Canturburie to be consecrated.

Looke in the 15. pa. of the debate betweene Thomas of York & Lanfranke of Canturburie.

1109.

The archbishop of Yorke being thus instructed by the canons of his church, signified to archbishop Anselme the cause why he came not at his summons. The copie of a parcell whereof is here exemplified. "Causam, qua differtur sacratio mea, quam nemo studiosius

quàm ego vellet accellerare, qui protulerunt, non desiſtunt corroborare. Quamobrem, quàm periculosum & quàm turpe sit, contra consensum ecclesiæ, cui præfici debeo, regimen ipsius inuadere, vestra discretio nouerit. Sed & quàm formidabile & quàm sit euitandum, sub specie benedictionis maledictionem induere," &c: that is;

"The cause why my consecration is deferred, which no man liuing would wish to be doone with more speed than I my selfe: those that haue prolonged it, ceasse not to confirme. Wherefore how dangerous and how dishonest it should be for me to inuade the gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule, without cõsent of the same, your discretion rightwell vnderstandeth. Yea and how dreadful a thing it is, and how much to be auoided to receiue a cursse, vnder colour of a blessing," etc.

Anselme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the said Thomas archbishop of Yorke about this matter, and now receiuing this answer, could not be quiet in mind, and therevpon taking aduice with certeine bishops whom he called vnto him, determined to send two bishops vnto the said Thomas of Yorke: and so the bishop of London (as deane to the archbishop of Canturburie) & the bishop of Rochester (as his household chapleine) were sent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effect of their message: but he deferred his answer, till a messenger which he had sent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was returned, and so without any full answer the bishops came backe againe.

The bishop of London deane to the archbishop of Canturburie.
The bishop of Rochester his chapleine.

Howbeit shortlie after, there came to Canturburie a messenger on the behalfe of the archbishop of Yorke, with letters inclosed vnder the kings seale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded Anselme, that the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke might staie till the feast of Easter; and if he might returne into England by that daie, he promised (by the aduice had therein of the bishops and barons of his realme) that he would set a direction betwixt them in all matters, whereof anie controuersie had beene moued heretofore: or if he could not returne so soone, he would yet take such order, that brotherlie loue & concord might remaine betwixt them. When he that brought these letters required an answer, Anselme answered, that he would signifie his mind to the king, and not to his maister. Immediatlie therefore was the deane of Chichester sent ouer from Anselme, with a moonke of Bechellouin to the king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beséech his maiestie, by his authority to prouide, that no discord should rise to the diuiding of the present state of the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he had commanded him to grant vnto Thomas the archbishop of Yorke, a time of respit; he should take for certeine answer, that he would rather suffer himselfe to be cut in peeces, than to grant so much as one hours space on the said Thomas of Yorke, whom he knew alreadie to haue set himselfe vniustlie against the ancient constitutions of holie fathers, and against the Lord himselfe. The messengers declared these things to the king, and brought word backe againe at their returne, that the king had heard their message with fauourable mind, and promised by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted vnitie, and not any diuision in the church of England.

A stout prelat.

Anselme sendeth to the king.

Anselme sick.

All this while Anselme was detained with long and grieuous sicknesse, and yet not forgetfull of the obstinate dealing of Thomas of Yorke, he wrote letters vnto him, by vertue whereof he suspended him from exercising all pastorall function, till he had reformed his errour, submitted himselfe to receiue his blessing, and acknowledged his subiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predecessours Thomas and Gerard had doone, and before them other ancients, as custome had prescribed. Thus he charged him, vpon paine of cursing, except he would renounce his archbishops dignitie: for in so dooing he did grant him licence to vse the office and ministerie of a préest (which before time he had taken vpon him) or else not.

In the same letters he prohibited all the bishops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wise they should consecrate him, vpon paine of cursing: and if he should chance to be consecrated by any stranger, that in no wise they should (vnder the like

like paine) receiue him for archbishop, or communicate with him in any condition. Euerie bishop also within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of these leters directed to him from Anselme vnder his seale, commanding them to behaue themselues therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the subiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March. Letters from Anselme.

Notwithstanding all this, vpon the 21. of Aprill insuing, Anselme ended his life in the sixtéenth yéere after his first preferment to that sée, being thréescore and sixtéene yeeres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, néere to the Alpes, in a citie called Aosta, he was brought vp by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbishop, was abbat of the monasterie of Bechellouin in Normandie. 1109. An. Reg. 10. Augusta Prætoriana.

About the same time was the bishops sée of Elie erected by the king, who appointed one Haruie to be the first bishop there, who before had béene bishop of Bangor. Cambridgeshire was annexed to that see, which bicause it had of former time belonged to the see of Lincolne, the king gaue vnto the bishop of Lincolne (as it were in recompense) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elie, named Richard, desirous to honour himselfe and his house with the title of a bishops dignitie, procured the erection of that bishoprike, first mooning the king therein, and after persuading with the bishop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet yer the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and so the said Haruie enioied the roome: wherein the prouerbe tooke place, that One soweth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to procéed. *Matth. West.* The first erection of the bishoprike of Elie. *Eadmerus.* Richard prior of Elie. *Polydor.*

Shortlie after the deceasse of Anselme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbishop of Yorke. Howbeit now that Anselme was dead, the said Legat wist not what to doo in the matter, bicause he was appointed to deliuer the pall first and immediatlie vnto Anselme, and further therein to deale (concerning the bestowing thereof) as should séeme good vnto him. *Eadmerus.* A legate from Rome.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the solemnitie of that feast, he called an assemblie of the bishops, to vnderstand what was to be doone in the matter, for the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke. Here were the letters shewed which the archbishop Anselme had (a little before his death) directed vnto euerie of the bishops as before yee haue heard. Which when the earle of Mellent had read, and vnderstood the effect, he asked what he was that durst receiue any such letters without the kings assent and commandement: At length the bishops aduising themselues what they had to doo, required Samson bishop of Worcester to declare his opinion, who boldlie spake these words; "Although this man, who is elected archbishop, is my sonne, whome in times past I begot of my wife, and therfore ought to seeke his aduancement as nature and worldlie respects might mooue me: yet am I more bound vnto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honor that I doo beare, and by the ministerie of a bishoplike office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deserued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it should be notified vnto you all, that I meane to obeie in euerie condition the commandement conteined in the letters of our father Anselme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine assent, that Thomas nominated archbishop of Yorke shall be consecrated, till he haue professed his due and canonicall obedience touching his subiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my selfe was present when my brother Thomas archbishop of Yorke, constreined both by ancient customes and inuincible reasons, did professe the like subiection vnto archbishop Lanfranke, and all his successours the archbishops of Canturburie." The earle of Mellent. Samson bishop of Worcester. Looke in pa. 15, where you shall sée this matter determined.

These words thus vttered by the bishop of Worcester, all the bishops returned togither, and comming before the kings presence, boldlie confessed that they had receiued Anselmes letters, and would not doo any thing contrarie to the tenour of the same. Whereat the earle of Mellent shooke the head, as though he ment to accuse them of contempt towards The protestation of the bishops to the king.

wards the king. But the king himselfe vttered his mind, and said, that whatsoeuer other men thought of the matter, he suerlie was of the like mind with the bishops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anselms cursse. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Yorke should either acknowledge his subiection to the church of Canturburie, or else forgo his dignitie of archbishop: wherevpon in the end he came to London, and there vpon the 28. daie of Maie was consecrated by Richard bishop of London, as deane to the sée of Canturburie. Then hauing the profession or protestation of his subiection to the sée of Canturburie deliuered him vnder seale, he brake vp the same, and read the writing in maner and forme following:

The tenour of the profession which the archbishop of Yorke made vnto the archbishop of Canturburie.

"Ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ consecrandus metropolitanus, profiteor subiectionem & canonicam obedientiam sanctæ Doroberneusi ecclesiæ, & eiusdem ecclesiæ primati canonicè electo & consecrato, & successoribus suis canonicè inthronizatis, salua fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & salua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas antecessor meus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ex parte sua professus est:" that is;

"I Thomas to be consecrated metropolitane archbishop of Yorke, professe my subiection and canonicall obedience vnto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the same church, canonicallie elected and consecrated, and to his successours canonicallie inthronized, sauing the faith which I owe vnto my souereigne lord Henrie king of the English, and sauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predecessour professed on his behalfe vnto the holie church of Rome."

When this writing was read, the bishop of London tooke it, and deliuered it vnto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to kéepe the same as a testimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbishop of Yorke consecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that sée, who when he was consecrated, the popes Legate went vnto Yorke, and there deliuered to the same archbishop the pall, wherewith when he was inuested, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

1110.

At the feast of Christmasse next insuing, the king held his court at London with great solemnitie. The archbishop of Yorke prepared to haue set the crown on the king's head, and to haue soong masse afore him, bicause the archbishops see at Canturburie was void. But the bishop of London would not suffer it, claiming as high deane to the sée of Canturburie to execute that office, and so did, leading the king to the church after the maner. Howbeit when they should come to sit downe at dinner, there kindled a strife betwixt the said two bishops about their places, bicause the bishop of London, for that he had beene ordeined long before the archbishop, and therefore not onelie as deane to the see of Canturburie, but also by reason of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper seat. But the king perceiuing their maner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his house, and get them to dinner at their innes.

Strife betwixt bishops.

An. Reg. 11. Prests prohibited to marrie or kéepe women.

About the same time the cause of the mariage of préests and their keeping of women came againe into question, so that by the kings commandement, they were more streightlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anselmes time. For after his deceasse, diuerse of them (as it were promising to themselues a new libertie to doo that which in his life time they were constreined sore against their willes to forbeare) deceiued themselues by their hastie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the ecclesiasticall lawes compelled them to stand to and obeie the decree of the councell holden at London by Anselme (as before ye haue heard) at least wise in the sight of men. But if so it be (saieth Eadmerus) that the préests attempt to doo worsse, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anselmes dooings, let the charge light on their heads, sith euerie man shall beare his owne burthen: for I know (saith he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their one cousins (I will not say their owne sisters and daughters) shall not suerlie escape his iudgement.

About

About the same time manie woonders were seene and heard of. The riuer of Trent néere to Notingham, for the space of a mile ceassed to run the woonted course during the time of foure & twentie houres, so that the chanell being dried vp, men might passe ouer to and fro drie shod. The riuer of Trent dried vp.

Also a sow brought foorth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreouer a comet or blasing star appéered in a strange sort: for rising in the east, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the course forward, but seemed to go backeward, as if it had bin retrograde. Monsters. A comet. *Hil. Thorne. Matth. West.*

About this season the king maried Robert his base sonne to the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his said sonne earle of Glocester, who afterwards builded the castels of Bristow and Cardiff, with the priorie of S. James in Bristow, where his bodie was buried. *John Stow.* Robert the kings base son created earle of Glocester.

In the yeare following, Foulke earle of Aniou, enuieng the prosperous estate of king Henrie, and lamenting the case of duke Robert, wan the citie of Constances, by corrupting certeine of the kings subiects the inhabitants of the same. Whereof king Henrie being aduertised, passed ouer into Normandie, recouered the said citie, punished the offendors, reuenged himselfe of the earle, and returned into England. 1111. An. Reg. 12. *Fabian.* The citie of Constances taken.

Now, as also before, the king continued his inordinate desire of inriching himselfe, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *Sacra* of the poets *Per antiphrasin*) he pinched manie so sore, that they ceased not to speake verie ill of his doings. He did also incurre the misliking of verie manie people, bicause he kept still the sée of Canturburie in his hands, and would not bestow it, for that he found sweetnesse in receiuing all the profits and reuenues belonging therevnto, during the time that it remained vacant. which was the space of foure yeares, or thereabouts. In like maner, when he was admonished to place some méet man in the roome, he would saie, that he was willing to bestow it, but he tooke the longer time, for that he meant to find such a one to prefer therto as should not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anselme in doctrine. vertue and wisedome. And sith there was none such yet to be found, he suffered that sée to be void till such could be prouided. This excuse he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit not long after, he translated one Richard bishop of London to that archbishoprike, who enioieng it but a while, he gaue the same to one Rafe then bishop of Rochester, and made him archbishop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that see. He was elected at Windsor the 26. of April, and on the 16. daie of Maie installed at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feast which was holden at the same. Soone after likewise he sent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Paschall by one Anselme nephue vnto the late archbishop Anselme. About this time also the pope found himselfe gréeued, for that his authoritie was but little estéemed in England, & for that no persons were permitted to appeale to Rome in cases of controuersie, and for that (without seeking to obteine his licence and consent) they did kéepe their synods & councels about ecclesiasticall affaires, neither would obeie such Legats as he did send, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In so much that one Como the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the préests of Normandie, bicause they would not come to a synod which they had summoned. Wherevpon the king being somewhat troubled, by aduice of his councell, sent the bishop of Excester to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter. 1112. The archbishops sée of Canturburie in the kings hand foure yeares. 1113. An. Reg. 13. The kings excuse. 1114. An. Reg. 14. *Eadmerus.* The popes authoritie not regarded in England. The bishop of Excester sent to Rome.

Not long after this Thomas the archbishop of Yorke died: after whom succeeded Thurstane, a man of a loftie stomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie first began to contend with Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primasie. And though the king aduised him to stand to the order which the late archbishops of Yorke had obserued, yet he would not staie the matter, sith Thurstane archbishop of Yorke.

sith he saw that archbishop Rafe being sicke and diseased, could not attend to preuent his dooings. Thurstane therfore consecrated certeine bishops of Scotland, and first of all Giles Aldane the elect bishop of S. Ninian, who promised and tooke his oth (as the manner is) to obeie him in all things as his primate.

Giles Aldane bishop of S. Ninian.

Floriacensis. Wigorniensis. Worcester burnt. *Polydor.* The Welshmen inuade the english marshes. K. Henrie entreth into Wales with an armie.

The citie of Worcester about this season was by a casuall fire almost wholie burnt vp and consumed. Which mishap, bicause that citie ioineth néere vnto Wales, was thought to be a signification of troubles to folow by the insurrection of the Welshmen: who conceiuing hope of good speed by their good successe in the wars held with William Rufus, began now to inuade & waste the English marshes. Wherupon king Henrie desirous to tame their hautie stomachs (bicause it was a gréefe to him still to be vexed with such tumults and vprisings as they dailie procured) assembled a mightie armie, and went into Wales. Now bicause he knew the Welshmen trusted more to the woods and mountains, than to their owne strength, he beset all the places of their refuge with armed men, and sent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waste, & to hunt the Welsh out of their holes. The soldiours (for their parts) néeded no exhortation: for remembring the losses susteined afore time at the Welshmens hands, they shewed well by their fresh pursute, how much they desired to be reuenged, so that the Welsh were slaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceiued the huge slaughter, & saw that hauing throwne away their armour and weapons, they sought to saue themselues by flight, he commanded the souldiours to ceasse from killing, and to take the residue that were left prisoners, if they would yéeld themselues: which they did, and besought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgiue them.

Garisons placed in Wales by K. Henrie. *Floriacensis. Wigorniensis.*

The king thus hauing vanquished and ouercome the Welshmen, placed garisons in sundrie townes & castels, where he thought most necessarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Thither shortlie after came ambassadours from the emperour, requiring the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and being now viripotent or mariable) desired that she might be deliuered vnto them. King Henrie hauing heard their sute and willing with spéed to performe the same, raised a great tax among his subiects, rated after euerie hide of land which they held, & taking of ech one three shillings towards the paiment of the monie which was couenanted to be giuen with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be emploied in sending hir foorth, he appointed certeine of his greatest péeres to safe conduct hir vnto hir husband, who with all conuenient speed conueied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable maner there deliuered hir vnto the foresaid emperour. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his sonne William duke of that countrie, causing the people to sweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof rose a custome, that the kings of England from thencefoorth (so long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euer their eldest sonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had doone this with other his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England.

A subsidie raised by the king to bestowe with his daughter. *Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114. In this yeare about the fiftéenth daie of October, the sea so decreased and shranke from the old accustomed water-markes and coasts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue passed on foot ouer the sands and washes, for the space of a whole daie togither, so that it was taken for a great woonder. It was also noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the sea vsed to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became so shallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namlie the riuer of Thames was so lowe for the space of a day and a night, that horsses, men, and children passed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and also vnder the bridge, the water not reaching aboue their knées. Moreouer, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like maner, the Winter was verie extreame cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking

The sea decreaseth. Woonders. *Will. Thorne. Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Matth. Westm.*

1115.

An. Reg. 16.

breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

Not long after this, Griffin ap Rees tooke a great preie and bootie out of the countries subiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings castels, bicause he would not restore such lands and possessions vnto him as apperteined to his father Rées or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithstanding this businesse) being not otherwise troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voiage into those quarters, and first called a councell of his lords both spirituall and temporall at Salisburie on the nintéenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet state of the land. And first he sware the Nobilitie of the realme, that they should be true to him and his sonne William after his deceasse. Secondlie, he appeased sundrie matters then in controuersie betwixt the Nobles and great Péers, causing the same to be brought to an end, and the parties made freends: the diuision betwixt the archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in triall, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Thurstane would not stand to any decrée or order therin, except he might haue had his whole will, so that the king taking displeasure with him for his obstinate demeanor, commanded him either to be conformable to the decrée made in Lanfranks time, or else to renounce his miter, which to doo (rather than to acknowledge any subiection to the archbishop of Canturburie) he séemed to be verie willing at the first, but afterwards repented him of his speech passed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, trusting by some meanes to persuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be consecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the sée of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter rested long in sute, as heereafter shall appeare.

1116.

An. Reg. 17. Griffin ap Rice dooth much hurt on the marshes. *Polydor.*

Thurstane refuseth to obey the kings pleasure. *Eadmerus.*

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor saith) how the bishops in those daies were blinded with couetousnesse and ambition, not considering that it was their duties to despise such worldlie pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a studious endeuour for the health of such soules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembred they the simplicitie of Christ, and his contempt of worldlie dignitie, when he refused to satisfie the humor of the people, who verie desirouslie would haue made him a king, but withdrew himselfe, and departed to a mountaine himselfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apostles, contending one with another for the primasie, forgetting the vocation whereto Christ had separated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles; but to submit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Christ their maister an example and president.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England vsed but seldome to call togither the states of the realme after any certeine maner or generall kind of processe, to haue their consents in matters to be decreed. But as the lords of the priuie councell in our time doo sit onlie when necessitie requireth, so did they whensoeuer it pleased the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the first vse of the parlement to haue proceeded, which sith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, insomuch that whatsoeuer is to be decreed touching the state of the commonwealth and conseruation thereof, is now referred to that councell. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other person to be vsed for the wealth of the realme, it shall not yet be receiued as law, till by authoritie of this assemblie it be established.

The first vse of parlements in England.

Now bicause the house should not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned cõmoners, whose propertie is to vnderstand little reason, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings: there was a certeine order taken, what maner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sort of temporall men should be called vnto the same, and how they

should be chosen by voices of free holders, that being as atturnies for their countries, that which they confessed or denied, should bind the residue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This counsell is called a parlement, by the French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publike assemblies.

The maner of the parlement in England.

The maner of their consulting heere in England in their said assemblies of parlement is on this wise. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commoditie both of the prince and of the people, that euerie man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are appointed to sit in seuerall chambers, the king, the bishops, and lords of the realme sit in one chamber to conferre togither by themselues; and the commoners called knights for the shires, citizens of cities, and burgesses of good townes in another. These choose some wise, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or speaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth those things vnto them that are to be talked of, and asketh euerie mans opinion concerning the conclusion thereof. In like sort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower house in respect of their estate) he declareth it againe to the lords that sit in the other chamber called the higher house, demanding likewise their iudgments touching the same. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the consent of the more part of both those houses. Now when they haue said their minds, and yeelded their confirmation therevnto, the finall ratification is referred to the prince; so that if he thinke good that it shall passe for a law, he confirmeth also by the mouth of the lord Chancelor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the custome of that house.

The same order is vsed also by the bishops and spiritualtie in their conuocation houses. For the bishops sit in one place by themselues as in the higher house, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the spiritualtie in an other, as in the lower house, whose prolocutor declareth to the bishops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbishop (by consent of the more part of them that are assembled in both those conuocation houses) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithstanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houses.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in such decrees (established by authoritie of the prince, the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus assembled in parlement) consisteth the whole force of our English lawes. Which decrees are called statutes, meaning by that name, that the same should stand firme and stable, and not be repealed without the consent of an other parlement, and that vpon good and great consideration.

About this season, one Owin (whome some name prince of Wales) was slaine, as *Simon Dun.* Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whom, or in what sort, he sheweth not. In this eightéenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All hallowes daie, or first of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and such a storme of haile fell, that the people were maruellouslie amazed therwith. Also on the thirtéenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the moone was turned into a bloodie colour: which strange accidents fell about the middest of the night. At the same time quéene Maud, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other dooings.

It chanced vpon a small occasion, that verie sore and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewes surnamed the grosse king of France: the beginning whereof grew herevpon. Theobald earle of Champaigne, descended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reason of affinitie that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adila the sister of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foresaid Theobald had by chance offended the said Lewes, who in reuenge made sharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be sent from his frèends in the meane time valiantlie resisted him, and at length (by reason of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in such sort vexed and annoied the French

Theobald erle of Champaigne. *Polydor.*

Hen. Hunt.

French king, that he consulted with Baldwine earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Anion, by what means he might best depriue king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and restore the same vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he said it did belong. Foulke earle of Anion.

Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpose, endeauoured on the other side to resist his attempts, and after he had leuied a sore tribute of his subiects, passed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no small masse of monie, where ioining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purposing to follow the same euen to the vttermost. K. Lewes in the meane time, supposing that all hope of victorie rested in spéedie dispatch of present affaires, determined likewise to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the sudden. But after he perceiued that his enimies were all in a redinesse, and verie well prouided to resist him: he staied and drew backe a little while. Neuerthelesse in the end he became so desirous to be dooing with king Henrie, that approching néere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie skirmishes with the English, yet no notable exploit passed betwixt them in that yeare. King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie to assist the erle of Champaigne. The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

¶ Here will I leaue the kings of England and France skirmishing and encountring one another, and shew something more of the contention that was betwéene the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, to the end that their ambitious desire of worldlie honor may in some respect appéere.

About this verie time, Anselme the nephue to archbishop Anselme came againe from Rome, with frée authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which seemed a thing right strange to the English clergie. Wherefore the bishop of Canturburie, to preuent other inconueniences likelie to insue, tooke vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderstand the popes pleasure concerning the truth and certeintie of this matter, and to require him in no wise to diminish the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogatiue of his sée of Canturburie, which hitherto vsed to determine all causes rising in his prouince. 1117. An. Reg. 18. Anselme the popes Legat. The bishop of Canturburie goth to Rome.

This said archbishop came to Rome, but finding not the pope there, he sent messengers with letters vnto him, then lieng sicke at Beneuento, and obteined a fauourable answer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his setting foorth forward) certifieng him how he had sped in this voiage. The forsaid Anselme was also staid by the king at Roan, and could not be suffered to passe ouer into England all that time, till it might be vnderstood by the returne of the archbishop, what the popes pleasure should be further in that matter. Shortlie after whose repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Paschall was departed this life, and that Gelasius the second was elected in his place. This Gelasius (to auoid the dangers that might insue to him by reason of the schisme and controuersie betwixt the sée of Rome, and the emperour Henrie the fift) came into France, where he liued not long, but died in the abbeie of Clugnie, after whose decease Calixtus the second was called to the papasie. Pope Gelasius succéeded pope Paschall. 1118. An. Reg. 19. Calixtus the second of that name pope.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatship of Anselme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation of time, not onelie to call and celebrate synods for reformation of disorders in the church, but also for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuied in England (in the which point pope Paschall in his life time thought them in England verie slacke) as by the same bulles more largelie dooth appéere. The archbishop of Canturburie had alreadie staied foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the sées, about the matter in controuersie betwixt him and Thurstane archbishop of Yorke, who was likewise gone ouer to solicit his cause. But where as at the first he could not find the king in anie wise agréeable to his mind, yet when the councell should be holden at Rhemes by pope Calixt, he sued at the leastwise for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant so to doo, till he had promised (vpon his allegiance which

which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be prejudiciall to the church of Canturburie in anie maner of wise. Neuerthelesse, at his comming thither, he so wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing easilie doone in Rome) fauoured his cause; yea, such was his successe, that the pope consecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuersie depending betwixt Thurstane and Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wise either to consecrate Thurstane himselfe, or grant licence to anie other person to consecrate him; for if he did, surelie (for his part) he would banish him quite out of his dominion, which should not be long vndoone. But now to the purpose.

1119. In this meane time, the warres were busilie pursued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betweene them, with great slaughter on both sides for the space of nine houres. The forewards on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie receiued sundrie stripes on his head at the hands of one William Crispine countie de Eureux, so as (though his helmet were verie strong and sure) the bloud burst out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more lustilie about him, and stroke downe diuerse of his enimies, namelie the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the kings feet. Now were the kings people incouraged at the valiancie and prowesse of their king and chieftaine, so that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and setting vpon the rereward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the vttermost. There died and were taken prisoners in this conflict manie thousands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England recouering a towne by the waie called Nicasium, which the French king had latelie woone, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchiued.

An. Reg. 20. The two kings of England & France ioine battell.

King Henrie hurt in the battell.

The earle of Eureux taken prisoner.

Andelei.

Nicasium.

The earle of Flanders (as some write) was so wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that cõming into Normandie in the yeare last past, to make warre against king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he wan the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name Aquæ Nicasij. But as he was come before the towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and assailed the same, he receiued his deaths wound in the head, wherevpon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Rosilare the 17. daie of June.

Matth. Paris. Ia. Meir.

The earle of Flanders wounded: He departed this life.

Shortlie after Foulke earle of Aniou (who before had aided the French king against king Henrie) became now king Henries freend by aliance, marieng his daughter to William king Henries eldest sonne. But the French king (as their histories make mention) minding still to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, inuaded his countrie againe with a puissant armie, and had destroied the citie of Chartres, which belonged vnto the same earle, had not the citizens humbled themselues to his mercie: and so likewise did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperour Henrie, the erle aided the French king against the same emperour to the vttermost of his power. Soone after this, the king came to an enteruiew with pope Calixtus at Gisors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongst other, the king required of the pope a grant of all such liberties as his father enioied within the limits of England and Normandie, and chéefelie that no legat should haue any thing to doo within England, except he required to haue one sent him for some vrgent cause.

Foulke earle of Aniou became the king of Englands man.

The king and the pope come to an enteruew at Gisors.

All which matters being determined (as the state of the time present required) the pope besought the king to be good vnto archbishop Thurstane, and to restore him to his sée: but the king protested that he had vowed neuer so to doo whilest he liued. Wherevnto the pope answered, that he was pope, and by his apostolike power he would discharge him of that vow, if he would satisfie his request. The king to shift the matter off, promised

The pope is a suiter for Thurstane.

The pope offereth to discharge the K. of his vow.

promised the pope that he would take aduice of his councell, and giue him further knowledge, as the cause required, wherevpon departing from thense, he did after wards (vpon farther deliberation) send him this message, in effect as followeth. *Eadmerus.* The kings answer sent to the pope.

" Whereas he saith he is pope, and will (as he said) assoile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will restore Thurstane to the sée of Yorke: I thinke it not to stand with the honor of a king, to consent in any wise vnto such an absolution. For who shall beléeue an others promise hereafter, if by mine example he sée the same so easilie by an absolution to be made void. But sith he hath so great a desire to haue Thurstane restored, I shall be contented at his request, to receiue him to his sée, with this condition, that he shall acknowledge his church to be subiect vnto the sée of Canturburie, as his predecessours haue doone before him; although in fine this offer would not serue the turne." *Simon Dun. Eadmerus.*

But now to returne againe to the two princes. Not long after the departure of the pope from Gisors, Foulke earle of Anion found meanes to make an agréement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes, so that king William sonne to king Henrie did homage vnto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betwéene them, that all those that had borne armour either on the one side or the other, should be pardoned, whose subiets soeuer they were. In like maner, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, bicause of the controuersie betwixt him and Thurstan archbishop of Yorke, as is aforesaid. 1120. *Simon Dun. An. Reg.* 21. The kings of England and France are accorded. *Hunt. Malm. Eadmerus.*

Now shortlie after his returne to Canturburie, messengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland vnto him, signifieng, that where the sée of S. Andrews was void, the same king did instantlie require him to send ouer Eadmer a moonke of Canturburie (of whom he had heard great commendation for his sufficiencie of vertue and learning) to be seated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the same which wrote the historie intituled Historia nouorum in Anglia, out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the most part of our matters concerning Anselme and Rafe archbishops of Canturburie, in whose daies he liued, and was Anselmes disciple. Alexander K. of Scots. Eadmer Anselmes disciple.

Archbishop Rafe was contented to satisfie the request of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obteining the consent of king Henrie, he sent the said Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the said king Alexander, who receiued him right ioifullie, and vpon the third daie after his comming thither (being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule) he was elected archbishop of S. Andrews by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the rest of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him secretlie of his consecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him consecrated at the hands of Thurstan archbishop of Yorke. In which case when he was informed by the said Eadmer, that no such thing needed to trouble his mind, since the archbishop of Canturburie, being primate of all Britaine, might consecrate him as reason was; the king could not away with that answer, bicause he would not heare that the church of Canturburie should be preferred before the church of S. Andrews. Herevpon he departed from Eadmer in displeasure, and calling one William (sometime moonke of S. Edmundsbury) vnto him, a man also that had gouerned (or rather spoiled) the church of S. Andrews in the vacation: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleasure, whose meaning was vtterlie to remooue Eadmer, as not worthie of that roome. Howbeit, within a moneth after (to satisfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the said Eadmer, and with much adoo got him to receiue the staffe of that bishoprike, taking it from an altar whereon it laie (as if he shuld haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inuested, & went streight to S. Andrews church, where he was receiued by the quier, the schollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull bishop. Eadmer receiueth his staffe from an altar.

In this meane while Thurstan nothing slacking his sute in the popes court, obteined such fauour (wherein the king of England also was greatlie laboured vnto) that he wrote letters

letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, that neither the king should permit Eadmer to be consecrated, nor the archbishop of Canturburie in any wise consecrate him if he were therevnto required. Herevpon it came to passe, that finally Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceiued that things went not as he would haue wished (for that he could not get the kings consent that he shuld be consecrated of the archbishop of Canturburie, as it was first meant both by the archbishop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cause should moone him. In like maner king Henrie, hauing quieted his businesse in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but such publike reioising lasted not long with him. For indéed, this pleasantnesse and mirth was changed into mourning, by aduertisement giuen of the death of the kings sons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who togither with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Perch, Richard earle of Chester, with his brother Otwell gouernour to duke William, and the said earle of Chester his wife the kings neece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geffrey Riddle, Robert Manduit, William Bigot, and diuerse other, to the number of an hundreth and fourtie persons, besides fiftie mariners, tooke ship at Harflew, thinking to follow the king, and sailing foorth with a south wind, their ship thorough negligence of the mariners (who had drunke out their wits & reason) were throwne vpon a rocke, and vtterlie perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25. of Nouember, so that of all the companie none escaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the mast, was driuen with the same to the shore which was at hand, and so saued from that dangerous shipwracke. Duke William might also haue escaped verie well, if pitie had not mooued him more than the regard of his owne preseruation. For being gotten into the shipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the skréeking of his sister in dredfull danger of drowning, and crieng out for succour; wherevpon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the prease of the companie that stroue to leape in with her, that it streightwaies sanke, so that all those which were alreadie in the boat were cast awaie.

King Henrie returneth into England. *Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Polydor. Matth. Paris.*

The kings sonnes and his daughter with other Nobles are drowned by shipwracke.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the vnaduised speech of William Rufus to the shipmaister, whom he emboldened with a vaine and desperat persuasion in tempestuous weather and high seas to hoise vp sailes; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he sinned presumptuouslie against God, who in due time punished that offense of his in his posteritie and kinred, euen by the same element, whose fearsenes he himselfe séemed so little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the stormes to cease; as we read Christ did in the gospell by the vertue and power of his word. Here is also to be noted the variablenes of fortune (as we commonlie call it) or rather the vncerteine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes dooth raise vp (euen in the the minds of princes) troblesome thoughts, and gréeuous passions, to the great empairing of their quietnesse: as here we sée exemplified in king Henrie, whose mirth was turned into mone, and his pleasures relished with pangs of pensifenes, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midst of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we see the old adage verified, Miscentur tristia lætis; and that saieng of an old poet iustified;

Looke in page 69.

"Sæua nouerca dies nunc est, nunc mater amica."

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. opera & dies.

1121.

But to returne to the historie. King Henrie being thus depriued of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to restore that losse, shortlie after, euen the 10. of Aprill next ensuing, he maried his second wife named Adelicia, a ladie of excellent beautie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Louaine, and descended of the noble dukes of Loraine, howbeit he could neuer haue any issue by hir.

An. Reg. 22. *Eadmerus. Hen. Hunt.* The king mareth againe.

The

The archbishop Thurstan (after the manner of obteining suites in the court of Rome) found such fauour at the hands of pope Calixt, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Rafe archbishop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accursed them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Yorke as Canturburie from the vse of all maner of sacraments; from baptisme of infants, the penance of them that died onelie excepted: if archbishop Thurstan were not suffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of those letters) to inioie his see, without compelling him to make any promise of subiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurstan to returne into the realme, and so repaire vnto Yorke; but with condition, that he should not exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne diocesse as metropolitane, till he had confessed his obstinat errour, and acknowleged his obedience to the church of Canturburie. *Eadmerus.* The pope writeth to king Henrie, in fauour of the archbishop Thurstan, & accurseth him with the archbishop of Canturburie.

Whilest these things were thus a dooing, king Henrie was aduertised, that the Welshmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marshes, & speciallie in Cheshire where they had burned two castells. Meaning therefore to be reuenged on them to the vttermost, he assembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the same into Wales. The Welshmen, hearing that the king was come with such puissance to inuade them, were afraid, and forthwith sent ambassadours, beséeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king mooued with their humble petitions, tooke hostages of them, & remitted them for that time, considering that in mainteining of warre against such maner of people, there was more feare of losse than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his subiects which inhabited néere the marshes, that they shuld not be ouerrun and harried dailie by them (as oftentimes before they had béene) he appointed Warren earle of Shrewesburie to haue the charge of the marshes, that peace might be the better kept and mainteined in the countrie. The Welshmen make sturres. *Eadmerus.* The king raiseth an armie to go against the Welshmen. The Welshmen sue for peace. More doubt of losse than hope of gaine, by the warres against the Welshmen.

Soone after king Henrie caused a chanell to be cast along the countrie in Lincolnshire, from Torksey to the citie of Lincolne, that vessels might haue passage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the same. Moreouer, Rafe bishop of Durham began to build the castell of Norham, vpon the bank of the riuer of Twéed. *Simon Dun.* A chanell cast from Torksey to Lincolne. Norham castell built.

At this time likewise Foulke Earle of Anion being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell against king Henrie, for withholding the iointure of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings sonne that was drowned. He also gaue hir sister in mariage vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, assigning vnto him the earledome of Maine to enioy in the right of his wife. *H. Hunt.*

In the meane time, king Henrie visited the north parts of his realme, to vnderstand the state of the countrie, and to prouide for the suertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requisite. *Polydor.*

In the yeare next ensuing, the twentith of October, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that see the space of 8. yeares, in whose roome succéeded one William archbishop, who was in number the eight and twentith from Augustine. Moreouer, Henrie the sonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Glastenburie, was now made bishop of Winchester, a man for his singular bountie, gentlenesse and modestie greatlie beloued of the English. 1122. 13. Kalends of November. An. Reg. 23.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the sea being now void of a gouernour (as they suppose) by meanes of the death of the kings sonne) began to make commotions. Soone after it came also to passe that Robert earle of Mellent rebelled against the king, who being spéedilie aduertised thereof, sailed foorthwith into those quarters and besieged the castell of Ponteaudemer pertaining to the said earle, and tooke it. About the same time also the king fortified the castell of Roan, causing a mightie thick wall with turrets thereabout as a fortification to be made. Likewise, he repaired the castell of Caen, the castels of Arches, Gisors, Faleise, 1123. An. Reg. 24. Robert earle of Mellent rebelleth. *Hen. Hunt.* The castle of Roan fortified. *Matth. Paris.*

Faleise, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with others, & made them strong. In
1124. the meane season, the earle of Mellent (desirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured
An. Reg. 25. aid where he could, and so with Hugh earle of Mountfert entred into Normandie,
Polydor. Fl. Hunt. Matth. Paris. wasting and destroieng the countrie with fire and sword, thinking yer long to bring the same to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in those parts, named William de Tankeruile, being thereof aduertised, laid an ambush for them, and training them within the danger thereof, set vpon them, and after long fight, tooke them twaine prisoners, with diuers other, and presented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceassed in that countrie for a time.

The king hauing in this maner purchased quietnesse by the sword, gaue himselfe somewhat to the reformation of his house, and among other things which he re-
Long haire re-dressed in the' court. *Matth. West.* dressed, he caused all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire short, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they ware the same long after the vsage of women.

1125. After this also, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Johannes Cremensis was sent
An. Reg. 26. into England from pope Honorius the second, to sée reformation in certeine points
Johannes Cremensis a legat sent into England. touching the church: but his cheefe errand was to correct preests that still kept their wiues with them. At his first comming ouer he soiourned in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeies, addicting himselfe to lucre & wantonnesse, reaping where he had not sowen. At length, about the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inueihed sore against those of the spiritualtie that were spotted with any note of incontinencie. Manie thought themselues touched with his words, who hauing smelled somewhat of his secret tricks, that whereas he was a most licentious liuer, and an vnchast person of bodie and mind, yet he was so blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his own eies, whilest he espied a mote in another mans. Herevpon they grudged, that he should in such wise call other men to accompts for their honest demeanor of life, which could not render any good reckoning of his owne: insomuch that they watched him so narrowlie, that in the euening (after he had blown his horne so lowd against other men; in declaring that it was a shamefull vice to rise from the side of a strumpet, and presume to sacrifice the bodie of Christ) he was taken in bed with a strumpet, to his owne shame and reproch.
But this shuld not séem to be any iust excuse, for *M. P.* saith that the same day he consecrated the Lords bodie, & therefore he must néeds be a préest. But being reproued thereof, he alledged this excuse (as some write) that he was no preest, but a reformer of preests. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that whereabout he was sent.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whilest he remained in Normandie (which was a
1126. long time after the apprehension of the two foresaid earles) vnderstood that his sonne in
An. Reg. 27. lawe Henrie the emperour was departed this life at Utregt, the 23. of Maie last past.
Polydor. Wherevpon he sent for his daughter the empresse to come ouer vnto him into Normandie,
An oth taken by the lords touching the succession of the crowne. and hauing set his businesse in order on that side the sea, and taken hir with him, he returned into England before the feast of S. Michaell, where calling a parlement, he caused hir by the authoritie of the same to be established as his lawfull heire and successor, with an article of intaile vpon hir issue, if it should please God to send hir any at all. At this parlement was Dauid K. of Scotland, who succéeded Alexander the fierce. Stephan earle of Morton and Bullongne, and son of Stephan earle of Blois, nephue to K. Henrie by his sister Adela; these two princes chéefelie tooke their oth amongst other, to obey the foresaid empresse, as touching hir right and lawfull claime to the crowne of England.
Stephan erle of Bullongne the first that offered to receiue the oth. But although Stephan was now the first that was to sweare, he became shortlie after the first that brake that oth for his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it commeth often to passe, that those which receiue the greatest benefits, doo oftentimes soonest forget to be thankefull.

This

This Stephan latelie before by his vncle K. Henries meanes, had purchased & got in marriage the onelie daughter and heire of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and so after the decease of his father in lawe, became earle there: and further, had goodlie possessions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as farther shall appeare) he kept not his oth made with K. Henrie. Some write that there rose no small strife betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Glocester, in contending which of them should first receiue this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings sonne, and the other affirming that he was a kings nephue. *Wil. Malm.*

Shortlie after this parlement was ended, K. Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, where Thurstan archbishop of Yorke (in preiudice of the right of William archbishop of Canturburie) would haue set the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the church: but he was put backe with no small reproch; and his chapleine (whom he appointd to beare his crosse before him at his entrance into the kings chappell) was contemptuouslie and violentlie thrust out of the doores with crosse and all by the frèends of the archbishop of Canturburie. In short time, this vnseemlie contention betwixt Thurstan and William the two archbishops grew so hot that not onelie both of them, but also the bishop of Lincolne went to Rome about the deciding of their strife. 1127. *Matth. Paris.* Strife betwixt the prelates for preheminence.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the successor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouslie murthered of his owne people: & bicause he left no issue behind him to succéed as his heire, Lewes the French king made William the sonne of duke Robert Curthose earle of Flanders, as the next cousine in bloud to the same Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his fathers side, this William was descended from erle Baldwin surnamed Pius, whose daughter Maud being maried vnto William Conqueror, bare by him the aforesaid Robert Curthose, father to this William, now aduanced to the gouernment of Flanders, but he wanted not aduersaries that were competitors and malignant sutors for that earledome, who sought to preferre themselues, and to displace him. *Polydor.* William sonne to Robert Curthose made erle of Flanders.

King Henrie misliking the promotion of the said William, although he was his nephue, for that he supposed he would seeke to reuenge old displeasures if he might compasse to haue the French kings assistance, thought good with the aduice of his councell to withstand the worst. Wherevpon he tooke order for the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the supplie of souldiers, and other things necessarie to be considered of for the suretie of his realme.

After this, bicause he was in dispaire to haue issue by his second wife, about Whitsuntide he sent ouer his daughter Maud the empresse into Normandie, that she might be married vnto Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Aniou, and in August after he followed himselfe. Now the matter went so forward, that the mariage was celebrated betwixt the said earle and empresse vpon the first sundaie in Aprill, which fell vpon the third of the moneth, and in the 27. of his reigne. The empresse Maud maried to the earle of Aniou. *Ger. Dor.*

In the yeare ensuing, king Henrie meaning to cause the French king to withdrawe his helping hand from his nephue William earle of Flanders, passed foorth of Normandie with an armie, and inuading France, remained for the space of eight daies at Hipard, in as good quiet as if he had béene within his owne dominions, and finallie obteined that of the French king which he sought for; namelie, his refusall to aid his nephue the said earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claimed the earldome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as he pursued his enimies vnto the walls of a towne called Alhust, and soone after died of the hurt the 16. of August. An. Reg. 28. *Matth. Paris.* 1128. An. Reg. 29. *Ia. Meir.*

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occasion of this earles death, who meant (if he might haue brought his purpose to passe, and be once quietlie set in the dominion of Flanders) to haue attempted some great enterprise against king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of prison. Which was knowen well inough to king Henrie, who maintained those that made him William earle of Flanders deceaseth of a wound. The fortunat & good hap of K. Henrie.

William de Hypres.

warre at home, both with men and monie; namelie, William of Hypres, who tooke vpon him as regent in the name of Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie procured to make claime to Flanders also, in the title of his grandmother queene Maud, wife to William Conqueror. But to procéed with our historie.

1129. An. Reg. 30. 1130.

When king Henrie had sped his businesse in Normandie, where he had remained a certeine space, both about the conclusion and solemnizing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the empresse and the earle of Aniou, and also to see the end of the wars in Flanders, he now returned into England, where he called a great councell or parlement at London, in August: wherein (amongst other things) it was decreed, that

An. Reg. 31. *Matth. Paris. Polydor.* An act against vnchast préests.

préests, which liued vnchastlie, should be punished, and that by the kings permission, who hereby tooke occasion to serue his owne turne: for he regarded not the reformation which the bishops trusted (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but put those préests to their fines that were accused, and suffered them to kéepe their wiues still in house with them, which offended the bishops greatlie, who would haue had them sequestred asunder.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his Christmasse at Worcester, and his Eastermasse following at Woodstocke, where a certeine noble man named Geffrey Clinton was accused to him of high treason. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne, great death and murren of cattell began in this land so vniuersallie in all places, that no towne nor village escaped frée: and long it was before the same discontinued or ceased. King Henrie passing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with certeine strange dreames or visions in his sléepe. For as he thought, he saw a multitude of ploughmen with such tooles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approching towards him with their crosier staues readie to fall vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when he awaked, he lept foorth of his bed, got his sword in his hand, & called his seruants to come & helpe him. Neuerthelesse, repressing those perturbations, and somewhat better aduising himselfe, partlie by his owne reason and partlie by the counsell of learned gentlemen, was persuaded to put such fantasies awaie, and was admonished withall, that whilest he had time and space here on earth, he should redeeme his passed offenses and sinnes committed against God, with repentance, almesdéeds, and abstinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to practise an amendment of his former lewd life.

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia. Polydor.

¶ Here it shall not be amisse to compare the two sonnes of William the Conquerour; namelie William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke togither; and to consider among other euents the supernaturall dreames wherewith they were admonished, to excellent good purpose (no doubt) if they could haue applied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you shall read in pag. 26. col. 2.) neglecting to be admonished by a dredfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, shortlie after receiued his deaths wound by casualtie or chancemedlie, euen in the prime of his pastime and disport. This other brother H. Beauclerke had the like warnings by the same meanes, and (to a good effect) as the learned doo gather. Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as meere delusorie, alledging by waie of disproofe an old erronious verse:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima plures,

Speaking indefinitelie of dreames without distinction: whereas in truth great valure is in them in respect of their kind and nature. For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physicall) are not greatlie to be relied vpon; yet those of the metaphysicall sort hauing a speciall influence from aboue natures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerslipped. To determine this matter I remit the studious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the first part of his common places, pag. 32. columne 2. where dreames In genere are copiouslie handled.

About the same time, Maud daughter of this Henrie, being forsaken of hir husband Geffrey earle of Aniou, came to hir father then being in Normandie. What the cause was why hir husband put hir from him, is not certeinlie knowen: but the matter (belike) was not verie great, sith shortlie after he receiued hir againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time also king Henrie remained in Normandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enimies: and holding a councell at Clermont, he accursed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had vsurped as pope, and named himselfe Anacletus. Afterward at breaking vp of the same counsell at Cleremont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to mainteine his cause against his enimies to the vttermost of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thankes: and séemed as though he had beene more carefull for the defense of the common cause of the christian common-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, against the Saracens and enimies of the christian religion. *Polydor.*

1131.

An. Reg. 32. King Henrie and pope Innocent méet at Charters.

In this enteruiew betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were mooued to maruell greatlie at the wisedome and sharpnesse of wit which they perceiued in the Normans. For king Henrie, to shew what learning remained amongst the people of the west parts of Europe, caused the sonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and dispute in the points and subtill sophismes of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chapleins of the pope there present, who were not ashamed to confesse, that there was more learning amongst them here in the west parts, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrie of Italy. *Wil. Malm.*

The sons of Robert erle of Melent praisad for their learning.

King Henrie returneth into England.

King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the sea was in danger to haue beene drowned by tempest: so that iudging the same to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie vowes, and after his landing went to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke to doo his deuotions vnto the sepulchre of that king. Now at his comming from thence, being well disposed, towards the reliefe of his people, he lessened the tributes and impositions, and did iustice aswell in respect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

1132.

An. Reg. 33.

Not long after, Geffrey earle of Aniou had a son named Henrie by his wife the empresse, who (as before is said) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no issue male to succeed him, caused the empresse and this Henrie hir sonne to be established heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other estates taking an oth to be their true and loiall subiects. After this king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Dunstable, and his Easter at Woodstocke.

1133.

An. Reg. 34. *Matth. Paris.* Prior of L. Oswald as *Wil. Thorne.* hath, and likewise *Matth. Paris. Matt. Westm.*

In the same yeare, or (as some haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a bishops sée at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwoolfe, who before was abbat of S. Bothoulfs, and the kings confessor, was the first bishop that was instituted there. This man immediatelie after his consecration placed regular canons in that church.

Not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Malmes. it should séeme) king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, from whence (this being the last time of his going thither) he neuer returned aliue. And as it came to passe, he tooke ship to saile this last iournie thither, euen the same daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (falling vpon the Wednesdaie and being the second of August) a wonderfull and extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne and moone appeared, in somuch that Wil. Malmes. who then liued, writeth that he saw the starres plainlie about the sunne at the verie time of that eclipse. On the fridaie after such an earthquake also happened in this realme, that manie houses and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was so sensible, or rather so visible, that the wall of the house wherein the king then sat, was lift vp with a double remoue, & at the third it setled it selfe againe in his due

An eclipse.

An earthquake.

place. Moreouer at the verie same time also fire burst out of certeine riffes of the earth in so huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwise it could be quenched.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. An. Reg. 35.

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Robert Curthose departed this life in the castell of Cardiff. It is said that on a festiuall daie king Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape whereof being streict, he rent it in striuing to put it ouer his head: and perceiuing it would not serue him, he laid it aside, and said; "Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a sharper head than I haue." Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not sowed vp, he perceiued it, and asked whether any man had worne it before. The messenger told the whole matter how it happened. Wherewith duke Robert tooke such a greefe for the scornefull mocke of his brother, that he waxed wearie of his life, and said: "Now I perceiue I haue liued too long, that my brother shall cloth me like his almes man with his cast and rent garments." Thus cursing the time of his natiuitie, he refused from thencefoorth to eat or drinke, and so pined awaie, and was buried at Glocester.

The deceasse of Robert Curthose.

King Henrie remaining still in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, shewing no small loue and courtesie to the people, studieng by all meanes possible to win their fauours, and being merie amongst them. Howbeit nothing reioised him more than that his daughter Maud the empresse at the same time was deliuered of hir second sonne named Geffrey, so that he saw himselfe prouided of an assured successor.

Polydor. 1135. An Reg. 35. *Matth. West. Sim. Dunel.*

But whilest he thus passed the time in mirth and solace, he began soone after to be somewhat diseased, and neuer could perceiue any euident cause thereof. Wherefore to driue his greefe away, he went abrode to hunt, and being somewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his comming home he would néeds eat of a lampry, though his physician counselled him to the contrarie: but he delighting most in that meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be dissuaded from it, so that his stomach being annoied therewith he fell immediatelie into an ague, and so died shortlie after, on the first day of December being as then about 67. yeares of age after he had reigned 35. yeres, and foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowed in his life time with great and large possessions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the stench which had infected manie men, was closed in a buls hide, and how he that clensed the head died of the sauour which issued out of the braine.

King Henrie departeth this life.

Matth. West. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dunel.

¶ Thus we sée that euen princes come to the like end by as base meanes as other inferiour persons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furiæ toruo spectacula Marti,
Exitio est auidis mare nautis:
Mixta senum ac iuuenum densantur funera, nullum
Sæua caput Proserpina fugit.

Horat. lib. car. 1. ode 28.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the physicians counsell, and that same ill disposition in diet which the king chose rather to satisfie, than by restraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the preposterous election of vntoward patients, according to that:

Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimúsq; negata.

The issue of king Henrie the first.

Touching his issue, he had by his first wife a sonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the sea: also a daughter named Maud, whome with hir sonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had issue also by one of his concubins, euen a sonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a sonne named Robert, who was created duke of Glocester.

His stature.

He was strong of bodie, fleshie, and of an indifferent stature, blacke of haire, and in maner

maner bald before, with great and large eies, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleasant to the beholders, speciallie when he was disposed to mirth.

He excelled in three vertues, wisedome, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithstanding were somewhat blemished with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetousnesse, crueltie, and fleshlie lust of bodie. His couetousnesse appeared, in that he sore oppressed his subiects with tributes and impositions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curtehose in perpetuall prison, and likewise in the hard vsing of his coosine Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie deteined in prison, but also caused his eies to be put out: which act was kept secret till the kings death reuealed it. And his fleshlie lust was manifest, by kéeping of sundrie women. His vertues. His vices.

But in his other affaires he was circumspect, in defending his owne verie earnest and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he euer sought to appease; but when such iniuries were offered as he thought not meet to suffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the same, ouercomming all perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, showing himselfe either a most louing fréend, or an extreame enimie: for he would subdue his foes to the vttermost, and aduance his fréends aboue measure. His wisdome. His manlie courage.

With iustice he ruled the commons quietlie, and enterteined the nobles honorablie. Théeues, counterfeiters of monie, and other transgressors he caused to be sought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be punished with great seueritie. Neither did he neglect reformations of certeine naughtie abuses. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that théeues should suffer death by hanging. When he heard that such peeces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongest the people, although the same were good and fine siluer, he caused all the coine in the realme to be either broken or slit. He was sober of diet, vsed to eat rather for the quailing of hunger, than to pamper himselfe with manie daintie sorts of banketting dishes. He neuer dranke but when thirst mooued him, he would sléepe soundlie and snore oftentimes till he awaked therewith. He pursued his warres rather by policie than by the sword, and ouercame his enimies so neere as he could without bloudshed, which if it might not be, yet with as little slaughter as was possible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in those daies, in wisedome and policie, and so behaued himselfe, that he was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerse abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chéefe. He builded the manour of Woodstocke, with the parke there, wherein (beside the great store of deere) he appointed diuerse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent vnto him from foreign countries farre distant, as lions, lepards, lynxes, and porcupines. His estimation was such among outlandish princes, that few would willinglie offend him. His zeale to iustice. *Simon Dun.* Théeues appointed to be hanged. His policie. His praise for his princelie gouernment. Reading abbey builded.

Murcherdach king of Ireland & his successors had him in such reuerence, that they durst doo nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might stand with his pleasure, though at the first the same Morchad attempted something against the Englishmen more than held with reason, but afterward (vpon restraint of the entercourse of merchandize) he was glad to shew himselfe more fréendlie. Murchardach K. of Ireland.

Moreouer the earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwaies subiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henries fréendship, sending such strange beasts and other things to him oftentimes as presents, wherein he knew the king tooke great delight and pleasure. He had in singular fauour aboue all other of his councell, Roger the bishop of Salisburie, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whome he committed the gouernment of the realme most commonlie whilest he remained in Normandie. The earle of Orkney. Roger bishop of Salisburie.

As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother *William Rufus*, men forgetting their owne sex and state, transformed themselues into the habit and forme of women, by suffering

The abuse of wearing long haire.

suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouslie, after the maner of damosels and yong gentlewomen: insomuch that they made such account of their long bushing perukes, that those which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who should haue the longest tresses, and such as wanted, sought to amend it with art, and by knitting wreathes about their heads of those their long and side locks for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandment to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. Preachers indeed inueied against such vnseemlie maners in men, as a thing more agréeable and seemelie for the contrarie sex.

1127.

Matth. West.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in those daies that tooke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it séemed to him in his sléepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impression whereof sanke so deepelie into his mind, that when he awaked out of his sléepe, he streightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorse of conscience herein that thus caused them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuse againe, so as within a twelue moneths space they excéeded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of séemelie order as before.

¶ In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for so manie are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who succéeded the said Henrie.

Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Normans; namelie, William Conquerour the father, William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke the sonnes.

STEPHAN EARLE OF BULLONGNE.

1135.

STEPHAN earle of Bullongne, the sonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer with all speed after the death of his vncle, and tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partlie through confidence which he had in the puissance and strength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partlie by the aid of his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester and abbat of Glastenburie, although that he with other of the Nobles had sworne afore to be true vnto the empresse and hir issue as lawfull heires of king Henrie latelie deceased.

An. Reg. 1.

A tempest. *Matth. West.*

The same daie that he arriued in England, there chanced a mightie great tempest of thunder, horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. Now bicause this happened in the winter time, it séemed against nature, and therefore it was the more noted as a foreshewing of some trouble and calamitie to come.

This

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the second day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yeare of the emperour Lothair, the sixt of pope Innocentius the second, and about the xxvii. of Lewes the seuenth, surnamed Crassus king of France, Dauid the first of that name then reigning in Scotland, & entring into the twelfe of his regiment. He was crowned at Westminster vpon S. Stephans day, by William archbishop of Canturburie, the most part of the Nobles of the realme being present, and swearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull souereigne. *Math. Paris. Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.*

Howbeit, there were diuerse of the wiser sort of all estates, which regarding their former oth, could haue béene contented that the empresse should haue gouerned till hir sonne had come to lawfull age; notwithstanding they held their peace as yet, and consented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was worthilie punished afterward, insomuch that as well the bishops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerse kinds of calamities and mischances, and that euen here in this life, of which some of them as occasion serueth shall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the bishop of Salisburie) which protested that they were frée from their oth of allegiance made to the said empresse, bicause that without the consent of the lords of the land she was maried out of the realme, whereas they tooke their oth to receiue hir for queene, vpon that condition, that without their assent she should not marrie with any person out of the realme. Periurie punished. *Wil. Malm.* The bishop of Salisburies protestation.

Moreouer (as some writers thinke) the bishops tooke it, that they should doo God good seruice in prouiding for the wealth of the realme, and the aduancement of the church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceassed king vsed himselfe not altogither for their purpose, they thought that if they might set vp and creat a king chéeflie by their especiall meanes and authoritie, he would follow their counsell better, and reforme such things as they iudged to be amisse. But a great cause that mooued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as some authors rehearse) for that Hugh Bigot, sometime steward to king Henrie the first, immediatlie after the decease of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbishop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, tooke a voluntarie oth (although most men thinke that he was hired so to doo bicause of great promotion) declaring vpon the same that he was present a little before king Henries death, when the same king adopted and chose his nepheue Stephan to be his heire and successour, bicause his daughter the empresse had gréeuouslie displeased him. But vnto this mans oth the archbishop and the other lords were so hastie in giuing of credit. Now the said Hugh for his periurie, by the iust iudgment of God, came shortlie after to a miserable end. The bishops think to please God in breaking their oth. *Math. Paris.* Hugh Bigot.

But to our purpose. King Stephan (by what title soeuer he obteined the crowne) immediatlie after his coronation, went first to Reading to the buriall of the bodie of his vncle Henrie, the same being now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence after the buriall he repaired to Oxenford, and there calling a councell of the lords & other estates of his realme; amongst other things he promised before the whole assemblie (to win the harts of the people) that he would put downe and quite abolish that tribute which oftentimes was accustomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres of hides of land, commonlie called Danegilt, which was two shillings of euerie hide of land. Also, that he would so prouide, that no bishop sees nor other benefices should remaine void, but immediatlie after vpon their first vacation, they should be againe bestowed vpon some conuenient person meet to supplie the roome. Further he promised not to seize vpon any mans woods as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and killed his déere in the same woods, as the maner of his predecessour was. ¶ For a kind of forfeiture was deuised by king Henrie, that those should lose their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced to kill any of the kings déere within the same. *Simon Dun.* 1136. *Polydor. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.* The faire promises of king Stephan.

Moreouer

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Licence to build castels.

Moreouer, he granted licence to all men, to build either castell, tower, or other hold for defense of themselues vpon their owne grounds. Al this did he chieflie in hope that the same might be a safegard for him in time to come, if the empresse should inuade the land, as he doubted she shortlie would. Moreouer he aduanced manie yoong & lustie gentlemen to great liuings. For such as were of any noble familie, and thereto through a certeine stoutnesse of stomach sought preferment, easilie obteined of him the possession of castels and great lordships, diuerse of whom he honored with titles of dignitie, creating some of them earles and some lords. Now, such was their importunate sute in demanding, that when he had little more to bestow amongst them, hauing alreadie giuen sundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceassed not to be in hand with him for more, and being denied with reasonable excuses on his behalfe, they thought themselues ill dealt withall, and so turning from him, fortified their castels and holds, making open warre against him: as hereafter shall appeare.

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia.

The resort of strangers to serue king Stephan.

There came ouer vnto him also a great number of Flemings and Britons to serue him as souldiers, whom he reteined, to be the stronger and better able to defend himselfe against the malice of the empresse, by whom he looked to be molested he wist not how soone. Wherefore he shewed himselfe verie liberall, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of persons at the first, and (to saie truth) more liberall, familiar, and free harted than stood with the maiestie of a king: which was afterward a cause that he grew into contempt. ¶ But to such meanes are princes driuen, that atteine to their estates more through fauour and support of others, than by any good right or title which they may pretend of themselues. Thus the gouernement of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his subiects, but full of gentlenesse, lenitie, courtesie, and mildnes.

Polydor.

Howbeit whilest these things were a dooing, certeine of the English Nobilitie, abhorring both the king and the present state of his gouernment, went priuilie out of the realme into Scotland to king Dauid, declaring vnto him what a detestable act was committed by the lords of England, in that (contrarie to their oth made vnto the empresse Maud, and hir issue) they had now crowned Stephan. Wherefore they besought the said king to take in hand to reuenge such a vile iniurie practised against hir, and to restore the kingdome vnto the said empresse, which if he did, it should be a thing most acceptable both to God and man.

The king of Scots inuadeth the English marshes. *Sim. Dunel. Matt. Paris. Polydor.*

King Dauid hauing heard and well weied the effect of their request, foorthwith was so mooued, at their words, that in all possible hast he assembled an armie, and entring into England, first tooke the citie and castell of Carleil: afterward comming into Northumberland, he tooke Newcastell and manie other places vpon the borders there. Whereof king Stephan being aduertised, streightwaies assembled a power, and foorthwith hasted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes, which the enimie had stolen from him by craft and subtiltie. At his approch néere to Carleil, he pitched downe his field in the euening, thinking there to staie till the morning, that he might vnderstand of what power the enimie was, whome he knew to be at hand.

K. Stephan encamped néere to his enimie the K. of Scots.

King Dauid also was of a fierce courage, and redie inough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the English standards in the field, and diligentlie viewed their order and behauiour, he was at the last contented to giue eare to such as intreated for peace on both sides. Wherevpon comming to king Stephan, he entred a frèendlie peace with him, wherein he made a surrender of Newcastell, with condition that he should reteine Cumberland by the frée grant of king Stephan, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of need: but yet he was deceiued, as afterwards manifestlie appéered. For when king Stephan required of him an oth of allegiance, he answered that he was once sworne alreadie vnto Maud the empresse. Howbeit

An accord made betwixt the two kings Stephan and Dauid.

to

o gratifie him, he commanded his son Henrie to receiue that oth, for the which the king gaue him the earledome of Huntington to hold of him for euer.

¶ The Scotish chronicles set out the matter in other order, but yet all agrée that Henrie sweare fealtie to king Stephan, as in the said historie of Scotland you may sée more at large. Now after that king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Dauid, he returned to London, and there kept his Easter with great ioy and triumphes: who whilest he was yet in the middest of all his pastime, about Rogation wéeke, he chanced to fall sicke of a litargie, by reason whereof a rumor was spred ouer all the realme that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the first, yet was it after the occasion of much euill. For vpon that report great sedition was raised by the kings enimies amongst the people, the minds of his fréends were alienated from him, & manie of the Normans (which were well practised in periuries & treasons) thought they might boldlie attempt all mischéefes that came to hand, and hervpon some of them vndertooke to defend one place, and some another. Hugh Bigot erle of Norfolke a valiant chieftein entered into Norwhich, Baldwin Reduers tooke Excester, & Robert Quisquere got certeine castels also into his hands.

Hec. Boetius.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

King Stephan hearing what his enimies had doone, though he was somewhat mooued with this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the matter, he said merilie to those that stood about him: "We are aliue yet God be thanked, and that shall be knowne to our enimies yer it be long." Neither doubted he any thing but some secret practise of treason, and therefore vsing all diligence, he made the more hast to go against his enimies, whose attempts though streightwaies for the more part he repressed, yet could he not recouer the places (without much adoo) that they had gotten, as Excester, and others: which when he had obteined, he contented himselfe for a time and followed not the victorie any further in pursuing of his enemies. Wherevpon they became more bold afterward than before; in somuch that soone after they practised diuerse things against him, whereof (God willing) some in places conuenient shall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whilest he studied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no small number of his subiects did dailie shew themselues to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie those liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie those promises which he had made, according to the saieng, "That which I haue giuen, I would I had not "giuen, and that which remaineth I will kéepe still." This sudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchased him great enuie amongst all men in the end. About the same time, great commotions were raised in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geffrey earle of Aniou, husband to Maud the empresse, setting the whole countrie in trouble: but yer any newes thereof came into England, king Stephan went against Baldwin Reduers, who being latelie (though not without great and long siege expelled out of Excester) got him into the Isle of Wight, and there began to deuise a new conspiracie. Howbeit the king comming suddenlie into the Isle, tooke it at the first assault, and exiled Baldwin out of the realme.

Simon Dunel. Wil. Paruus. Polydor.

Having thus with good successe finished this enterprise, and being now aduertised of the businesse in Normandie, he sailed thither with a great armie: and being come within two daies iournie of his enimie the earle of Aniou, he sent foorth his whole power of horssemen, diuided into three parts, which were not gone past a daies iournie forward, but they encountred the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Wherevpon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and slue manie of his people. Which enterprise in this maner valientlie atchiued, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in freendship with Lewes the seuenth king of France: and hauing latelie created his sonne Eustace duke of Normandie, he presentlie appointed him to doo his homage vnto the said Lewes for the same.

Polydor.

Hugh Bigot. Baldwin Reduers. Robert Quisquere.

Geffrey earle of Aniou.

An. Reg. 2. 1137.

K. Stephan passeth into Normandie.

The earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lewes king of France. Eustace son to king Stephan.

Matth. Paris. Theobald erle of Blois.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himselfe greeued, that Stephan the yoonger brother had vsurped the lands that belonged to their vncle king Henrie, rather than himselfe, Stephan to stop this iust complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agréed with him, couenanting to paie him yearelie two thousand marks of such current monie as was then in vse. Furthermore, wheras Geffrey the earle of Aniou demanded in right of his wife the empresse, the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to satisfie him with a yearelie pension of fiue thousand marks, which composition he willinglie receiued.

K. Stephan agréeth with the earle of Aniou.

Polydor.

Thus when he had prouided for the suertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no sooner arriued, but aduertisement was giuen him of a warre newlie begon with the Scots, whose king vnder a colour of obseruing the oth to the empresse, made dailie insurrections and inuasions into England, to the great disturbance of king Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Wherwith being somewhat mooued, he went streightwaies toward the north parts, and determined first to besiege Bedford by the waie, which apperteined to the earledome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the sonne of king Dauid, and therevpon at that present kept with a garison of Scotish men.

The Scots inuade the English borders.

Simon Dun.

This place did the king besiege by the space of 30. daies togither, giuing thereto euerie daie an assault or alarme, in somuch that cõming thither on Christmasse daie, he spared not on the morow to assaile them, and so at length wan the towne from them by méere force and strength. King Dauid hearing those newes, and being alreadie in armour in the field, entered into Northumberland, and licensed his men of warre to spoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleasure. Herevpon followed such crueltie, that their rage stretched vnto old and yoong, vnto preest and clearke, yea women with child escaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and slue all that came in their waie: houses were burnt, cattell driuen awaie, and all put to fire and sword that serued to any vse for reléefe, either of man or beast.

An. Reg. 3. 1138.

King Dauid inuaded Northumberland. *Matth. West. Polydor. Malt. Paris. Simon Dun.*

¶ Here we see what a band of calamities doo accompanie and waite vpon warre, wherein also we haue to consider what a traine of felicities doo attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine togither, we may easilie perceiue in how heauenlie an estate those people be that liue vnder the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what a hellish course of life they lead that haue sworne their seruice to the sword. We may consider also the inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fiersenes, who esteeme not the losse of their subiects liues, the effusion of innocent bloud, the population of countries, the ruinating of ample regions, &c.: so their will may be satisfied, there desire serued. And therefore it was aptlie spoken by a late poet, not beside this purpose:

M. Pal. in suo Capric.

Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiúmque sibi miserorum cæde lucrantur.
O cæci, ô miseri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hôc nil tęrpius, & nil
Quod magis humanâ procul à ratione recedat.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

Ouid.

But to our storie. King Stephan hearing of this pitifull spoile, hasted forward with great iournies to the rescue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of spéedie comming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he pursued them, and entring into their countrie burned and destroied the south parts of that realme in most miserable maner. Whilest king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the forren enimies, and reuenge himselfe on them, he was assailed by other at home, & not without the iust vengeance of almightie God, who meant to punish him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the empresse and hir children.

K. Stephan maketh hast to rescue the north parts.

The Scots retire.

K. Stephan burnt the south parts of Scotland.

children. For Robert erle of Glocester, base brother vnto the empresse, and of hir priuie counceil, sought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment restored to the empresse and hir sonne. Robert earle of Glocester.

Such earnest trauell was made by this earle of Glocester, that manie of his freends which fauoured his cause, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conspiracie against their souereigne. First the said earle himselfe tooke Bristowe; and after this diuerse other townes and castels there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpose to kéepe the same to the behoofe of the empresse and hir sonne. Amongst other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Hereford in Wales: William Louell held the castell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the castell of Ludlow: William de Moun the castell of Dunestor: Robert de Nicholl, the castle of Warram: Eustace Fitz-John, the castle of Walton; and William Fitz-Alain, the castle of Shrewesburie. Bristow taken. *Sim. Dun.* Talbot. *Matt. Paris.* Louell. Painell. Fitz-John. Fitz-Alain.

When word hereof came to king Stephan, he was maruellouslie vexed: for being determined to haue pursued the Scots euen to the vttermost limits of their countrie, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the first to stop the proceedings of his enimies at home, least in giuing them space to increase their force, they might in processe of time growe so strong, that it would be an hard matter to resist them at the last. Herevpon therefore he returned southward, and comming vpon his enimies, recouered out of their hands diuers of those places which they held, as Hereford, and the castle of Shrewesburie. About the same time one Walkeline yéelded the castle of Douer vnto the quéene, who had besieged him within the same. *Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.* The castle of Douer deliuered to the quéene. *Polydor.*

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned northwards againe; and comming to Thurstan the archbishop of Yorke, he committed the kéeping of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a redinesse to defend the borders vpon any sudden inuasion. Which thing the couragious archbishop willinglie vndertooke. By this meanes king Stephan being eased of a great part of his care, fell in hand to besiege the residue of those places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an assault, fled away, some into one part, and some into another; whom the kings power of horssemen still pursuing and ouertaking by the way, slue, and tooke no small number of them prisoners in the chase. Thus was the victorie in maner wholie atchiued, and all those places recouered, which the enimies had fortified. Thurstan archbishop of Yorke made lieutenant of the north parts.

In like maner when king Dauid heard that the king was thus vexed with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in most forceable wise: and sending his horssemen abroad into the countrie, commanded them to waste and spoile the same after their accustomed maner. But in the meane time he purposed with himselfe to besiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue woone, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold against king Stephan, and the rest that tooke part with him. Herevpon calling in his horssemen from straieng further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming neere to the citie, pitched downe his tents. The Scots ouerrunne Northumberland.

In this meane while the archbishop Thurstan, to whom the charge of defending the countrie cheefelie in the kings absence apperteined, called togither the Nobles and gentlemen of the shire and parties adioining, whom with so pithie and effectuall words he exhorted to resist the attempts of the Scots (whose cruell doings could kéepe no measure) that incontinentlie all the power of the northparts was raised, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albemarle, Walter Espeke, William Peuerell of Nottingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gilbert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter against the Scots in a pight field, and either to driue them out of the countrie, or else to loose their liues in the quarel of their prince. Archbishop Thurstan raiseth a power to fight with the Scots. *Sim. Dunel.* Capteines of the armie.

It chanced at this time, that archbishop Thurstan was sicke, and therefore could not

Rafe bish. of Durham supplieth the roome of the archbishop.

come into the field himselfe, but yet he sent Rafe bishop of Durham to supplie his roome, who though he saw and perceiued that euerie man was readie enough to encounter with their enimies; yet he thought good to vse some exhortation vnto them the better to encourage them, in maner as here ensueth.

Matth. Paris. Sim. Dun.

"Most noble Englishmen, and ye right valient Normans, of whose courage the Frenchman is afraid, by you England is kept vnder, by you Apulia dooth flourish, and vnto you Jerusalem and Antioch haue yéelded their subiection. We haue at this present the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be subiect to the crowne of England) come into the field against vs, thinking for euermore to rid themselues of their submission, and to bring both vs and our countrie into their bondage and thraldome. Now albeit I see in you courage sufficient, to beat them backe from any further attempt; yet least when you shall come to the triall, by any manner of chance, you should loose any péece thereof, I lamenting the state of my countrie (whose gréeuances I wish you should redresse) doo meane to vse a few words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to doo any man wrong, but rather to beat them backe which offer to doo you iniurie. Consider therefore that you shall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentimes vanquished, and oftentimes offending in periurie, haue oftentimes most worthilie punished: whome also (to be bréefe) raging after the maner of cruell robbers, wickedlie spoiling churches, and taking awaie our goods, you did latelie constreine to lurke in desert places and corners out of sight. Against this enimie (I say) therefore worthie of reuengement for his so manifold outrages, shew yourselues valiant, and with manlie stomaches driue him out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God surelie will aid you, who cannot longer abide the sinnes of this people. Wherefore he that looseth his life in so iust a quarell (according to the saieng of our sauiour) shall find it. Let not their rash and presumptuous boldnesse make you afraid, sith so manie tokens of your approoued valiancie cannot cause them to stand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and so appointed with helmet, curase, greiues, and target, that the enimie knoweth not were to strike and hurt you. Then sith you shall haue to doo with naked men, and such as vse not to weare any armour at all, but more méet for brablers and ale-house quarrellers than men of warre vsed to the field: what should you stand in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to stand against your skilfull order and practised knowledge in all warlike feats and martiall discipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherance to atchiue the victorie. A small number of your worthie elders haue oftentimes vanquished great multitudes of enimies." As the bishop was thus speaking to the English armie, and before he grew to an end of his exhortation, the Scots approched with their battels, & first certeine of their bands of horssemen were sent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Englishmen perceiued, they staied not till the enimies should begin the battell, but straightwaies caused their trumpets to sound, and so giue the onset.

The Englishmen set vpon the Scots.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with them, so that the battell began to be verie hot, and euen at the first out flew the arrows, and then the footmen ioined, who fought most fiercelie on both sides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which were in the Scotish vauntgard, brake in vpon the vauntgard of the English: but yet closing togither againe, they kept out the enimies, and casting about with a wing, compassed the Scotish horssemen round about, and panching their horsses, they slue a great number, and constreined the residue to retire. Which thing when their felowes in the other wing saw, their hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to their heeles.

The Scots of Lodian disorder the Englishmen. *Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.*

The rumor of this flight being notified to the maine battell of the Scotish men, where king Dauid himselfe was fighting with his enimies, discomfited them also, in such wise, that they inlike sort began to shrinke backe: first by parts, and after by heapes togither.

The Scots put to flight.

The

The king did what he could to staie them: but the English pressed so vpon them, that there was no recouerie. Wherefore he himselfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in seeking to saue himselfe by flight, and make such shift as he could amongst the residue.

His sonne Henrie the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither mooued with the flight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongst his men, being readie to turne their backes, and with bold countenance spake these or the like words vnto them, as the shortnesse of the time would permit. "Whither go you good fellowes? Here shall you find armour and "force, neither shall you, whilest life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to "follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore choose whether yee had rather trie "the matter with the enimies by battell, or to be put to a shamefull death at home "after your returne thither." The Scots mooued with these vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enimies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beset with the English footmen before, and the horssemen behind, they were shortlie brought to distresse, and for the more part either taken or slaine. Henrie earle of Huntington his valiancie.

At length earle Henrie perceiuing how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recouerie, fled also with those that could escape, bitterlie cursing the frowardnesse of fortune, and mishap of that daies chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was aboue ten thousand. In which number there were not manie of the English: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their cheefe capteines is remembered to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioised, and gaue infinite commendations to his subiects (the Englishmen and the Normans) but principallie praised archbishop Thurstan and the bishop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent seruice shewed in this behalfe. *Polydor. Hen. Hunt.* The number. *Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. Wil. Paru. Polydor.*

On the other side he himselfe vsing the like good successe amongst the rebels at home, ouercame them, and chased them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the castels of Hereford, Glocester, Webbeley, Bristowe, Dudley, and Shrewesburie. Likewise Robert earle of Glocester not being able to resist the king thus preuailing against his aduersaries on ech hand, fled into France vnto his sister the empresse. After this, about Aduent, the popes legat one Alberike bishop of Hostia, held a synod at London, within Paules church, where by the kings consent, Theobald abbat of Bechellouin was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbishop which had ruled that see, after Augustine the moonke. *Ran. Higd.* Castels recouered by king Stephan. *N. Triuet. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.* Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

The king hauing now accomplished his purpose, taken the castell of Leides, and brought the state of the realme to a meetlie good staie, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to pursue the victorie, and vtterlie to subdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, first wasting and spoiling the countrie, and afterward preparing to fight with such Scots as came foorth to defend their goods and houses. K. Dauid perceiuing himselfe to be too weake, made suite to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obteined at length, by deliuering his sonne Henrie vnto king Stephan in pledge for the sure performance of couenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Herevpon king Stephan hauing thus ended his businesse in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iornie towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduersaries) he wan yer long out of their hands. An. Reg. 5. 1140. *Polydor. Matth. Paris.* K. Stephan inuadeth Scotland. A peace concluded betweene the two kings of England and Scotland. Ludlow wonne.

After this he went to Oxenford, where whilest he remained, a great brute was spred abroad, that the empresse was comming with hir brother, the earle of Glocester: which caused him to put the lesse trust in his people from thenceforth, in so much that he began to repent himselfe (although too late) for that he had granted licence to so

manie of his subiects to build castels within their owne grounds. For he had them all in suspicion: and amongst other, he vehementlie suspected Roger bishop of Salisburie (who had doone verie much for him) and Alexander bishop of Lincolne nephue to the said bishop of Salisburie, or (as some thought) more néere to him in kindred than his nephue, I meane, his sonne. For the said Roger had builded diuerse castels, as at Shierborne, at the Uies, and at Malmesburie. The said Alexander likewise following his vncles example, bestowed his monie that way verie fréelie, hauing builded one castell at Newarke, and another at Sléeford.

Roger bishop of Salisburie.
Alexander B. of Lincolne.
Wil. Malm.

Castels built by the bishop of Salisburie.

The king therefore hauing committed both these bishops to prison, and furthermore sent Nigell or Neill the bishop of Elie into exile (which Nigell was nephue also to the foresaid bishop of Salisburie) he threatened to keepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cause these castels to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obteined them, and moreouer found in the bishop of Salisburies cofers 40. thousand marks, which he tooke to his owne vse, by way of confiscation for his disloiall demeanor. This ingratitude of the king wounded the bishops hart, insomuch that taking thought for the losse of his houses and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

Simon Dun.
Newarke castel built by the bishop of Lincolne.
The B. of Elie banished.

The bishop of Salisburie dieth of thought.
Wil. Malm.
In nouella historia.

The quarrell which was first picked at these bishops, rose by occasion of a fraie betwixt the bishops men and the seruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Oxenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his nephue almost slaine, and the residue of his folkes sore beaten and chased. Herevpon were the bishops first committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleasure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Héere by the way, good reader, thou hast one example worthie to be marked of fickle fortunes inconstancie, whereof the poet speaketh verie excellentlie;

Fortunes inconstancie.
Wil. Paru.
M. Pal. in suo scor.

——— variat semper fortuna tenorem,
Diuerso gaudens mortalia voluere casu.
Nam qui scire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum
Aut premat aut sursum tollat, nimis ardua quærit:
Terrarum sequidem est illi concessa potestas
Maxima, & huic illam præfecit Iuppiter orbi.

For this Roger bishop of Salisburie, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore préest, seruing a cure in a village néere the citie of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henrie the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a préest to say masse before him. Whervpon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quicke at it, and therewithall had so speedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the said lord Henrie, affirmed that this préest aboue all other, was a chapleine meet to say masse before men of warre, bicause he had made an end when manie thought he had but newlie begun. Herevpon the kings brother commanded the preest to follow him, insomuch that when oportunitie serued, for his diligent seruice, and readie dispatch of matters, when Henrie had atteined the crowne, he was by him aduanced to great promotions: as first to be Chancelour of England, & after bishop of Salisburie, growing still into such estimation, that he might doo more with the king than any other of the councell.

The bishop of Salisburie made lord chancellour.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus imprisoned the aforesaid bishops, manned those castles which he tooke from them with his owne soldiers, in like maner as he had doone all the rest which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withstand the empresse and hir sonne, whose comming he euer feared. He began also to shew himselfe cruell towards all men, and namelie against those that had chieflie furthered his title to the obteining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie tooke it) came to passe by the prouidence of almightie God, that those should suffer for their periuries, which contrarie to law and right had consented to crowne him king.

In

In déed he wist not well whom he might trust, for he stood in doubt of all men, bicause he was aduertised by credible report, that the empresse sought for aid on all sides, meaning verie shortlie to come into England. For this cause also he thought good to procure the fréendship of Lewes king of France, which he brought to passe, by concluding a mariage betwéene his sonne Eustace and the ladie Constance sister to the said Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Eustace died, and then was Constance married to Raimond earle of Tholouse.

K. Stephan doubts whom to trust.

He cõtracteth affinitie with the French king.

In the meane time, namelie on the first daie of September, a councell was holden at Winchester, wherein earle Alberike de Ueer pleaded with great eloquence the kings case, in excuse of his fault for imprisoning the bishops, which was sore laid to his charge by his owne brother the bishop of Winchester, being also the popes legat: who (togither with the archbishop of Canturburie and other bishops) had called this councell for that purpose. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promises of amendment in that which had béene doone otherwise than equitie required, which promises were vtterlie vnperformed, and so the councell brake vp.

Wil. Malm. Polydor Matth. Paris.

Alberike de Ueer pleadeth the kings cause.

In the moneth of Julie the empresse Maud landed here in England at Portesmouth, & went strait to Arundell, which towne (togither with the countie of Sussex) hir mother in law Adelicia king Henries second wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of assignation for hir dower. There came in with the empresse hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.

The empresse landed here in England.

Some write that the empresse brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that ioining with Ranulph earle of Chester (who tooke part with Robert erle of Glocester, bicause the same Rob. had maried his daughter) she might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that she came to England now at the first, but with a small power (as seuen score horssemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods assurance (who seldome faileth those that fight in a rightfull cause) and againe vpon trust of aid of fréends, who for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, would be readie to go against king Stephan. Wherevpon hir brother earle Robert leauing his sister in the castle of Arundell, rode with all spéed vnto Glocester thorough his enimies countrie, not taking with him past 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horssebacke, that vpon his cõming thither he might leuie an armie with so much speed as was possible. Now when he came to Glocester, though the citie was kept with a garison of soldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the townesmen, after they heard that their earle was approched to the gates, they droue out the garison, & receiued him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to assemble an armie, and partlie to practise with other townes and castels thereabouts, to reuolt vnto his sister. Amongst all other, the earles sonne Brian, and Miles of Glocester were right ioifull of the news of the empresses arriuall, and gladlie prepared themselues to fight in defense of hir cause.

What power she brought with hir.

Wil. Malm. Polydor.

Earle Robert commeth to Glocester.

Matt. Paris.

Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne.

Miles earle of Hereford.

Polydor.

In the meane time king Stephan, hauing knowledge of the landing of the empresse, and other his enimies, came strait to Arundell, where he besieged hir in the castle, and spent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that present he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the empresse bare him in hand, that it was not possible to win that fortresse, and therefore aduised him to raise his siege, and suffer the empresse to be at libertie to go to some other place, where he might with more ease and lesse damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiuing the drift of those secret practisers, followed their counsell. Wherevpon the empresse being now at libertie, went from place to place to trie and solicit hir fréends: and as a riuer increaseth in the passage, so the further the ladie went, the more hir power increased. About the midst of the next night after the siege was raised, she departed out of the castle, and with great iournies sped hir towards Bristow, which was alreadie reuolted to hir side.

The empresse besieged in Arundell castel.

The king raiseth his siege.

The empresse goeth to Bristow.

These

These things being thus bruted abroad, the Peeres of the realme resorted to hir, as they that well remembred how in time past by oth of allegiance they were suerlie bound to hir and hir issue. The king in the meane time besieged the castle of Wallingford, but after he vnderstood that the empresse was gotten to Bristow, repenting himselfe for his light credit giuen to euill counsell, he left off the siege of Wallingford, and drew towards Bristow, that he might (if it were possible) inclose his aduersaries within that walled citie. But the empresse, being aduertised of his determination (by such of hir frèends as were resident about him) first went to Glocester, and after to Lincolne, where she prouided vittailes and all other things necessarie for hir armie and defense: purposing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephan, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir side, he might be driuen out of the realme, and she restored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earnestlie, and comming vnto Lincolne besieged it, assaieng on euerie side which waie he might best find meanes to win it, & enter into the same. At length the empresse found shift to escape from thence, and within a little while the king got possession of the citie. But shortlie after, Robert earle of Glocester, and Ranulph earle of Chester, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley assembling their power, aswell of Welshmen as others, to come to the succour of those that were thus besieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents néere to the enimies, they rested the first night without making any great attempt.

K. Stephan besiegeth Walingford.

An. Reg. 6. 1141.

Sim. Dunel. R. Houe. K. Stephan winneth Lincolne. *Ran. Higd. Simon Dun. Polydor. N. Triuet.*

In the morning being the second daie of Februarie, so soone as it was daie, they set their men in order of battell, and brought them foorth in sight of the king and his host: who on the other side, not meaning to refuse the conflict, ordered his men readie to encounter them, whome he diuided into 3. seuerall battels. The chiefest part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongst whom he placed himselfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Baldwin, and others. The residue being horssemen, he disposed into two seuerall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other earles, Mellent and Waren: Howbeit they were not furnished with such number of men as had béene requisit; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was gouerned by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Ypres.

The ordering of the kings armie readie to giue battell. *Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.* The earles of Norfolke, Hampton, Mellent, & Waren. The earle of Albemarle. William de Ypres.

Now on the aduersaries side, the earle of Chester led the fore ward, and those whome king Stephan had disherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rere ward the earle of Glocester with his companie had the rule. And besides those thrée battels, the Welshmen were set as a wing at one of the sides.

The ordering of the battels on the kings aduersaries part

Here the earle of Chester (to vtter the good will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, spake these words in effect as followeth, directing the same to the earle of Glocester, and other the capteines, saieng: "I giue you hartie thanks, most inuincible chiefteine, and you my fellow soldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the ieoparding of your liues at this my request and instance. Sith then I am the occasion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the first entrance, and giue the onset of the battell vpon that most disloiall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and swearing to be a subiect, is now prooued a most wicked vsurper: I therefore trusting both vpon reuenge of the vniust dealings of this king, and also vpon mine owne force and courage, shall straitwaies breake in sunder the arraie of his armie, and make waie through the middest of the enimies with sword in hand. It shall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I shall passe thorough the battels, tread the capteines vnder foot, and run the king through with this my sharpe sword."

The oration of the earle of Chester. *Ran. Higd.*

When he had thus ended, the earle of Glocester answered in this wise: "It is not against reason that you should require the honor of the first onset, both for the nobilitie of your house, and also in respect of the prowesse wherein you excell: but yet if you stand

The earle of Glocesters answer to the earle of Chesters oration.

stand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the sonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred? If vpon valiance, here are manie verie worthie men, afore whom there is not one aliue that may chalenge any prerogatiue. But another reason moueth me most chieflie to be the formost. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my sister, hath cruellie vsurped the kingdome, and setting all in trouble, hath beene the cause of manie thousand mens deaths, and distributed lands and liuings to such as haue no right to the same, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite disherited. This king (I saie) is first to be assailed with the assistance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth punishment for wicked dooers. For almightie God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will looke downe from his heauenlie habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortlesse in this so great a necessitie. One thing there is, most valiant capteines, and all you right hardie souldiers, which I would haue you to consider, that through the fennes, which much adoo you haue passed, there is no waie to escape by flight. Here must we either vanquish the enimies, or else die in the field: for nō hope of safegard remaineth in fléeing awaie. This onelie resteth (I saie) that you make waie for you to enter the citie with force of your weapons. If I be not deceiued in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to escape, otherwise than by shewing your selues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he must néeds plaie the man, who hath not other succor to auoid the danger of destruction. The citizens of Lincolne, who shall fight so néere their houses as you shall sée, will not staie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith consider and weie (I beseech you) against whom you shall match in this battell. There is Alane duke of Britaine, who commeth armed against you, yea rather against God, a wicked person, and spotted with all kind of filthinesse; who in malice hath no péere, as one that neuer wanted desire to doo mischéefe: and who to be comparable in crueltie, would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth also the earle of Mellent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whose hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing sounding in his mouth but vnthankfulnesse; besides this, he is slothfull in déeds, presumptuous in words, not hastie to fight, but swift to run awaie. Then commeth earle Hugh, who hath not thought it sufficient to breake his oth to my sister the empresse, but he must commit periurie the second time, in aduouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and disabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of singular constancie in euill, verie readie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a mischeefe: whose wife, through irkesomnes of his filthie behauiour is gone from him; & he that keepeth hir, cōmeth with him also against vs, an open adulterer, & one well esteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars. Then setteth foorth Simon earle of Hampton, whose déeds consist in words, & whose gifts rest in promises. For when he hath said, he hath doone; & when he hath promised, ye get no more. Finallie there come togither a knot of Péeres & Noble men, like to their king and maister, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embrued with manslaughters, & defamed with periurie. You therefore (most valiant capteins & hardie souldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impouerished; vpon trust of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon trust of Gods iustice seeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon these wicked wretches, & with manlie stomachs vow to go forward, & forswere stepping back." When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to Gods) abiured all intention to flée, and so made themselues readie to set forward.

The necessitie to fight valiantlie.

Alane duke of Britaine.

The earle of Mellent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of Albemarles wife.

Simon earle of Hampton.

Like maister, like seruants.

King Stephan hauing no pleasant voice of himselfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, whereupon getting himselfe to an high place where he might be seene & heard of them, he thus began. "All such as shall giue battell, ought to foresée thrée things: first, that their cause be righteous: secondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the least: and thirdlie, the goodnesse and sufficiencie of them." The

Earle Baldwin his oration in the behalfe of king Stephan.

Three things to be foreséene by them that shall giue battell.

righteousnes of their cause ought to be regarded, least men runne in danger of the soule; the number of men is to be respected, least they should be oppressed with multitude of enimies; and the goodnesse of the soldiers is to be considered, least trusting in the multitude, they should presume vpon the aid of feeble persons, & such as are of small valure. In all these points we see our selues sufficientlie furnished. The iustice of our cause is this: that obseruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we stand to the same against those that haue falsified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much lesse in horssemen, and in footmen we excéed them. As for the goodnesse or sufficiencie of our men, who is able to expresse the noble prowesse of so manie earles, of so manie lords and soldiers, trained vp euer in warres: The passing valiancie of our king may stand in place of innumerable souldiers. Sith then he being the lords annointed, is here amongst you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your vow. For the more earnestly and faithfully ye serue your prince in this battell, which you are readie to fight against periured persons, the more shall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therfore be of good comfort, & haue in remembrance against whom you doo darraine the battell. The force of erle Robert is well knowne, his maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious in words, eloquent of speach, but cold or rather dead harted in déeds. The earle of Chester what is he? A man of vnreasonable boldnesse, bent to conspiracie, inconstant to performe that which he rashlie taketh in hand, readie to run into batell, vncircumspect in danger, practising things of great importance, séeking after things vnpossible, bringing with him few good soldiers, but gathering a vagrant rout of rascals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afraid of, for looke whatsoeuer he attempteth manfullie, the same he giueth ouer womanlie, in all his dooings vnfortunate, in all encounters either he is ouercome and fléeth awaie, or if he get the vpper hand (which seldome times chanceth) he susteineth greater losse than they whom he dooth vanquish.

Erle Robert.

The earle of Chester.

"The Welshmen, whom he bringeth with him are little estéemed of vs, who pretend a naked rashnesse without any vse of armor, so that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brute beasts vpon the hunters iaueline. The other, as well the nobles as the common souldiers are but runnagates and vagabounds; of whom I would wish the number greater than it is: for the more they be, the woorse in effect their seruice shall proue in time of need. You therefore (most worthie cheefetaines) you men of honor, it standeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renowme, and follow the foresteps of your famous ancestors, leaue to your sonnes an euerlasting commendation. The continuall successe of victorie ought to be a prouocation vnto you to doo manfullie: the continuance of euil speed may be to yonder side an occasion to run away. For euen alreadie (I dare say) they repent them of their comming hither, and could be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place would suffer them to depart. Then sith it is not possible for them either to fight or to flée, what other thing can they doo, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance) offer themselues and all they haue about them presentlie vnto vs. Yée sée then their horsses, their armour, and their bodies readie here at your pleasure lift vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to take that with great chearefulnesse of mind, which the Lord hath thus offered and freelie presented vnto you."

Continuall good successe a prouocation of boldnesse.

Now yer he had all made an end of his words, the batels were readie to ioine, they met with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, and the fight began with a verie sore and cruell slaughter. Hard it was in the beginning to gesse who should haue the better. The wing of the disherited men ouerthrew and bare downe their aduersaries, which were led by the duke of Britain, and the forenamed earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle and William de Ypres put the Welshmen to flight, but by the earle of Chester and his retinue, the same earle and William de Ypres were fiercelie assailed afresh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings side put to the worse, namelie

Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt.

his

his horssemen, who being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping. *W. Paru. Hen. Hunt.*
Which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any whit therewith abashed, but like an hardie captein (as he was no lesse indéed) comforted his footmen whom he had about him, and rushing vpon his enimies, bare them down, and ouerthrew so manie as stood before him, so that with the point of his weapon he made himselfe waie. His *Polydor.* footmen, who were but a few in number to the multitude of his enimies, countervailed in all points the prowes and manlike doings of their king and capteine, insomuch that few battels had beene better fought, nor with greater slaughter on both sides, if the kings fore ward (which in maner at the first shranke backe and was disordered, not without some sùpicion of treason) had staied the brunt of the enimies a while, as it had béene requisite. At length the king encountring with the earle of Chester, being ouercharged with multitude, was taken prisoner by one William de Cahames.

Earle Baldwine, who had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was also taken, after *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.* he had fought valiantlie and receiued manie sore wounds: likewise Richard Fitzvrse, who on that daie had shewed good proofe of his manhood, and had giuen and receiued manie a sore stripe. To conclude, all those that abode with the king, and namelie all *Matth. Paris.* the footmen were taken prisoners, those which were slaine in the place excepted. This *W. Paru.* battell was fought in the sixt yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas daie, being sundaie, as Niger saith.

The king being apprehended and brought to the empresse lieng at Glocester, was *Polydor.* commanded by hir to be conueied in safetie vnto Bristow, where he was kept as prisoner *The king led to Bristow.* from that time of his taking, vntill the feast of All saints next ensuing. Not long after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey earle of Aniou husband to the empresse, *W. Paru.* receiuing aduertisement of this victorie atchiued in England, foorthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the Nobles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by publishing the captiuitie of king Stephan, it was easie for him to come by the possession of the same.

Moreouer, Dauid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commande- *The king of Scots taketh Northumberland into his possession.* ment of the empresse tooke the countrie into his hands, whilest she (like a woman of great wisedome, as she was no lesse indéed) iudging that it stood hir vpon to vse the victorie which fell to hir lot, slept not hir businesse, but went forward, and setting from *Polydor.* Glocester, she came to Winchester, where she was honorablie receiued of bishop Henrie, *The empresse foloweth the victorie.* though he was king Stephans brother, and inwardlie lamented the misfortune of the king. Then came she backe againe to Wilton, and so to Oxenford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albons, into all which cities and townes she was receiued with great triumph and honour.

Hauing thus passed through all the south parts of the realme on that side, she finallie *Shee cõmeth to London.* came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir in most ioifull and hartie maner. Now being come to London, and consulting with those of hir councell for the quieting of the whole state of the realme, queene Maud wife to king Stephan (for so she was *The quéene sueth to the empresse for the deliuerie of hir husband.* also called) made humble suit vnto hir to haue hir husband set at libertie, promising that he should resigne his whole claime and title into hir hands, and content himselfe with a priuate life. But hir suit was so farre off from being granted, that she was reiected and cast off with reprochfull words. Wherevpon she conceiued a most high displeasure, and vnderstood well inough; that peace was to be purchased by force of armes onelie, and not by any other meanes: insomuch that with all diligence she sent to hir sonne Eustace (then being in Kent) & willed him to prepare an armie, which he did most spéedilie.

It chanced at the same time that the citizens of London made great and laborious suit vnto the said empresse, that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Confessour restored, and the straight lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished. But for so much as they could get no grant of their petition, and perceiued the empresse to be displeased *The Londoners conspire to take the empresse.* with them about that importunat request, wherein onelie she ouershot hir selfe, they deuised

deuised how and by what meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that all the Kentishmen would helpe to strengthen them in their enterprise. But reckoning with hir selfe that

Nil poterit propera tutius esse fuga,

Shée fled in the night time out of the citie.

And being warned thereof, she fled by night out of the citie, and went to Oxenford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduersaries when time should serue hir turne. Herewith she began to wax more displeased both against those Nobles whom she kept in prison, & other also whom she troubled, but namelie king Stephan, whom she commanded to be loden with yrons, and serued with verie slender diet.

N. Triuet.

Geffrey de Mandeuile.

The bishop of Londō taken.

Now when she had thus fled out of London, which was about the feast of the nātiuitie of S. John Baptist, the tower of London was besieged, which Geffrey de Mandeuile held, and valiantlie defended. The same Geffrey rushing out on a time, came to Fulham, where he tooke the bishop of London then lodging in his manor place, being one of the contrarie faction.

Polydor.

Castells fortified by the bishop of Winchester.

Henrie bishop of Winchester perceiuing the wrath of the empresse more and more to increase dailie against hir people, thinking it wisedome to serue the time, manned all the castels which he had builded within his dioces; as at Waltham, Farnham, and other places, and withdrew himselfe into the castell of Winchester, there to remaine, till he might sée to what end the furie of the woman would grow. This being knowne, the empresse tooke vnto hir Dauid king of Scotland that was hir vncle, who immediatlie ioining their armies togither, went to Winchester and besieged the castell. In the meane time the quéene and hir sonne Eustace, with the helpe of their freends, as the Kentishmen, the Londoners and other had assembled a great armie, and appointed the gouernement and generall conduct thereof vnto one William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valiancie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he was sonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a concubine, his father also was sonne to Robert earle of Flanders, surnamed Frisius. This William was banished out of his countrie by Theodorike Elsas earle of Flanders, bicause he attempted to bereaue him of his earledome.

William de Ypresse. *Ia. Meir.*

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia. *N. Triuet.* *Sim. Dun.* *Polydor.*

The empresse armie put to flight.

Wil. Malm.

Robert earle of G'ocester taken prisoner. *Matth. Paris.*

The quéenes armie thus committed to his guiding, came néere vnto Winchester, and kept the empresse and hir people in maner besieged: at length perceiuing the aduantage after the comming of a great supplie of Londoners to their aid, they set vpon hir armie as the same was departing, with such violence, that straightwaies hir host was put to flight and discomfited. The empresse was glad to faine hir selfe dead, and so to be conueied in a coch as a dead corps vnto Glocester. Hir brother Robert with manie other of the Nobles that staied behind, till she and other might get out of danger, were taken prisoners. And bicause the king was kept at Bristow vnder the custodie of the said Robert, the queene caused him to be hardlie handled, that he might proone the words of the gospell true: "With what measure yée meat vnto other, with the same by other shall it be remeasured vnto you." He had deserued verie euill of the king heretofore, and therefore it was now remembred. He was taken (in maner abouesaid) on the feast day of the exaltation of the crosse.

Wil. Paruus. *N. Triuet.*

Dauid king of Scots retired home.

Simon Dun. *R. Hone.*

Alberike de Uéer slaine. *Wil. Malm.* *Polydor.*

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the battell himselfe, but hearing of the discomfiture, got him out of the countrie, and by helpe of trustie guides returned into Scotland, whilest Alberike de Uéer was slaine at London in a seditious tumult raised by the citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two seueral factions, was by all similitudes like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one against another, sought nothing else but reuenge on both sides, and still the land was spoiled and wasted by the men of warre which lodged within the castels and fortresses, and would often issue out to harrie and spoile the countries. But now that the two cheefest heads were prisoners, there was good hope conceiued that God had so wrought it, whereby might grow some ouerture of talke, to quiet such troubles by fréendlie peace and agreement.

Herevpon those lords that wished well to the common-wealth, began to intreate betwixt

twixt them, and articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and an exchange of prisoners on both sides. But the empresse and hir brother would not hearken to any agréement, except that the realme might wholie remaine to the said empresse. Whereby the enimies were rather increased than decreased by his treatie, so that at length the king and the earle (weried with tedious yrksomnesse of yrons and hard imprisonment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war) about the feast of All saints made exchange by deliuering of the one for the other, without making mention of any peace at all: and so kindled with new displeasures, they renewed the warre.

Geruasius Dorober. The king and the earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

An. Reg. 7. 1142.

King Stephan being deliuered in such wise as you haue heard, comming to London, and there being accompanied with his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester (then the popes legat) Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parlement, wherein the king declared the present state, how the enimie was brought to this point, that if it would please the Nobles of the realme to mainteine him with men & monie, he trusted now so to worke, as they should not need to feare submission to the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the first they seemed much to mislike, and now sithens (to their great gréefe) had prooued to be intollerable. The summe of his talke tended to this end, that those which were able of themselues to aid him with their owne persons, should prepare them out of hand so to doo; and the residue that were not meet (as bishops, and such like maner of men) should be contributors to aid him with hired souldiers, armour, and monie.

Geruasius Dorobernensis. A parlement called.

This was gladlie agréed vpon, with the generall consent of all the assemblie. And bicause the bishops shewed themselues verie liberall towards the aduancing of the kings purpose, there was a statute made at the same parlement, that who so euer did laie any violent hands on a sacred person, or else tooke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what fault soeuer, without the bishops licence, he should be accursed, and not be assoiled of any maner of person, except of the pope, as by a canon it was alreadie decréed but not obeied among the Englishmen till that daie. ¶ The cause of making this statute was chéeflie, for that preests during the time of the ciuill wars, were dailie either slaine, or taken prisoners, and so put to their ransoms, or charged with great penalties and gréeuous fines.

A statute established in fauour of préests.

The bishop of Winchester at this councell also began an other brall among the cleargie, for being brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes authoritie as his legat in England, by reason of exercising his authoritie, fell at variance with the bishop of Canturburie, who tooke himselfe for his superior, bicause he was his primat. This quarell grew so far in question, that they went both to Rome to haue the controuersie decided, and so bringing their sutes thither, contented well the eares of them that had the hearing of the same: for the more weightie the cause seemed, the better it liked them.

¶ A late writer, noting in clergiemen of his age & countrie not onelie the aspiring vice of ambition, but other disorders also, and monstrous outrages, after a complaint made that gold (by which title he calleth those of the ecclesiasticall order) is turned into drosse, and swéet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cause hereof comprised in this metricall accouplement, saieng:

Paul. Lang. in Chron. citizen. pag. 760.

Dum factor rerum priuaret flamine clerum,
Ad satanæ votum successit turba nepotum.

Which he inferred vpon occasion against the preposterous elections of vnmeet men into episcopall sées, for that they were not so qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwise peraduenture enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And suerlie, we may note these inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the best (I meane in respect of their estates) of this liuerie, and may iustlie impute it to the defection of Gods spirit in them, whose nature is to plant peace and méekenesse in the harts of his tenants, not discord, not ambition, not the works of darknesse, which beséeme not the children of light. But to the purpose.

As

Matth. Paris. Earle Robert passeth ouer into Normandie.

As the king began (after his libertie obteined) to prouide for warres, so earle Robert (after he was discharged) sailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the sonnes of diuerse Noble men who fauored the empresse, whome he deliuered to hir husband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, & earnestlie besought him to passe ouer into England with an armie to aid the empresse. Howbeit bicause he was newlie intred into the conquest of Normandie, and had alreadie won the most part thereof, he thought good to make first an end of his warres there, hauing somewhat to doo against certeine rebels of his owne countie of Aniou, which did not a little molest him. But he recouered (whilest the earle of Glocester was there with him) Alney, Mortaigne, Tenerchbray, and diuerse other places perteining chieflie to the earle of Mortaigne: about the same time also they of Constances submitted themselues vnto him. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in those parties, could not well come into England.

Normandie woone by the earle of Aniou.

Wil. Malm. Earle of Glocester returneth.

Wherevpon the earle of Glocester came backe againe himselfe, and bringing with him somewhat lesse than foure hundred men of armes (imbarked in 52. ships) landed with the same at Warrham, and besieged the castell there, which his enimies had won out of his hands whilest he was absent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agreement by composition, that if they were not succoured by a certeine time, they should deliuer the castell vnto the earle. King Stephan himselfe the same time held a siege before Oxford, within the which he had inclosed the empresse, as hereafter shall be shewed: so that they within the castell of Warrham had no succour sent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their composition) they yeelded vp the hold, after erle Robert had lien three wéekes before it.

Ger. Dor.

Wil. Malm.

The Ile of Portland. Circester.

This castell being thus woone, earle Robert subdued also such as kept the Ile of Portland, and had fensed it after the maner of a fortresse: afterwards he came to Circester, and there assembled all those that fauoured the part of the empresse, meaning with all conuenient spéed to go to Oxford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had assembled a great host of men, and comming to Oxford, where the empresse then laie, suddenlie besieged hir, before she looked for him. And to the end also that he might compell the townsmen to yeeld, or else kéepe them from entring which would come to their succors, he ranged abroad into the countrie with part of his armie, wasting all afore him by fire & sword. This siege continued almost two moneths, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of Nouember, vntill Christmasse immediatlie following: in somuch that through lacke of vittels they within the towne began to raise mutinies. The empresse therefore doubting the sequele, and séeing hir prouision to decaie, deuised a shift how to escape that present danger, which by force she was vnlikelie to performe.

The empresse besieged in Oxford.

N. Trivet. Simon Dun. Wil. Parn. Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. The empresse escapeth out of Oxford. *Polydor. Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.* Brian sonne to the earle of Glocester.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were frosen, so that both man and horsse might safelie passe ouer vpon the yce, the fields were also couered with a thicke and déepe snow. Herevpon taking occasion, she clad hir selfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be discerned from the snow; and so by negligence of the watch that kept ward but slenderlie, by reason of the excéeding cold weather, she and hir partakers secretlie in the night issued out of the towne, and passing ouer the Thames, came to Walingford, where she was receiued into the castell by those that had the same in kéeping to hir vse: of whom Brian the sonne to the erle of Glocester was the chiefe.

Æneas Syluius.

¶ Here we may see the subtiltie of the empresse, whereby she obteined frée and safe passage out of hir enimies hands, who otherwise had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer béene false, which Æneas Syluius (and before him many more driuing vpon the like argument) dooth saie in this distichon:

Non audet stygius Pluto tentare, quod audent
Effrænis monachus plenáque fraudis illa,

Meaning

Meaning Mulier, a woman. And therefore looke what they want in magnanimitie, in strength, in courage, the same is supplied by deceit, by circumuention, by craft, by fraud, by collusion; sometimes applied to a good intent, but most commonlie directed to an euil meaning and purpose, as the euents themselues doo manie times declare. But let vs sée what followed vpon this escape of the empresse.

After hir departure from Oxford, the townesmen yeelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the kéeping of them in obedience, marched toward Walingford, minding to besiege the castell there; but being encountred in the way by his enimies, he was driuen backe, and so constreined to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his sister was escaped and gotten to Wallingford, hasted thither with all spéed to visit hir: & (as some write) brought with him hir sonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the seas, to sée his mother: so that the empresse now beholding both hir sonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that she could or might presentlie make them. Hir son remaining vnder the gouernement of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Bristow, & there continued for the space of 4. yéeres, being committed to one Matthew his schoolemaister, to be instructed in knowledge, and trained vp in ciuill behauiour. *Polydor. Simeon Dun. N. Trivet.* An. Reg. 8. 1143. The empresse hir sonne lord Henrie.

King Stephan (after the spoiling of sundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired souldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the bishop of Winchester stronglie armed vnto Wilton, where he tooke in hand to fortifie the nunrie in steed of a castell, to resist the incursions and inrodes of them of Salisburie, who in the behalfe of the empresse had doone manie displeasures vnto his fréends: but earle Robert vnderstanding of his dooings, got a power togither with all speed, and the first daie of Julie about sunne setting came to Wilton, and suddenlie set the towne on fire. The king commeth to Wilton.

The king being lodged within the nunrie, and fearing no such matter, after he heard of the sudden assemblie of his enimies, was put in such feare, that he tooke himselfe dishonourablie to flight, leauing his men, his plate, and other riches altogither behind him. The earles souldiers egerlie assailed the kings people, killed and spoiled them at their pleasure, rifled the kings treasurie without resistance, and satisfied themselues with greedines. In this broile was William Marcell or Martell taken prisoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the castell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne hauing charge of that castell, kept him in close prison, and vsed him hardlie, who by reason of the opinion which men had conceiued of his valiancie, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ransome, and deliuered the castell of Shirborne into the earles hands. *Wil. Paru. Sim. Dun. M. Trivet. Matt. Paris.*

Within a few daies after, Miles earle of Hereford departed this life, whose death was verie gréeuouslie taken of the empresse, for he was one of hir chéefe fréends and councellers. His eldest sonne Roger succéeded him, a gentleman though yoong in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Mandeuile earle of Essex, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had serued the empresse, was taken also at S. Albons) but not without great slaughter of the kings souldiers: in so much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a couragious palfrie & a verie valiant man was ouerthrowen in the middest of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Orcaie, so that the same earle was sore bruised in his bodie, and almost drowned. The king was present himselfe at the taking of the said Mandeuile, whom he spoiled of all his goods, and constreined by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the castell of Walden, and Pleshey. Herevpon the same earle being released was driuen through pouert'e to seeke some recouerie of his losses by sundrie spoiles and roberies. Miles earle of Hereford deceased. *Ger. Dor.* The earle of Essex taken. The earle of Arundell. *N. Trivet. Wil. Paru.*

First of all therefore he spoiled the abbeie of S. Albons, and then the abbeie of Ramsey, which he fortified and defended as a fortresse, casting the moonks out of doores, and in euerie place where soeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midst of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was shot thorough with an An. Reg. 9. 1144. *Hen. Hunt.*

arrow amongst his men by a sillie footman, and so ended his life with confusion, receiuing worthie punishment for his vngodlie behauiour. For he was a man of high stomach & loftie courage, but verie obstinate against God, of great industrie in worldlie businesse, but passing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Sim. Dunel. John Fike. Matth. West. N. Triuet.

Likewise Robert Marmion, who had attempted the semblable robberie & spoile in the abbeie church of Couentrie, was slain before the same abbeie by a like mischance. For going foorth to encounter with the earle of Chester (his mortall enimie, and being approched as then towards the citie) he fell with his horsse into a ditch, which he caused to be couertlie made for the destruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieued, a souldier of the earles part stept to him, and stroke his head from his shoulders in sight of both armies. Ernulfus the sonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the church of Ramsey as a fortresse, after his fathers death, was taken at length and banished.

Wil. Malm. Wil. Paru.

¶ Thus we see how Gods iudgement hunteth and pursueth the wicked, in somuch that they be ouertaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the scripture, "The wicked and bloudthirstie man shall not liue halfe his daies." And true it is, that as men liue, so commonlie they die: for, as one saith verie well;

M. Pal. in suo scor.

——— bona nulla scelestis
Et iustis mala nulla quidem contingere possunt.

About the same time aduertisement was giuen, that the citie of Lincolne, which the earle of Chester had in keeping, was but slenderlie manned: Wherevpon the king conceiuing some hope to win the same, hasted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid siege therevnto, and began to cast a trench to stop them within frō making any salies without.

Lincolne besieged.

The earle at the first being somewhat amazed with the sudden approch of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceiued the rankes to be verie thin: and thereby gessing their number to be but small, suddenlie issued foorth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, bicause he was but weake and therefore fled; neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cause; but setting vpon those that were about to make the trench, he slue 80. of the workmen, and then retired into the castell.

The siege raised.

N. Triuet.

A child crucified by the Iewes.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Jewes at Norwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifieng him vpon a crosse to the reproch of christian religion.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 10. 1145.

In the yeare following; namelie, in the 10. yeare of king Stephans reigne, Robert earle of Glocester and other capteins took in hand to build a castell at Faringdon. But King Stephan assembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and besieged them within. Now whilest earle Robert and others of the empresses capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with sharpe assaults (but not without losse of his men) wan the fortresse: whereby his side began to wax the stronger, and to be more highlie aduanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a strong castell ouer against the other castell which his aduersaries held against him.

A castell built at Faringdon.

Hen. Hunt.

The king winneth it by force.

An. Reg. 11. 1146.

Thither also came the earle of Chester with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and so at length they were not vnfeignedlie accorded and made freends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For shortlie after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Northampton, by the practise of K. Stephan, and could not be deliuered till he had surrendred the citie and castell of Lincolne, with other fortresses perteining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welshmen destroie the prouince of Chester, but at last they were distressed. This yeare also the loard Geffrey earle of Anlou sent three Noble men into England, accompanied with certeine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requesting him to send ouer his sonne Henrie into France, that he might see him, and if need required, he promised to send him backe againe with all conuenient speed. Earle Robert was contented to satisfie his request:

Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. N. Triuet. Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.

The welshmen waste Cheshire.

Ger. Dor.

request: and so with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Warham, where he tooke leaue of him, neuer after to sée him in this world. For when the child was transported, earle Robert returned spéedilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of Nouember, and was buried at Bristow. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioifully receiued, and remained in those parties for the space of two yeares and foure moneths.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life.

In the meane season, the vniust procéedings of K. Stephan against the earle of Chester, purchased him new hatred of his old aduersaries, and like supicion of such as were his freends, for it sounded not a little to his dishonor. Euerie man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it stood them vpon to take héed to themselues. But he (as one that thought he had atchiued some high exploit) in triumphant wise shortlie after entred into Lincolne in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not béene heard that any king had doone the like manie yeares before.

An. Reg. 12. 1147.

Simon Dun.

K. Stephan entreth into Lincolne with his crowne on his head.

¶ It is reported by some writers, that he did this, to root out of mens minds a foolish superstitious conceit, which beléeued that no king with his crowne vpon his head might enter that citie, but some mischance should light vpon him: wherevpon he seemed by this meanes to mocke their superstitious imagination.

About the same time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiuing the kings authoritie to represse violent wrongs committed by euill doers to be defectiue) builded sundrie strong castels and fortresses vpon their owne grounds, either to defend themselues, or to make force vpon their enimies néere adioining. After the departing of the king from Lincolne, the earle of Chester came thither with an armie, to assaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was slaine at the entring of the northgate, and so the erle was beaten backe with the losse of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the vpper hand, reioised not a little for the victorie.

Simon Dun.

But here (to staie a litle with temporall affaires) it shall not be amisse to rehearse the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betwéene that king and the archbishop of Canturburie. For so it happened (as Geruasius Dorobernensis writeth) that pope Eugenius came this yere into France, about the middest of Lent, and afterward held a synod or councell at Rhemes: wherevnto Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, with others of the English bishops were summoned. The archbishop therevpon asking licence of the king, & not obteining it, found meanes to steale awaie in a small bote, not without danger of his person.

Ger. Dor.

Now therefore the case of this Theobald stood verie hard: for Henrie bishop of Winchester the kings brother through enuie had so wrought, that if the archbishop passed ouer without licence, he should be confined of the king. Againe, he was sure, if he came not to the councell, that he should be suspended by the pope. Herevpon the archbishop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were swimming, rather than sailing; the vessell wherein he passed ouer being starke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings seruants, so that he was glad to take such a bote as came next to hand. In consideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Yorke, togither with Henrie Mordach then abbat of Fountney, presented themselues, exhibiting their complaint against William archbishop of Yorke, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonicallie chosen, nor lawfullie consecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbishop William was conuicted and deposed, Albert bishop of Hostia pronouncing sentence in this wise: "We doo decrée by the apostolike authoritie, that William archbishop of Yorke is to be deposed from his sée, bicause Stephan king of England, before any canonicall election, named him."

Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus deposed archbishop William, although not with

the consent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapiter of the church of Yorke, by his commandement comming togither, part of them chose Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and the other part elected Henrie Mordach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were shewed him at Auxerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Mordach, and disanulled the other, and then consecrated the foresaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbishop William being thus deposed, returned into England, and remained at Winchester with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counsell of the same bishop in all things.

Now when the councell at Rhemes was ended, archbishop Theobald returned into England, and comming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honor, of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was sore displeased, and came with great spéede vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbishop (although to small purpose) for the bringing of them to an agréement, at length the king compelled the archbishop to depart the realme. Wherevpon, after a few daies respit, he went to Douer, where he tooke ship and sailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the quéene and William of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the sooner aduertise him of the kings mind and pleasure. Here he consecrated Gilbert the elect bishop of Hereford, the fift daie of September, Theodoric bishop of Amiens and Nicholas bishop of Cambre assisting him.

After this, when by sending of messengers to and fro, as well bishops, abbats, and other, both spirituall persons and temporall, there could no agréement be made, he directed his letter to certeine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certeine day, namelie the twelfe day of September, a sentence of interdiction to be obserued through the relme. The monks of Canturburie sore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this sentence to be put in vse, sent two moonkes of their owne house, Nigell and Absolon, vnto the pope: whose errand when the pope had vnderstood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeie their archbishops sentence in all things.

In the meane time the archbishops men and tenants were sore oppressed, and his rents and reuenues seized to the kings vse, yea euen before the daies of paiment. Which maner of proceeding sore gréeued the archbishop: in so much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the sea, crossed ouer to a towne called Goseford that belonged vnto Hugh Bigot erle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honor, and sent him all necessarie prouision, so long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the sentence, till Robert bishop of London, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and William bishop of Norwhich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Framelingham in Norfolke, a castell apperteining to the said earle, where at length an attonment was concluded betwixt him and the king: wherevpon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great ioy and honor.

He accused the moonks of Canturburie, for disobeieng the interdiction, trusting that the pope would not heare those two moonkes whom they had sent, as he did not indéed. He excommunicated also all those that had receiued the sacraments amongst them, during the time of the interdiction. Now these moonkes being at their wits end, dispatched with all speed other two moonkes to the pope, to obteine an absolution, before the archbishop should vnderstand it: but they were sent backe againe with checks and commanded to obeie their archbishop in all things, as the other were, which had béene there with him before.

Cernasius. An. Reg. 13. 1148.

The moonks of Canturburie that were sent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found those that were first sent thither: and so they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope also had sent a priuie commandement to the archbishop that he should duelie punish as well them as the other. Wherevpon the archbishop

bishop taking counsell with his frèends, deposed Syluester the prior, and suspended William the secretarie of the house from entring the quéere. It was decreed also, that the residue should cease so long a time from saieng seruice, as they had said it before vnlawfullie, against the archbishops commandement. For it was thought reason, that whilest other sang and were merrie, they should keepe silence, which wilfullie tooke vpon them to sing, whilest other held their peace and were still. They began therefore to cease from saieng diuine seruice, and from ringing their bels in the second wéeke of Lent & so kept silence from the twelfe day of March, vntill the first daie of August.

The quéene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Augustines in Canturburie, bicause of hastening forward the building of Feuersham abbeie, which she and hir husband had begonne from the verie foundation. And bicause the moonkes of S. Augustine might not celebrate diuine seruice, she called thither commonlie the moonks of Christes church to say seruice before hir. Thus much for that purpose: and now to other matters.

The lord Henrie Fitzempresse after all these businesses returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great companie of men of warre both horssemen and footmen; by reason whereof many reuolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they sat still, and would not attempt any exploit against him. But now incouraged with the presence of the lord Henrie, they declared themselues freends to him, and enimies to the king. Immediatlie after his arriuall, he tooke with him the earles of Chester and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knights of great fame, beside those whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went vnto Carleil, where he found his coosin Dauid king of Scotland, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued: and vpon Whitsunday with great solemnitie, being not past sixtéene yeares of age, was by the same king made knight, with diuerse other yoong gentlemen that were much about the same age.

The L. Henrie returneth into England. An. Reg. 14. 1149.

He is made knight. *R. Houed.*

¶ Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oth of him before he gaue him the honor of knighthood, that if he chanced to atteine vnto the possession of the realme of England, he should restore to the Scots the towne of Newcastle, with the countrie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Twéed, to the riuer of Tine. But whether it were so or not, I am not able to make warrantize.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduersarie the lord Henrie with the chéefest lords of the west parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raised an armie, and came to the citie of Yorke, where he remained for the most part of the moneth of August, fearing least his enimies should attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in Yorke, they departed from both those places without any further exploit for that season, sauing that Eustachius king Stephans sonne (hauing also latelie receiued the order of knighthood) did much hurt in the countries which belonged to those Noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

K. Stephan with an armie commeth to Yorke.

The great raine that fell in the summer season this yeare did much hurt vnto corne standing on the ground, so that a great dearth followed. In the winter also after, about the tenth day of December, it began to frése extreamelie, and so continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: whereby the riuer of Thames was so frosen, that men might passe ouer it both on foot and horssebacke.

Matth. Paris. Great raine. A sore frost.

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, sailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of August, leauing England full of all those calamities, which ciuill warre is accustomed to bring with it, as burning of houses, killing, robbing, and spoiling of people, so that the land was in danger of vtter destruction, by reason of that pestilent discord.

An. Reg. 15. 1150.

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monumetensis, otherwise called Galfridus Arthurius

Arthurius, who turned the British historie into Latine, was consecrated bishop of S. Assaph, by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William bishop of Norwhich and Walter bishop of Rochester assisting him.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Anjou father to Henry Fitzempresse departeth this life.

Morouer, this yeare (as some writers haue recorded) Geffrey earle of Aniou, husband to the empresse Maud, departed this life, on the seuenth day of September, leauing his sonne Henrie onelie heire and successor in the estates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Aniou. The bodie of the said earle was buried at Mans, with a great funerall pompe: his three sonnes Henrie, Geffrey, and William being present.

Worcester assaulted.

But king Stephan assaulting the faire citie of Worcester with a great power of men of warre, tooke it, and consumed it with fire, but the castell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Waleran de Mellent, at that season: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had giuen it vnto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the spoile amongst them, they came backe, and passing through the lands of their enimies, got great booties, which they also tooke away with them, finding none to resist them in their iournie.

An. Reg. 16. 1151.

In the yeare following Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the sée apostolike, held a generall synod or councell at London in the Lent season, where king Stephan himselfe with his sonne Eustachius, and other the peers of the realme were present. This councell was full of appeales, contrarie to that had beene vsed in this land, till the time that Henrie bishop of Winchester vnto his owne harme (whilest he was likewise the popes legat) had by vniust intrusion brought them in, and now at this councell he was himselfe thrise appealed to the hearing of the popes owne consistorie. After this king Stephan in the same yeare brake into the citie of Worcester, and whereas he could not the last time win the castell, he now endeauoured with all his force to take it. But when those within made valiant resistance, he raised two castels against it, and leauing in the same certeine of his Nobles to continue the siege, he himselfe returned home. ¶ Thus (as yee see) the kings propertie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he procéeded in them oftentimes verie slowlie: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leicester, those two castels which the king had raised to besiege the other castell, were shortlie after destroied: and so the besieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leicester was brother to the earle of Mellent. Thus the kings purposed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect.

Ger. Dorobor. A synod at London.

The earle of Leicester brother to the erle of Mellent.

An. Reg. 17. 1152.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie maried Elianor duches of Guien or Aquitaine, latelie diuorsed from the French king, and so in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou; for she was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poictou, and by hir father created his sole and lawfull heire.

The duke of Normandie Fitzempresse marieth the duchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie.

The French king was nothing pleased with this mariage, in somuch that he made sore warre vpon duke Henrie, ioining himselfe in league with king Stephan, with his sonne Eustace, and with the lord Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, so that the said Henrie was constreined to defer his iournie into England, and applie his power to defend his countries and subiects on that side of the sea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to passe ouer into England, not long after midsummer, the French king, with Eustace king Stephans sonne, Robert erle of Perch, Henrie erle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing assembled a mightie armie, came and besieged the castell of Newmarch, and sent foorth the lord Geffrey with a strong power to win the castell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertised hereof departing from the place where he soiourned, hasted foorth to succour his people that were besieged, but the castell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king, through treason of those that had it in kéeping, before the duke could come to their rescue.

The castell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Wherevpon the said duke hauing knowledge by the waie that he should come too late thither, he encamped first vpon the side of the riuer of Andell, and wasted

a great part of the countrie of Ueuxin or Ueulquesine, surnamed Le Normant, which lieth betwixt the riuer of Epte and Andell. This countrie belonged sometime to Normandie, but Geffrey earle of Aniou the dukes father had resigned it to the French king, to the end he should not aid king Stephan. The duke also burned the castels of Bascheruille, Chitrey, Stripiney, and the castell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Gourney, with diuerse other. About the end of August he left his townes in Normandie sufficientlie furnished with garisons of souldiers, and went into Aniou, where he besieged the castell de mount Sotelli, till he had taken it, and all those that were within it, amongst whome was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other side entring into Normandie, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or shortlie after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he tooke the towne and castell of Uernon. Ueulquesine, or Ueuxin. The castell of Uernon. *Simon Dun.*

Whilest these things were thus a dooing in France, K. Stephan would haue caused the archbishop of Canturburie & diuerse other bishops, whom for that purpose he had assembled, to crowne, annoint, and confirme his sonne Eustace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbishops and bishops refused so to doo, bicause the pope by his letters sent to the archbishop, had commanded to the contrarie; namelie, that he should in no wise crowne the kings sonne, bicause his father king Stephan had got the possession of the land against his oth receiued in behalfe of the empresse. The father and sonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed most of his bishops to ward séeking by threats and menacings to bring them to his purpose. The bishops also were in no small perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer seemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, bicause of their strength (as in former times by his rigor vsed against the bishops of Salisburie and Lincolne it plainelie appeared) and yet would not these men yéeld to his pleasure: wherevpon although they were set at libertie, they were neuerthelesse depriued of their temporall possessions, which notwithstanding afterwards vpon the kings owne motion were restored vnto them. The pope is against it. The bishops are threatned.

Howbeit the archbishop of Canturburie persisting still in his oppinion, was forsaken of diuerse of the bishops, who throgh feare durst not stand against their princes pleasure. But the archbishop, when he perceiued how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and rest on his shoulders, he got himselfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with spéed riding to Douer, passed the sea, to auoid both the fathers and sonnes reuengefull displeasure. Herevpon the king seized into his hands all the lands & possessions that belonged to the archbishop. *Ger. Dor.* The archbishop of Canturburie flieth out of the realme.

This yeare queene Maud wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey castell, that belonged to earle Alberike de Uéer, about the third daie of Maie, and was buried in the abbeie of Feuersham, which she with hir husband king Stephan had latelie founded. *Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.*

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the summer, the growing of corne was so hindred, that a great death of people insued.

This yeare also was the battell of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefest personages of Mounster and Leynister were slaine. Moreouer one John a moonke of Sagium, was made the second bishop of the Isle of Man: the first bishop that was there instituted hight Wimond a moonke of Sauinie, who for his importunate misdemenour in some respects, had his eies put out, and was displaced. The battell of Monadmore. *Matth. Paris.* The second & also th efirst bishops of Man.

John Papirio a cardinall, being sent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbishops there, one at Dublin, an other at Ardmach, the third at Cassels, and the fourth at Connach. The sée of Dublin he changed into an archbishops sée, one Gregorie at that time possessing the same; to whom he gaue the first and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the blessed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinall passed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan. *Hen. Marle.* The bishop of Dublin made archbishop.

The

33048

The castell of Newberie won.

The same yeare also king Stephan by siege and force of assault did win the castell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This doone he went to Wallingford, and besieging the castell, he builded at the entring of the bridge a fortresse to stop them within from issuing out, and likewise from receiuing any reliefe or succour by their frèends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themselues so hardlie laid at, sent to the duke of Normandie (in whose name they kept that castell) desiring him either to succour them, or else giue them licence to yéeld vp the castell to the king. Herevpon duke Henrie hauing dispatched his businesse on the further side of the sea, began to be kindled with a feruent desire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recoueric of that kingdome, and so with three thousand footmen, & 7 score horssemen, with all spéede possible sailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. daie in Christmasse. He was no sooner arriued, but a great number of such as tooke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: wherevpon being now furnished with a great and puissant armie, he marched foorth to Malmesburie, where in the castell was a great garison of soldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his siege about this castell the thirtéenth daie of Januarie, and enforced himselfe to the vttermost of his power to win it.

Duke Henrie Fitzempresse returneth into England. *Ger. Dor.*

He besiegeth the castell of Malmesburie. *Matth. Paris. Polydor.*

Now king Stephan hearing of his enimies arriuall, with all hast possible got his armie on foot, and comming suddenlie towards the place where is enimies were pitched, he caused duke Henrie to raise his siége, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enimies were far more in number than he was at that present, and also conceiuing with himselfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increase, absteined from fighting, and kept him within the closure of his campe. ¶ Thus haue some written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himselfe indeed within his campe, and refused to giue battell, but yet remoued not his siege, till the king departed from thence, after he saw he could not haue his purpose, and then did duke Henrie win the castell of Malmesburie, or rather the maister tower or chéefe dungeon of that castell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by assault the other parts and lims of the castell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

K. Stephan constreineth him to raise his siege.

Wil. Paru.

Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.

This tower that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capteine Jordan, who escaping foorth came to the king, informing him in what state he had left his men within the tower: wherevpon the king (making all the power that he was able) set forward, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purposing to raise the siege, or to fight with his enimies (if they would abide battell) marched foorth towards Malmesburie. But vpon his approch to the dukes campe, the daie following his comming thither, there rose such a hideous tempest of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephans people, that God seemed to fight for the duke, who in respect of the number of people was thought too weake to deale with the strong and puissant armie of the king: howbeit the storme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephans mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, in somuch that he perceiued he could not passe the riuer that ran betwixt the armies: wherevpon constreined in that sort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London full euill appaied, in that he could not satisfie his expectation at that present.

A sore storm.

The tower that duke Henrie had hardlie besieged immediatlie herewith was surrendred vnto him, & then making prouision for vittels and other things, to the reliefe of them that kept the castell of Wallingford, he hasted thither, and finding no resistance by the way, easily accomplished his enterprise. There were diuerse castels thereabouts in the countrie furnished with garisons of the kings souldiers, but they kept themselues close, and durst not come abroad to stop his passage. Shortlie after he besieged the castell of Crauemers, and cast a trench about it, so as his people within Wallingford castell might

The castell of Wallingford.

The castell of Crauemers.

might haue free libertie to come foorth at their pleasure: but as for those within the castell of Cranemers, they were so hardlie holden in, that there was no waie for them to start out.

The king aduertised hereof, got all his host togither, and marched forward verie terriblie toward duke Henries campe. But shewing no token of feare, he caused the trench wherewith he had inclosed his campe foorthwith to be cast downe, and leauing the siege, came into the fields with his armie set in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of sword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whose armie perceiuing their enimies to come in the face of them, were stricken with a sudden feare: neuerthelesse, he himselfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certeine Noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning sought to treat an agréement betwixt them, so that an intermission or cesing from war was granted, and by composition the castell which the king had built, and the duke besieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke also came to an interuiew and communication togither, a riuer running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan vndertaking to raze the castell of Cranemers himselfe, and so laieng armour aside for that time, they parted asunder. *Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.* Enstace king Stephans sonne.

But Eustace K. Stephans son was sore offended herewith, and reprouing his father for concluding such an agréement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeshire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbeie of Burie, and vpon S. Laurence daie caused all the corne in the countrie about and namelie that which belonged to the said abbeie, to be spoiled and brought into a castell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he sat downe to meat the same daie vpon receiuing the first morsell he fell mad (as writers haue reported) and miserablie ended his life. The same weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like disease, and so two of the cheefest aduersaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Eustace was buried at Feuersham in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton. Eustace king Stephans son and Simon earle of Northãpton depart this life, both in one weeke.

About the same time also that noble and valiant earle of Chester called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that death could scarselie make him to yeeld, or shew any token of feare: he was poisoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him succeeded his sonne Hugh, a man likewise of passing strength and vertue. Now although earle Ranulfe fauoured the part of duke Henrie, yet in these later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not so great a losse to the duke, as the deaths of Eustace, earle Simon, and other the kings fréends deceasing about the same time seemed to further him: so that his part became dailie stronger, and the kings weaker. The earle of Chester deceaseth.

About the same time the castels of Reading and Béertwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the ladie Gundreda countesse of Warwike draue out the souldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duches Elenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempresse, was brought to bed of hir first borne son, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine. *Matth. Paris. Rob. Mont.*

Thus came things to passe in sundrie places with so good successe as duke Henrie could wish, whereupon meaning to follow the steps of prosperous fortune, he marched foorth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his first comming laid siege to the castell. Now they that had it in keeping sent messengers to king Stephan, requiring rescue, but the same time he had laid siege to the castell of Gipswich, which Hugh Bigot kept against him: and bicause he wold not depart from that siege till he had the castell giuen vp into his hands (which came at last to passe) in the meane time the castell of Stamford was yéelded vp to duke Henrie, who immediatelie therevpon departed from Stamford eastward, meaning to come to the succour of his fréends besieged at Gipswich or Ipswich Stamford was taken. *Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.* Gipswich or Ipswich besieged. *N. Triuet.*

(as it is commonlie called) not vnderstanding as yet that they had surrendred the hold: but hauing knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched streight to Notingham, and got the towne easilie; for they within the castell had set it on fire, therefore he besieged the castell standing vpon the point of a steepe craggie rocke, and was furnished with a strong garison of men, and all things necessarie for defense, so that it could not easilie be woone.

Notingham.

When duke Henrie had assaied all the waies how to take it, and saw that he could not preuaile, he minded to loose no more time: but raising his siege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his possession, and finallie came to his mother, and laie at Wallingford. K. Stephan in the meane time being strong in the field, sought time and place to haue Henrie at some aduantage, who in his yoong yeares (as yet not hauing tasted any misfortune) he thought would rashlie attempt some vnaduised enterprise. ¶ But whereas the realme of England had béene now manie yeares miserablie turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue so detested, that they haue exclaimed against it with a kind of irksomnesse; as:

Duke Henrie raiseth his siege from Notingham. *Polydor.*

The miserie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

Hor. lib. car. 1. ode. 35.

Eheu cicatricum & sceleris pudet,
Fratrúmque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefasti
Linquimus? vnde manus iuuentus
Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam litui strepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitúmque vultus.

Idem. lib. car. 2. ode. 1.

Wherein (besides millians of extremities) honest matrones and mens wiues were violated, maids and virgins rauished, churches spoiled, townes and villages robbed, whole flocks and heards of shéepe and beasts destroied (wherein the substance of the realme cheeflie consisted) and men without number slaine and murthered, it pleased the goodnesse of almightie God at length to deliuer the land of these miseries, which were notified to all countries round about that sore lamented the same.

Now whereas king Stephan was the cause of all the troubles, in hauing vsurped an other mans rightfull inheritance, it pleased God to mooue his hart at length to desire peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cause that mooued him chéefelie to change his former purpose, was for that his sonne Eustace by speedie death was taken out of this world (as before ye haue heard) which losse séemed great not onelie to the father, but also to all those lords and others which had alwaies taken his part, bicause he was a yoong man so well liked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to much honour. But his wife Constance tooke his death verie sorowfullie, and the more indeed for that she had no issue by him, wherevpon shortlie after she was sent honourablie home to hir father king Lewes with hir dower, and other rich and princelie gifts.

The ladie Constance wife to Eustace sent home.

King Stephan séeing himselfe thus depriued of his onelie sonne, vnto whome he minded to leaue the kingdome which he so earnestlie sought to confirme and assure vnto him by warlike endeuor, and that againe the French kings aid would not be so readie as heretofore it had béene (wherevpon he much staied, now that the bonds of affinitie were abolished) he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon his sonnes deceasse) to withdraw his mind from war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which alteration being perceiued, those Nobles that were glad to sée the state of their countrie quieted, did their best to further it; & chéeflie Theobald archbishop of Canturburie trauelled earnestlie to bring the princes to some agréement, now talking with the king, now sending to the duke, and vsing all meanes possible to set them at vnitie. The bishop of Winchester also, who had caused all the trouble, vpon consideration of the great calamities wherewith the land was most miserablie afflicted, began to wish an end thereof. Wherevpon

K. Stephan began to incline his mind to peace. *Matth. Paris.*

Ger. Dor.

vpon the lords spirituall and temporall were called togither at Winchester about the latter end of Nouember, that they with their consents also might confirme whatsoeuer the king and the duke should conclude vpon.

Thus was a publike assemblie made in the citie of Winchester, whither also duke Henrie came, who being ioifullie receiued of the king in the bishops palace, they were made frẽends, the king admitting the duke for his sonne, and the duke the king for his father, insomuch that the agreement, which (through the carefull sute of the archbishop of Canturburie) had beene laboured with such diligence to good effect, was now confirmed: the cheefe articles whereof were these.

An assemblie of lords at Winchester.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and the duke.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life, should remaine king of England, and Henrie the empresses sonne should enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and be proclaimed heire apparant to succẽed in and haue the regiment of England, after the deceasse of Stephan.

Some writers haue recorded that duke Henrie should presentlie by this agrẽment enioy halfe the realme of England.

2 That such noble men, and other, which had held either with the one partie or the other, during the time of the ciuill warres, should be in no danger for the same but enioy their lands, possessions and liuings, according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king should resume and take into his hands againe, all such portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwise vsurped by any maner of person, and that all those possessions which by any intrusion had bẽene violentlie taken from the right owners, since the daies of king Henrie, should be restored to them that were rightlie possessed in the same by the daies of the said king.

4 That all those castels, which contrarie to all reason and good order had bẽene made and builded by any maner of person in the daies of king Stephan, should be ouerthrowne and cast downe, which were found to be eleuen hundred and fifteene.

Matth. Paris. Castels to be razed in number. 1115.

5 That the king should reforme all such disorders as warre had brought in; to restore farmers to their holdings, to repaire decaied buildings, to restore pastures and leassues with cattell, hils with sheepe, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enioy their due quietnesse, and not be oppressed with any vniust exactions.

7 That he should place shirifes where they had bẽene accustomed to beare rule, with instructions giuen them to deale vprightlie in causes, so as offenders might not escape through bribes, or any other respect of freendship; but that euerie man might receiue according to right and equitie.

8 That soldiours should conuert their swords (as Esaie saith) into culters & plough shares, their speares into mattocks, and so returne from the campe to the plough: and that such as were woont to keepe watch in the night season, might now slẽepe and take their rest without any danger.

9 That the husbandman might be set frée from all trouble and vexation, by meanes wherof he might follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might enioy their trades and occupations to their aduancement.

11 That one kind and manner of siluer coine should run through the land, &c.

12 There was also consideration had of a sonne which king Stephan had, named William, who though he were verie yoong, was yet appointed to sweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to the crowne. The same William had the citie of Norwhich, and diuerse other lands assigned him for the maintenance of his estate, and that by the consent and agrẽement of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

These things being thus concluded at Winchester, and the warre that had continued for the space of 17. yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king tooke the duke with him to London, dooing to him all the honour he could deuise. The newes whereof being

being spred abrode, euerie good man reioised thereat. Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was restored vnto the decaied state of this relme of England. Which things being thus accomplished with great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his new adopted sonne duke Henrie tooke leaue either of other, appointing shortlie after to méet againe at Oxenford, there to perfect euerie article of their agréement, which was thus accorded a little before Christmas.

¶ But by the way, for the better vnderstanding of the said agreement, I haue thought good to set downe the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan, as I haue copied it out, and translated it into English out of an autentike booke conteining the old lawes of the Saxon and Danish kings, in the end whereof the same charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worshipfull William Fléetwood esquire, now recorder of London, and sargeant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie duke of Normandie.

STEPHAN king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, iusticers, sherifes, barons and all his faithfull subiects of England sendeth greeting. Know yee that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my successour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and so haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath doone homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath assured me, that he shall be faithfull and loiall to me, and shall to his power preserue my life and honour: and I on the other side shall maineteine and preserue him as my sonne and heire in all things to my power, and so far as by any waies or meanes I may.

William sonne to king Stephan.

And William my sonne hath doone his lawfull homage, and assured his fealtie vnto the said duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all those tenements and holdings which I held before I atteined to the possession of the realme of England, wheresoeuer the same be in England, Normandie, or elsewhere, and whatsoeuer he receiued with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewise whatsoeuer apperteineth to those honoures. And the duke shall put my sonne William and his men that are of that honour in full possession and seizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke thereof now hath in his demaine, and namelie of those that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer, so that Reginald de Warren shall haue the kéeping of the same castels of Bellencumber, and of Mortimer, if he will; and thereupon shall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of those castels, then other liege of men of the said erle Warren, whom it shall please the duke to appoint, shall be sure pledges and good suertie keepe the said castels.

Earle Warren.

The castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer.

Moreouer, the duke shall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleasure the other castels, which belong vnto the earledome of Mortaigne by safe custodie and pledges, so soone as he conuenientlie may, so as all the pledges are to be restored vnto my sonne free, so soone as the duke shall haue the realme of England in possession. The augmentation also which I haue giuen vnto my sonne William, he hath likewise granted the same to him; to wit, the castell and towne of Norwich, with seauen hundred pounds in

The earldome of Mortaigne.

Norwich.

lands

lands, so as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the same seauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolke; the profits and rents which belong to churches, bishops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, also excepted: sauing also and reseruing the kings roiall iurisdiction for administration of iustice. Also the more to strengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my said sonne whatsoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuensey. And moreouer the castell and towne of Peuensey, and the seruice of Faremouth, beside the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteineth to the honour of Douer.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de Egle.

The duke hath also confirmed the church of Feuersham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or restored by me vnto other churches, he shall confirme by the counsell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that belong to the duke, which were neuer my leeges, for the honour which I haue done to their master, they haue now doone homage and sworne fealtie to me, the couenants betwixt me & the said duke alwaies saued. The other which had before doone homage to me, haue sworne fealtie to me as to their souereigne lord. And if the duke should breake and go from the premisses, then are they altogither to ceasse from dooing him any seruice, till he reforme his misdooings. And my sonne also is to constreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke shall chance to go from the couenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons also haue doone their leege and homage vnto the duke, sauing their faith to me so long as I liue, and shall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I doo breake and go from the premitted couenants, that then they may ceasse from dooing me any seruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue doone amisse.

The church of Feuersham.

The citizens also of cities, and those persons that dwell in castels, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue doone homage, and made assurance to the duke, sauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and so long as I shall hold the kingdome. They which keep the castle of Wallingford haue doone their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the observing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke such assurance of the castels and strengths which I hold by the counsell and aduice of holie church, that when I shall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any losse or impeachment, whereby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortresse of Windsor, by the counsell and aduice of holie church are deliuered vnto the lord Richard de Lucie, safelie to be kept, which Richard hath taken an oth, and hath deliuered his sonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and custodie of the archbishop of Canturburie, that after my decease he shall deliuer the same castels vnto the duke. Likewise by the counsell and aduise of holie church, Roger de Bussey keepeth the castell of Oxford, and Jordaine de Bussey the castell of Lincolne, which Roger & Jordaine haue sworne, and thereof haue deliuered pledges into the hands of the archbishop, that if I shall chance to leaue this life, they shal render the same castels to the duke without impeachment. The bishop of Winchester hath also giuen his faith in the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he shall render vp vnto the duke the castels of Winchester, and the fortresse of Hampton.

Wallingford castell.

The tower of London.

Mota de Windsor.

Richard de Lucie.

Mota de Oxford.

The bishop of Winchester.

And if any of them, vnto whom the custodie of these fortresses shall be committed, fortune to die, or otherwise to depart from his charge, an other shall be appointed to the keeping of the same fortresse, before he shall depart foorth thereof, by the counsell and aduice of holie church. And if any of those persons that haue any castels or fortresses belonging to me in their custodie shall be found disobedient and rebell, I and the duke shall constreine him to satisfie our will & pleasure, not leauing him in rest till he be so constreined. The archbishops and bishops of the realme of England, and the abbats also, haue by my commandement sworne fealtie vnto the duke; and the bishops and abbats that hereafter shall be made and aduanced here within the realme of England

shall likewise sweare fealtie to him. The archbishops also and bishops on either part, haue vndertaken, that if either of vs shall go from the foresaid couenants, they shall so long chastise the partie offending with the ecclesiastical censures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obserue the said couenants. The mother also of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & subiects whom he may procure, shall likewise assure the premisses.

In matters belonging to the state of the realme, I shall worke by the dukes aduice. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I shall see that roiall iustice be executed. These beeing witnesses, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, Hen. of Winchester, Robert of Excester, Rob. of Bath, Goceline of Salisburie, Robert of Lincolne, Hilarie of Cicester, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Migell of Elie, Gilbert of Hereford, John of Worcester, Walter of Chester, Walter of Rochester, Geffrey of S. Asaph, Bishops: Robert prior of Bermondsey, Othon knight of the temple, William earle of Cicester, Robert earle of Leicester, William earle of Glocester, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Toning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Salisburie, William de Albemarle, Earle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Humer, Reginald de Warren, Mahaser Biset, John de Port, Richard de Cameuille, Henrie de Essex. Geuen at Westminster.

1154. Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the historie. Immediatlie after Christmasse, euen in the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe at Oxenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being assembled, sware fealtie vnto duke Henrie, their allegiance due vnto king Stephan, as to their souereigne lord and supreme gouernour so long as he liued, alwaies reserued. The forme of the peace was now also ingrossed and registered for a perpetuall witnesse of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Christmasse, as about the feast of S. Hilarie in Januarie commonlie called the twentith daie. Thus was Henrie the sonne of the empresse made the adopted sonne of king Stephan, and therevpon the said Henrie saluted him as king, and named him father. After conclusion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceassed in such wise, that the state of the realme of England did maruelouslie for a time flourish, concord being mainteined on ech hand.

Ger. Dor. *An. Reg.* 19.

Polydor. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cause bound king Stephan to agrée to this attonement chiefelie, namelie for that the empresse (as they saie) was rather king Stephans paramour than his enimie: and therefore (when she saw the matter growne to this point, that they were readie to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the westerne parts called Egelaw heath) she came secretlie vnto king Stephan, & spake vnto him on this wise: "What a mischieuous and vnnaturall thing go ye about? Is it méet that the father should destroie the sonne? Is it lawfull for the sonne to kill the father? For the loue of God (man) refraine thy displeasure, and cast thy weapons out of thy hand, sith that (as thou thy selfe knowest full well) Henrie is thine owne sonne." With these and the like words she put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to doo with hir a little before she was maried vnto earle Geffrey.

Matth. Paris. Egelaw heath.

The words of the empresse to king Stephan.

The empresse confesseth hir selfe to be naught of hir bodie.

The king by such tokens as the empresse gaue him, tooke hir words to be true, and therevpon all his malice was streightwaies quenched: so that calling foorth the archbishop of Canturburie, he vttered to him the whole matter, and tooke therewith such direction, in sending to his aduersaries for auoiding battell at that present, that immediatlie the armies on both sides wrapped vp their ensignes, and euery man was commanded to kéepe the peace, that a communication might be had about the conclusion of some pacification, which afterwards ensued in maner aboue mentioned.

¶ But

¶ But whether this or some other cause moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And surelie a man may thinke it good reason, that the report of such secret companie-keeping betwixt the king and the empresse, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no ground of truth, but vpon some slanderous deuice of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to doo with hir; yet is it like that both of them would doo for best to kéepe it secret, that no such reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate; or to his mother, whose honour thereby should not a little be stained.

Slanders deuised by malicious heads.

But now to the purpose. Shortlie after that the king and duke Henrie had béene togither at Oxenford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunstable, where some cloud of displeasure seemed to darken the bright sunshine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt those two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the castels which had béene built since the daies of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purposes, should be razed and throwne downe: contrarie therevnto (notwithstanding manie of them were ouerthrowne and destroied to the accomplishment of that article) diuers through the kings permission were suffered to stand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redresse, which somewhat troubled him: but yet bicause he would not giue occasion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would seeme to yeeld all honour and due reuerence, he passeth it ouer.

Oxenford. *Ger. Dor.* The king and duke méet at Dunstable.

Articles not performed.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were solemnlie receiued of the couent of Christes church with procession. After this, in the Lent season they went to Douer, where they talked with Theodorike earle of Flanders, and with the countesse his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was bruted) the duke should haue béene murthered, through treason of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes person, and also that peace which he had concluded with the king. But sée the hap. As this feat should haue béene wrought on Berham-downe, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his sonne, who was one of the chéefe conspirators, fell beside his horsse, and brake his leg, so that euerie man by that sudden chance was in a maze, & came woondering about him. ¶ This no doubt came to passe by the prouidence of God, though such accidents are commonlie imputed to casualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to preuent, or to intercept, or to recompense the vnnatural conspiracies of traitors and rebels with some notable plague: according to that of the poet;

The king and duke come to Canturburie.

The enuie of the Flemings.

Οἱ ἀντῷ κακὰ τέυχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τέυχων,
Ἡ δὲ κακὴ βελὴ τῷ βελέυσαντι κακίστη,
Noxius ipse sibi est alij qui quærit obesse,
Consiliúmq; malum danti fert maxima damna.

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. op. & di.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treason intended against him, or at the least suspecting somewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and so auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rochester, and so to London, he got him a shipboord, and sailed by long seas into Normandie, where he arriued in safetie.

Duke Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

After his departure, king Stephan spent the summer season of this yeare, in going about the most part of the realme, shewing all the courtesie he could deuise to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious persons, as in Yorkshire, where Philip de Coleuille (in trust of his castell which he had stronglie fortified at a certeine place called Drax) shewed himselfe disobedient to the king, who assembling a power in the countrie, besieged that castell, and shortlie wanne it, without any great adoo.

Wil. Paru. Philip de Coleuille. The castell of Drax.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puissance was thought to be such,

The puissance of duke Henrie.

such, that he was able to mainteine warres with the mightiest prince that then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten possession of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Poictou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and looked to succéed in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Aniou, Thouraigne, and Maine. He also reuoked into his hands certeine parcels of his demeane lands, which his father had giuen away, and passing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie subdued certeine lords and barons there, that had rebelled against him.

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie. *Matth. West.*

About the same time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king restoring vnto the duke the townes of Newmarch and Uernon, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. markes of siluer, for the harmes doone by him, within the realme of France.

Wil. Paru. Roger Archdecon of Canturburie made archbishop of Yorke. Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. Yee shall vnderstand, that within a while after he had made his foresaid progresse almost about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement as well to consult of matters touching the state of the commonwealth, as to furnish the see of Yorke with a sufficient archbishop. Wherevpon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was chosen to that dignitie, and consecrated the tenth day of October, by archbishop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbishop of Canturburie. Then also was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the said Theobald. The new archbishop Roger first went to his see at Yorke, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and set his businesse there in order, he tooke his iournie towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne person.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan departed this life.

Matth. Paris. N. Triuet. 1154.

King Stephan also after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to meet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certeine businesse. The earle was no sooner returned backe, but the king fell sicke, and was so gréeuouslie tormented with a paine in his bellie, and with an old disease also, wherewith (as should appear) he had beene often troubled, namelie, the emrods, that finallie he died in the abbey on the fiue and twentith day of October, in the nine and fortith yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eighteene yeares, ten moneths, and od daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbeie of Feuersham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife also, and his sonne Eustace were buried before. ¶ Thus farre of the acts and deeds of Stephan; now a little of other breefe remembrances, and first touching the prosopographie or description of his person.

His stature.

He was comelie of stature, of a verie good complexion and disposition, of great strength, in qualities of mind verie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and verie liberall. For though he continued all his time in a maner in the maintenance of wars, yet he leuied but few tributs, or almost none at all. Indéed he put diuers bishops to greeuous fines, and that not without the iust iudgement of Almightie God, that they might so be punished duelie for their periurie committed in helping him to the crowne. Vices wherewith he should be noted I find none, but that vpon an ambitious desire to reigne, he brake his oth which he made vnto the empresse Maud.

Abbeies founded. Coggeshall he founded himselfe, and Fontneis in Lancashire, & Feuersham in Kent. *Wil. Paruus.*

In his daies, the abbeies of Tiltey, Fontneis, Rieualle, Coggeshall in Essex, Newbourgh and Béeland, Meriuale in Warwikeshire, Garedon in Leicestershire, Kirkstéed in Yorkeshire, with diuers other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in so much that more abbeis were erected in his daies, than had béene within the space of an hundred yeares before, as William Paruus writeth.

A great number of castels also were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the Nobles of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuasions of forrenners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themselues when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking vpon their neighbours.

Diuerse learned men namelie historiographers liued in these daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmensis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwise called Monumetensis,

Monumetensis, Caradoc Lancarnauensis, William Reuellensis, among whom Thurstan archbishop of Yorke is not to be forgotten, besides many more, who in diuerse sciences were verie expert and skilfull, as by treatises of their setting foorth to the world hath sufficientlie appeared.

Thus far Stephan of Bullongne.

HENRIE THE SECOND,
The Second Sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.

HENRIE the second of that name, a French man borne, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Aniou, begotten of Maud the empresse, daughter to Henrie the first, began his reigne ouer England the fiue and twentith of October, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauiour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, the second of pope Anastasius the fourth, the seuenteenth yeare of Lewes the seuenth king of France, and second of Malcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertised of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Ostreham about the seuenth day of December. After he had got his companies togither, which by tempest were scattered in his passage, he came first to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the Nobles of the realme resorting vnto him. This doone he set foorth towards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie the twentith daie of December. *An. Reg.* 1. 1154. *N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.*

The archbishop of Rouen, with three of his suffragans, the archbishop of Yorke, and manie other bishops of England: Theodorus the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were present there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of three and twentie yeares, and to win the peoples loue, he spake manie comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they should find him a louing prince. He vsed the lords also verie courteouslie. And first of all, after his atteining to the crowne, he chose to him councellers of the grauest personages, and best learned in the lawes of the realme, with whose prudent aduice he perused those lawes, and amended them where he thought necessarie, commanding chieflie, that the lawes established by his grandfather Henrie the first should be obserued: and in manie things he relied vpon the aduice of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at whose sute he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancellour, which Becket the said archbishop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before. *N. Triuet.* The archbishop of Rouen. *Polydor.* Councellers chosen. *Ran. Higd.* Thom. Becket lord chancellor.

Moreouer, by the sentence and doome of his councellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better mainteined, he commanded by waie of publishing a proclamation, that all strangers (which to get sommwhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill discord betweene him and king Stephan) shuld depart home without further delaie: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they should auoid vpon perill that might insue. It was a worlds woonder to sée and marke how suddenlie these aliens were quite vanished, as though they had béene phantasmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the subiects of the realme, as they that were accustomed to attempt one shrewd turne vpon an others necke, and *An. Reg.* 2. 1155. *Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Hil. Paruus.* Straungers appointed to depart the r alme. Aliens auoid the land.

and thought it lawfull for them so to doo. Amongst them was a great number of Flemings, whom the king hated more than the residue.

William de Ypres.

By vertue also of this edict, William of Ypres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was constreined with others to depart the realme, king Henrie seizing all his possessions into his owne hands. Diuerse castels were throwne downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephans permission had builded, or else for that they stood not in such places as was thought meet and expedient; yet some he caused to be fortified: and furthermore, tooke into his hands againe such lands and possessions as apperteined to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of person, of what degrée so euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would looke so néere to his owne commoditie, that nothing should be left for them that might any way be recouered and gotten to his vse.

Castels ouerthrowne. *Polydor.* *Matth. Paris.* *Wil. Paruus.* *Matth. Paris.*

In this yere queene Elianor being then in the citie of London, on the last of Februarie was deliuered of hir second sonne named Henrie. About the same time also, William Peuerell of Notingham a noble man and of great possessions was disherited by the king for sorcerie and witchcraft, which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester, as it was reuealed openlie, and brought to light. In accomplishing of which hainous crime and detestable act, many others were of counsell, and found giltie with him, which escaped not vnpunished.

N. Triuet. *Matth. Paris.* *Matth. West.* William Peuerell disherited.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie assembled the péeres & great lords of his realme togither at Wallingford, and caused them to sweare allegiance vnto his eldest sonne William: prouiding, that if he chanced to die, then they should doo the like vnto his brother Henrie. Also whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fensed his castels against king Henrie, he besieged the same, and taking the castell of Cleberie, he destroied it. Whereupon, the foresaid Hugh shortlie after was at peace with the king, and surrendred to him the two castels of Wigmore and Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and Roger Fitz Miles of Glocester (who was earle of Hereford) for the lands of Glocester, that variance was also quenched: for after the same Roger was dead, his brother Walter succeeding him in the earldome of Hereford, was constreined to depart with the citie of Glocester, which the king held and reteined in his owne hands.

Nic. Treuet. *Matth. Paris.* *Nic. Treuet.* Hugh de Mortimer. The castell of Cleberie.

Roger Fitz Miles.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie went to Yorke, and in that countrie tooke into his hands diuers castels which had béene long in possession of priuate men; namelie, the castell of Scarborough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and now was constreined to resign it vp, full sore against his will. This yeare William the kings eldest sonne departed this life, and was buried at Reading. The realme of England was brought on all sides into verie good quiet; but yer long, word came to K. Henrie, that his brother Geffrey had begun a rebellion on the other side of the sea. For their father Geffrey (when he died) left three sonnes behind him, Henrie, Geffrey, and William, ordeining by his testament, when Henrie should haue gotten possession of England and Normandie, that then the countrie of Anjou should remaine vnto Geffrey, and in the meane time, he to haue these three townes, Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, to mainteine his estate; and when the time came that the whole heritage should fall vnto him, he might by possession of these three haue a readier meane to come by all the rest. Furthermore, fearing least his eldest sonne Henrie (who as then was absent) would not consent to the performance of this his will, he caused certeine bishops and other of the Nobles to sweare, that they should not suffer his bodie to be committed to buriall, till his sonnes had sworne to fulfill his last will and testament in all other things, but especially in this behalfe, wherin he iudged not amisse. For though Henrie was loth to take his oth, yet bicause his fathers bodie should not remaine vnburied, he was contented to sweare.

An. Reg. 2. The king goeth into the north. The castell of Scarborough. *Wil. Paruus.* *Nic. Treuet.* The death of the kings son William. Geffrey the kings brother rebelleth.

Wil. Paruus.

But

But after he had obteined the kingdome of England, his couetous desire, increasing still with abundance alreadie obteined, found meanes to procure of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Englishman borne) a dispensation for that oth: wherevpon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he passed ouer into Normandie, and making war against his brother the said Geffrey, easilie expelled him out of those places, which were assigned him by bequest in his fathers testament, and so tooke the earledome of Aniou into his owne possession. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his said brother a pension of a thousand pounds English, & two thousand pounds of the monie of Aniou, with the towne of Lodun, and certeine other lands to liue vpon; who neuerthelesse thinking himselfe euill vsed at the kings hands, rebelled and died.

Pope Adrian an Englishman borne.
A dispensatiō for an oth. *Nic. Treuet.*

¶ Here we haue to note the lacke of conscience and religion, not onlie in the pretended successor of Peter in giuing a dispensasion for an oth, but also in his good ghostlie sonne, who was no lesse forward in reuolting from his oth, than the other was willing to acquite him from the force thereof. But if these men had beene profiting scholars in the vniuersitie of the pagans, as they were arrand truants and ranke dullards in the schoole of christians, they might haue learned by profane examples, that as oths are not to be rashlie taken, so they are not to be vnaduisedlie broken. Herevnto alludeth Aristotle in his Metaphysikes, shewing the cause why poetrie hath feigned that the gods in old time vsed to sweare by water, as Jupiter is reported to haue doone in this manner;

——— per flumina iuro
Infera sub terra Stygio labentia luco.

Ouid. Met. lib. 1. fab. 6.

To signifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie ancient and excellent element, and so necessarie that without it the life of man cannot consist; euen so we ought to estéeme of an oth, than the which we should thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie, nothing more christian. Herevnto also tendeth the fable of the transmutation of mariners into Dolphins for periurie: importing thus much for our instruction, that the breaking of an oth, in a case that may preiudice, procureth greeuous punishments from God against them that so lewdlie doo offend. But such is the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant dispensations onlie for oths, but for incest, for treason, and for any other sinne: which he may doo (as he boasteth) by vertue of his absolute and vniuersall iurisdiction: as we haue latelie in most lamentable sort séene exemplified. But to the course of our storie.

Ouid. Met. lib. 3. fab. 8, 9, 10.

Shortlie after, when king Henrie had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, and made an end of troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey, he returned into England, bicause he receiued aduertisement, that Malcolme king of Scotland began to make war against his subiects that bordered next vnto him, wherevpon he hasted northwards: and comming first into Cumberland, he tooke the citie of Carleil, seizing all that countrie into his hands; and going after into Northumberland, he wan the towne of Newcastell, with the castell of Bamburg, and tooke into his possession all that countrie which his mother the empresse had sometimes granted vnto king Dauid, as before ye haue heard: howbeit, bicause he would not séeme to offer too much wrong, and be esteemed vnmindfull of former benefites receiued, he suffered king Malcolme to enioy the earledome of Huntington, which king Stephan had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, sonne to king Dauid, as before is partlie touched.

1156.

King Henrie goeth against the Scots.
He wan Carleil and Newcastell and others.
The earledome of Huntingtō.

William also the earle of Mortaigne, and Warren sonne of king Stephan, were compelled to surrender to king Henrie, the castell of Pemsey, the citie of Norwich, and other townes and castels which he held, apperteining to the demeane of the crowne: to whom the king in recompense restored those lands which his father king Stephan held in the daies of king Henrie the first.

William earle of Mortaigne. *Math. Paris. Nic. Treuet.*

About this time Theodorike earle of Flanders (going with his wife vnto Jerusalem) committed

An. Reg. 3. 1157.

Theoderike earle of Flanders.

committed his sonne Philip with all his lands, to the custodie of the king of England. Hugh Bigot also resigned his castels into the kings hands.

Rebellion of Welshmen. The king inuadeth them.

But whilest king Henrie was about (as before ye haue heard) to recouer and get backe the portions of his kingdome made away and dismembred by his predecessors, he was informed that the Welshmen raised a rebellion against him; to represse whose attempts, he hasted foorth with all diligence. Now at his first approch to their countrie, his souldiers being set vpon in the straits, were verie fiercelie put back by the enimies, in somuch that a rumor ran how king Henrie was slaine, which puffed vp the Welshmen with no small hope, and dawnted the Englishmen with great feare.

Eustace Fitz John, & Robert de Curcy slaine.

In déed, diuerse of the English nobilitie were slaine, and (amongst others) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation.

Those which escaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king passed through the straits without danger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approching to the said straits, that (so farre as they knew) the king and all the residue were lost. These

Henrie of Essex. *Matth. West. Wil. Parvus.*

newes so discomforted the companies, that Henrie of Essex, which bare the kings standard by right of inheritance, threw downe the same, and fled: which dishonorable déed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by order

A combat betwixt Henrie de Essex, and Robert de Mountfort. *Matth. West.*

taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the king qualifieng the rigor of the iudgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a shorne moonke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited: howbeit this combat was not tried till about the 9. yeare of this kings reigne.

Now the king, hearing that his armie was discomfited, came to his men, and shewing himselfe to them with open visage, greatlie reuiued the whole multitude, and then proceéding against the enimies, his people were afterwards more warie in looking to them-

The Welshmen submit themselues.

selues, insomuch that at length (when the K. prepared to inuade the Welshmen both by water & land) they sought to him for peace, and wholie submitted themselues vnto his grace and mercie.

The castell of Rutland and Basingwerke built. *Matth Paris.*

About the same time, king Henrie builded the castell of Rutland, the castell of Basingwerke, and one house also of Templers. In the moneth of September also this yeare, the kings third sonne was borne at Oxenford, & named Richard. This yeare was Thomas

An. Reg. 4.

Becket preferred to be the kings Chancellor. The king holding his Christmas at Worcester in great royaltie, sat in the church at seruice, with his crowne on his head, as the

Thomas Becket lord Chancelor.

kings vsed in those daies to doo on solemne feasts: but as soone as masse was ended, he tooke his crowne from his head, and set it downe vpon the altar in signe of humblenes,

1158.

Matth. Paris. The king laieth his crown on the altar.

so that he neuer after passed for the wearing of a crowne. The same yeare also the king altered his coine, abrogating certeine peeces called basels.

Coine altered.

In the moneth of August he went ouer into Normandie, and came to an enteruiew with the French king neere to the riuer of Eata, where they intreated of a league, and of a marriage, which was after agréed vpon, betwixt Henrie the sonne of king Henrie; and

Additions to John Pike.

the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the kings chancellor) was sent to Paris in great araie to fetch hir: who among

The lord chancellor Becket sent into France. *Matth. West.*

other furnitures had nine long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket the lord chancellor, and brought from Paris, she was appointed from thencefoorth to remaine in the house of Robert de Newburge, a Noble man of great honor, vntill such time as the mariage should be solemnized.

After the two kings were departed in sunder, K. Henrie prepared an armie against Conan duke of Britaine, who had seized the citie of Naunts into his hands, after the decease of Geffrey the kings brother, who was earle of Naunts. At length, the same Conan perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the king of England, vpon the daie of the feast of saint Michael the archangell came to king Henrie, and surrendred the citie of Naunts into his hands, with all the whole countrie therevnto belonging. Soone after which re-

signation, and vpon the 24. of August, Geffrey the kings fourth sonne was borne of his wife queene Elianor. Geffrey the kings fourth sonne borne.

In December following, Theobald earle of Blois was accorded with king Henrie, to deliuer to him two of his castels. Likewise Petroke earle of Perch surrendred two castels vnto king Henrie, which he had vsurped of the demeanes of Normandie in the daies of king Stephan: one of which castels the king gaue him againe, receiuing homage of him for the same. Petroke earle of Perch.

Moreouer king Henrie and Raimond earle of Barzelone met togither at Blaime, where they concluded a league by way of allegiance, so that Richard the sonne of king Henrie should take to wife the daughter of the said Raimond in time conuenient; and that the king of England should giue vnto the said Richard the duchie of Aquitane, & the countie of Poictow. This earle Raimond had married the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon. Raimond erle of Barzelone. Richard the kings sonne offered to erle Raimonds daughter.

In the meane time, a secret grudge that had long depended betwéene king Henrie and king Lewes of France did still continue, and though there was a friendship agreed betweene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguished the same; yet was it but a fained friendship: for vpon euery new occasion they were readie to breake againe, as it came to passe shortlie after. A fained friendship.

William duke of Aquitane, grandfather to queene Elianor, married the daughter and heire of the earle of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie land, he engaged that earledome vnto Raimond the earle of saint Giles, and died before he could returne. His sonne William, father to quéene Elianor, suffered his earledome to remaine still vnredéemed, either for want of sufficiencie, or through negligence and carelesnesse: so that the earle of saint Giles kéeping possession thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to his sonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewise. Now when king Lewes (hauing married the foresaid Elianor) demanded restitution as in the right of his wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the first denied to restore it, but after considering his lacke of power to resist the kings puissance, he plied the K. with humble petitions, and so preuailed by faire words, that in the end king Lewes granted him his sister Constance in marriage (which Constance, as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Eustace the sonne of king Stephan) & with hir granted him libertie to reteine the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie of endowment: whereto the other accorded. Howbeit king Henrie hauing married the foresaid quéene Elianor, after the diuorse had betwixt hir and king Lewes, made claime to the said countie of Tholouze in the right of his wife. Herevpon earle Raimond, trusting now to the aid of his brother in law king Lewes, denied to restore it; so that king Henrie determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gascoine with an armie, he drew towards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to inuade the same with great force and courage. William duke of Aquitane. Earle of saint Giles otherwise Tholouze. An. Reg. 5. 1159. *Matth. Paris. Matt. Westm.*

Diuerse great lords of those parties ioyned with king Henrie in his war which he attempted against the earle of saint Giles, as the earle of Barzelone, and the lord William Thencheuile, a man of great power in those quarters, hauing vnder his rule manie cities, castels and townes, notwithstanding that he had of late lost many of them by violence of the foresaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of king Henrie he recouered them all. Malcolme also king of Scotland came vnto king Henrie, whilest he was foorth in this iournie, to associate him in this businesse. *Wil. Parvus.* William Trencheuille. *N. Triuet.*

The earle hearing of king Henries comming with an armie, was put in great feare, and therevpon wrote letters to his brother in law king Lewes, requiring him with all spéed possible to come vnto his aid. King Lewes vpon receipt of the letters, & vnderstanding the present danger of the earle, made such hast in continuing his iournie both daie and night, that he came to Tholouze, before king Henrie could arriue there. Which when king Henrie vnderstood, and perceiued how he was preuented, he changed his purpose of besieging the citie, and fell to spoiling of the countrie thereabouts: at which time he recouered

recouered certaine places that latelie before had reuolted from his gouernment, & (amongst the rest) the citie of Cahors, which he furnished with men, munition and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the custodie and keeping thereof: he fortified other places also which he had gotten, placing capteines and men of warre to looke vnto the defense of the same. Whilest the king was thus abrode on his iournie in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Mortaine the sonne of king Stephan, and Haimon earle of Glocester departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

The citie of Cahors.
N. Trivet.
The lord chancellor Becket.
Rob. Foxed.
William earle of Bullongne.

Finallie, when he had set things at a staie in those parties, he returned towards Normandie, and comming to the citie of Toures, he gaue the order of knighthood vnto Malcolme king of Scotland, and so in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new supplies, entred into the countie of Beauuoisin, burned manie villages in the same, and destroied the strong castell of Gerberie, except one turret, which his souldiers could not take, by reason of the fire and smoke which staied and kept them from it. Moreouer, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered vnto king Henrie such fortresses as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and such like, which was no small discommoditie and inconuenience to the French king, bicause the garisons placed in those fortresses impeached the passage betwixt Paris and Orleance. But shortlie after, a truce was taken to last from the moneth of December vnto the feast of the holie Trinitie in the yeare next following.

The countie of Beauuoisin.

A truce taken.
An. Reg. 6. 1160.

In the moneth of Maie also insuing, a peace was concluded vpon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the mariage was solemnized betwixt Henrie the kings sonne being seuen yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not past three yeares old: as writers doo report. The marriage was celebrated at Newborough on the second daie of Nouember, by the authoritie of two legats of the apostolike sée, Henrie bishop of Pisa, and William bishop of Pauia, both preests and cardinals.

A peace concluded.
A marriage concluded.
Matth. Paris.
Legats.

About the same time came certeine Dutchmen of the sort called Ualdoies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which first spred the opinions which these men held, came from Gascoigne, and preuailed so greatlie in setting foorth their doctrine, that they mightilie increased through the large regions of Spaine, France, Italie, and Germanie: simple men (God wote) they were for the most part, as is written of them, and of no quicke capacitie. Howbeit, those which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now also was a councell assembled at Oxford, whereat these dogmatists were examined vpon certeine points of their profession. The forsaid Gerard vndertaking to answere for them all, protested that they were good christians, and had the doctrine of the apostles in all reuerence. Moreouer, being examined what they thought of the substance of the godhead and the merits of Christ, they answered rightlie, and to the point; but being further examined vpon other articles of the religion then receiued, they swarued from the church, and namelie, in the vse of the diuine sacraments, derogating such grace from the same, as the church by hir authoritie had then ascribed thereto. To conclude, they would in no wise renounce their opinions, in somuch that they were condemned, burned in the forehead with an hot iron, and in the cold season of winter stripped naked from the girdle steed vpward, and so whipped out of the towne; with proclamation made, that no man should be so hardie as to receiue them into any house, relieue them with meat, drinke, or any other kind of meanes: wherevpon it fell out in fine that they were starued to death through cold and hunger: howbeit in this their affliction they séemed to reioise, in that they suffered for Gods cause, as they made account.

Wil. Paruus.
Certéine of the Ualdoies came into England being Dutchmē.
A councell at Oxford.
The professions of the Ualdoies.
Their examination & protestation.
The Ualdois condemned.
They are forbidden meat and drinke.
They are starued to death.

The same yeare, Matthew sonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbesse of Ramsie, daughter to king Stephan, and with hir had the countie of Bullongne. About this mariage grew the first falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket

N. Trivet.
The first falling out betwixt the K. & Thomas Becket.

Becket (as some haue written) but none more than the said Matthew was offended with the said chancellor, bicause he was so sore against the said contract. An. Reg. 7. *Matth. Paris. Matth. West.* 1161.

King Henrie, shortlie after the marriage was consummate betwixt his sonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands the castell of Gisors, with two other castels, situate vpon the riuer of Eata in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage should be finished, king Henrie should haue those thrée castels, bicause they apperteined to Normandie; in the meane time, the same castels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Poiron, Tostes de Saint Omer, and Robert Hastings, thrée knights templers, who vpon the consummation of the marriages before said, and according to the trust committed to them, surrendred the possession of the said castels into the hands of king Henrie. *Rog. Houed.*

But the French king was not a little mooued, for that king Henrie had seized vpon them without his licence, in so much that he raised a power of armed men, and sent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict aboue the rest with the Normans, till the night parted them in sunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumount, and the Normans to Gisors. The next daie, as the Frenchmen came foorth againe, purposing to haue won Gisors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who issued out of the towne to skirmish with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt these two princes; and by setting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the English and French powers comming foorthwith into the field, and marching one against an other, they approched so neere togither, that battell was presentlie looked for, first in Ueulgessine, and after in the teritorie of Dune; but yet in the end such order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake vp. *Gaguinus.* The French & Normans fight. *Nic. Triuet.*

The three Templers also ran in displeasure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the castels before they knew his mind, so that he banished them the realme of France for euermore: but king Henrie receiued them, and gaue them honorable enterteinement. Some write that there were but two castels, Gisors and Meall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned. Thrée knights tempfers. *Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris.*

About this time Theobald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that sée the space of 22. yeares, who at his going to Rome, and receipt of the pall of pope Innocent the second, was also created legat of the see apostolike, which office he exercised so diligentlie, and so much to the availe of the church, that the dignitie of legatship remained euer after to the archbishop of Canturburie by a speciall decrée, so that they were intituled Legati nati, that is to say Legats borne (as mine author dooth report.) This Theobald greatlie fauoured Thomas Becket. The death of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie. The power legantine anexed to Cant. *Wil. Paru.*

This Becket was borne in London, his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Saracen: howbeit (no regard had of his parents) he grew so highlie in fauour with the king, and might doo so much in England, that he seemed to reigne as if he had beene associat with him also in the kingdome, and being Lord chancellor, the king sent him ouer into England (Richard Lucie being in his companie) with sundrie letters in his fauour, thereby to procure his election to that sée: which was brought to passe according to the kings desire at Westminster. Afterward he was ordeined at Canturburie on saturdaie in Witsunwéeke, by Henrie bishop of Winchester (although there be that write how Walter bishop of Rochester did consecrate him) which consecration was in the 44. yeare of his age, and in the fift yere after his first aduancement to the office of Lord chancellor, so that he was the eight and thirtith archbishop which gouerned in that see. The authoritie of Becket. An. Reg. 6. He is consecrated archb. *Wil. Paru.* 1162. Quadrilogium ex vita eiusdem Thomæ.

Toward the end of the same yeare, Henrie the kings sonne receiued homage of the barons, first in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare ensuing, the king his father committed him to archbishop Becket, that he might sée him brought vp and trained in maners and courtlie behauiour, as apperteined to his estate: wherevpon the archbishop in iest called him his sonne. The archbish. a better courtier than a preacher.

This

The quéene brought to bed of a daughter.

This yeare Quéene Elianor was brought to bed at Rohan of a daughter named Elianor.

An enteruew.

In like maner the kings of England and France receiued pope Alexander the third at Cocie vpon Loire with all honor and reuerence, insomuch that they attended vpon his stirrup on foot like pages or lackies, the one vpon his right side, and the other on his left.

An. Reg. 9. 1163.

N. Triuet.

¶ Note here the intollerable pride of this antichristian pope in assuming, and the basemindednesse of these two kings in ascribing vnto that man of sinne such dignitie as is vtterlie vnfit for his indignitie. But what will this monster of men, this Stupor mundi, this Diaboli primogenitus & hæres not arrogate for his owne aduancement; like yuie climing aloft, & choking the trée by whose helpe it créepeth vp from the root to the top. But the end of this seauen horned beast so extolling and lifting it selfe vp to heauen, is

——Erebo miserè claudetur in imo
Atque illic miris cruciatibus afficietur.

Homage of the K. of Scots.

In Januarie ensuing, the king returned into England, and the same yeare the king of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the yonger, and deliuered his yonger brother Dauid to the king his father, with diuerse other the sonnes of his lords and barons in pledge, for assurance of a perpetuall peace to be kept betweene them, with some such castels as he required.

A councell at Tours.

In the meane time archbishop Thomas went to the councell holden by pope Alexander at Tours in the Octaues of Pentecost, where he resigned his bishoprike into the popes hands (as the fame went) being troubled in conscience for that he had receiued it by the kings preferment. The pope allowing his purpose, committed the same pastorlike dignitie to him againe by his ecclesiasticall power, whereby the archbishop was eased verie well of his greefe, and shortlie after his returne from his councell, seemed desirous to reduce & cause to be restored such rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canturburie, whereby he ran into the displeasure of manie, and namelie of the mightiest.

The archbish. practiseth treason secretlie.

Homage for the castell of Tunbridge.

Moreouer he required of the king the kéeping of Rochester castell, & the custodie of the tower of London. He alledged also that Saltwood & Hith belonged peculiarlie to the seigniorie of his see. He called Roger earle of Clare vnto Westminster, to doo his homage, vnto him for the castell of Tunbridge: but the earle denied it through the setting on of the king, alledging all the fee thereof to apperteine rather to the king than to the archbishop. Thus was the archbishop troubled, and he grew dailie more and more out of the kings fauour. For yee must vnderstand, that this was not the first nor the second, but the eight time that the king had shewed tokens of his displeasure against him.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

An. Reg. 10.

Homage of the Welshmen. 1164.

N. Triuet.

After this, vpon the first day of Julie, Rice prince of Southwales, with diuerse other lords and nobles of Wales, did homage both to the king and to his sonne Henrie at Woodstocke. Hamline the kings bastard brother married the countesse of Warren, the widow of William earle of Mortaigne bastard sonne to king Stephan. This countesse was the sole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warren, which went with Lewes king of France into the holie land, and there died. Soone after, the Welshmen rebelling with their prince Rice and his vncle Owen, did manie mischéefes on the marshes: and by the death of Walter Gifford earle of Buckingham (who deceased this yeare without heire) that earledome came to the kings hands.

Matth. Paris.

On the 20. daie of September were three circles seene to compasse the sun, and so continued the space of thrée houres togither: which when they vanished awaie, two sunnes appeared and sprang foorth after a maruellous maner. Which strange sight the common people imagined to be a signe or token of the controuersie then kindling betwixt the king and the archbishop.

About

About this time the king called a parlement at Westminster, to treat of matters concerning the commonwealth, wherein great discord arose betwixt the king & archbishop Becket, about certeine points touching the liberties of the church. For the king hauing an earnest zeale vnto iustice, and commanding the iudges to punish offenders without respect, vnderstood by their information, that manie things by them of the spiritualtie (against whome their authoritie might not be extended) were committed contrarie to common order: as theft, rapine, murther, and manslaughter; in so much that in his presence it was made notorious, that sith the beginning of his reigne, aboue an hundred manslaughters had béene committed within his realme of England by préests and men of religious orders. Herevpon being mooued in mind, he set forth lawes against the spiritualtie, wherein he shewed his zeale of iustice. For as the cause proceeded from the bishops of that age, so did the fault also, sith contrarie to their owne canons they permitted préests to liue ouer licentiouslie without due correction, studieng onelie to mainteine the liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reforme the irregularitie of the regulars. Of this crew was one Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, who being arreigned before the kings iusticer for a murther, vttered disdainefull words against the same iusticer: which when he could not denie before the archbishop, he was depriued of his prebend, and banished the land for two yeares space.

Discord still kindleth betwixt the king and the archb.

Murthers committed by préests.

W. Paruus.

Matth. Paris.

These things troubled the king, who therefore hauing alreadie set downe such orders as should bridle the spiritualtie from their wicked doings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parlement by consent of the bishops and clergie, then the same should take place and be receiued for lawes. Wherefore he earnestlie required at this parlement that it might be enacted against all such of the spiritualtie, as should be taken and conuicted for any henious offense, they should loose the priuiledge of the church, and be deliuered vnto the ciuill magistrate, who should sée them suffer execution for their offences, in like maner as he might any of the kings subiects being laie men. For otherwise the king alledged, that they would boldlie presume to doo much more mischiefe, if after ecclesiasticall discipline, no secular correction should follow. And likelie it was that they would passe but little for their disgrading and losse of their order, who in contempt of their calling would not absteine from committing most mischieuous abhominations and hainous enormities.

The king meaneth to bridle the spiritualtie from presumptuous dealing.

The prelats against the king.

Ger. Dor.

Unto these reasons thus proponed by the king (to haue his purpose take effect) the archbishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the bishops, answered verie pithilie, labouring to proue that it was more against the liberties of the church, than that they might with reason well allow. Wherevpon the king being moued exceedinglie against them, demanded whether they would obserue his roiall lawes and customes, which the archbishops and bishops in the time of his grandfather did hold and obeie or not? Wherevpon they made answere, that they would obserue them, Saluo ordine suo, Their order in all things saued. But the king being highlie offended with such exceptions, vrged the matter so, that he would haue them to take their oth absolutely, & without all exceptions, but they would none of that. At length he departed from London in verie great displeasure with the bishops, hauing first taken from the archbishop Thomas all the offices and dignities which he enioied since his first being created chancellor.

Their order saued.

The king offended with the bishops.

Howbeit, after this, manie of the bishops séeing wherevnto this broile would grow, began to shrinke from the archbishop, and inclined to the king. But the archbishop stood stiffie in his opinion, and would not bend at all, till at length not onelie his suffragans the bishops, but also the bishop of Liseux (who came ouer to doo some good in the matter) and the abbat of Elemosina (who was sent from the pope) persuaded him to agree to the kings will, in so much that being ouercome at last with the earnest suit of his freends, he came first to Woodstocke, and there promised the king to obserue his lawes, Bona fide, Faithfullie, and without all collusion or deceit.

R. Houed.

R. Houed.

Shortlie after, in the feast of S. Hilarie, a councell was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbishop, and in manner all the lords spirituall and temporall of the land made their

1164.

Ger. Dor.

A councell at Clarendon. *Ger. Dor.*

their repaire. Here the archbishop would haue willinglie started from his promise, if first the bishops, and after the earles of Leicester and Cornewall, Robert and Reignald (which Reignald was vncle to the king) and lastlie two knights templers, had not mooued him to yéeld to the kings will. But (amongst the rest) these two knights, namelie Richard de Hastings, and Hosteus de Boloigne were verie earnest with him, & at length preuailed, though not for conscience of dutie, wherewith he should haue beene touched; yet with feare of danger, which (by refusing to satisfie the kings will) he should haue brought not onelie vpon himselfe, but also vpon the other bishops there present.

These knights séemed to lament his case, as if alreadie they had séene naked swords shaken about his eares. And indeed, certeine of the kings seruants that attended vpon his person after the manner of a gard, went to and fro, rushing vp and downe the chambers, shaking their bright battell axes readie appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run vpon the bishops. Wherevpon the archbishop being touched with remorse, and séeming to striue against his determinat purpose, consented to obey the kings pleasure, and so promised in the word of a préest, swering furthermore, that he would obserue the kings lawes and customes, without expressing these words, Saluo ordine meo, Mine order saued, which he had vsed before. The like oth did all the bishops take. But the archbishop refused at that time to seale to the writing that conteined the articles of the oth which he should haue obserued, requiring as it were a time to consider of them, sith in so weightie a matter nothing ought to be doone without good and deliberate aduice, wherefore he tooke with him a copie thereof, and so did the archbishop of Yorke an other, and the third remained with the king.

Matt. Paris. The archbishop Becket receiueth an oth.

He repenteth him in that he had receiued an oth. *Matth. Paris.*

Shortlie after, the archbishop considering further of this oth which he had taken, repented himselfe greeuouslie therof, in so much that he absteined from saieng of masse, till he had by confession and fruits of penance (as saith Matth. Paris) obteined absolution of the pope. For addressing and sending out messengers with all spéed vnto the pope, with a certificat of the whole matter as it laie, he required to be assoiled of the bond which he had vnaduisedlie entred into. This suit was soone granted, in so much that the pope directed his especiall letters vnto him, conteining the same absolution in verie ample and large manner, as Matth. Paris dooth report. And thus began a new broile.

The archbishop Becket would haue fled out of the realme.

The archbishop in the meane time, perceiuing that the liberties of the church were now not onelie embezelled, but in maner extinguished, and being loth to make any further attempt against his former dealings, would now (without the kings knowledge) haue departed the realme, wherevpon comming to Romnie, he tooke shipping, to haue passed ouer into France, and so to haue gone to the popes court. But by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into England, and thereby fell further into the kings displeasure than before, in so much that, whereas an action was commensed against him of late for a manor, which the archbishops of Canturburie had of long time held: now the matter was so vsed that the archbishop lost the manor, and was moreouer condemned to paie the arrerages, and thus his troubles increased euen through his owne malapertnesse and brainesicknesse; whereas all these tumults might haue béene composed and laid asléepe, if he had béene wise, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

M. Pal. in suo sag.

Vir bonus & sapiens quærit super omnia pacem,
Vúltque minora pati, metuens grauiora, cauétque,
Ne paruo ex igni scelerata incendia surgant.

The archbishop cited to appeare at Northampton. *R. Houed.*

In the end, the archbishop was cited to appeere before the king at Northampton, where the king vsed him somewhat roughlie, placing his horsses at his Inne, and laid disobedience to his charge, for that he did not personallie appeare at a certeine place before his highnesse, vpon summons giuen vnto him him for the same purpose. Whereunto though the archbishop alledged that he had sent thither a sufficient deputie to make

answere for him; yet could he not be so excused, but was found giltie, and his goods confiscat to the kings pleasure. Sentence giuen against the archbishop.

Now when the archbishop heard that sentence was in suchwise pronounced against him; "What maner of iudgement (saith he) is this? Though I hold my peace, yet the age that shall hereafter follow, will not hide it in silence; for sithens the world began, it hath not beene heard, that any archbishop of Canturburie hath béene iudged in any of the king of Englands courts for any maner of cause; partlie in regard of the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie bicause he is spirituallie the father of the king and all his people. This is therefore a new forme and order of iudgement, that the archbishop should be iudged by his suffragans, or the father by his sons."

The next daie the king required of him the repaiment of fiue hundred marks, which he had lent him when he was chancellor. Now although he affirmed that he receiued the same by waie of gift, and not by waie of lone; yet bicause he confessed the receit, he was condemned in that debt, forsomuch as he could not prooue the title of the gift. The archbish. condemned in fiue hundred markes.

On the morrow after, the archbishop with his felow bishops being set in councell, by commandement of the king (& the doores fast locked that they should not get out) this was proponed against the archbishop, that whereas he held certeine bishops sées as then vacant, with abbeies, and other reuenues of his souereigne lord the king in his hands, and had made none account to him for the same of long time; the king required now to be answered at his hands, and that with all spéed, for he would haue no delaie. The summe amounted to thirtie thousand markes. An assemblie of bishops. The archbish. called to an account.

When the archbishop had heard the variable sentences of the bishops in this case, he answered after this maner: "I would (said he) speake with two earles which are about the king," and named them. Who being called, and the doores set open, he said vnto them; "We haue not héere at this present to shew whereby the thing may be more manifest: therefore we aske respit for answer till to morrow." The councell therefore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came with the archbishop thither, being afraid of the kings displeasure, fell from him. Wherefore he caused his seruants to fetch a great number of poore and impotent people to his lodging, saieng that by the seruice of such men of warre, a more spéedie victorie in short space might be gotten, than by them which in time of temptation shamefullie drew backe. Herevpon his house was filled full, and the tables set with such as his seruants had brought in, out of the lanes and streats abroad.

Upon the tuesdaie, the bishops all amazed and full of care, came vnto him; and bicause of the displeasure which the king had conceiued against him, counselled him to submit himselfe to the kings will, or else in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iudged a periured person; bicause he had sworne vnto the king as to his earthlie souereigne, touching all temporall honor in life, lim, and member; and namelie to obserue all his roiall lawes and customes, which of late he had established. The bishops persuade the archbishop to submit himself to the kings pleasure.

Wherevnto he answered: "My brethren, ye see how the world roreth against me, and the enimie riseth vp, but I more lament that the sonnes of my mother fight against me. If I should hold my peace, yet would the world come to declare how ye leaue me alone in the battell, and haue iudged against me now these two daies past, I being your father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I command you by virtue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your order, that you be not present in any place of iudgement, where my person may fortune to be adiudged: in testimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that temporall men laie their hands vpon me, I charge you likewise by vertue of your obedience, that ye exercise the censures of the church in the behalfe of your father the archbishop as it becommeth you. This one thing know ye well, that the world roreth, the flesh trembleth The archbish. answer to his brethren. He appealeth to the church of Rome.

and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will not shrinke, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me."

He goeth to the court.

After this he entred into the church, and celebrated the masse of saint Stephan (otherwise than he was accustomed to doo) with his pall: which being ended, he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope vpon them all, and so went to the court. Furthermore, bicause he was afraid, he receiued the sacrament secretlie with him, and bearing the crosse in his right hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops following him with great feare and trembling. Now being come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie haue taken the crosse, and haue borne it before him, but he would not suffer him, saieng: "It is most reason that I should beare it my selfe, vnder the defense whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding this ensigne, I néed not doubt vnder that prince I serue."

He is reputed a traitour.

At length, when the king had exhibited great complaints vnto them all generallie against him, they cried that he was a traitor, sith he had receiued so manie benefits at the kings hands, and now refused to doo him all earthlie honor as he had sworne to doo. To be short, when the bishops came to sit vpon the matter in councell, they appealed to the sée of Rome against the archbishop, accusing him of periurie: and in the word of truth bound themselues by promise, to doo what they might to depose him, if they king would pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged ouer the archbishops head. Then comming to the archbishop they said: "Thou wast sometime our archbishop, and we were bound to obeie thée: but sith thou hast sworne fealtie to the king, that is, life, member, and earthlie honor, & to obserue his lawes and customes, and now goest about to destroie the same, we say that thou art guiltie of periurie, and we will not from henceforth obey a periured archbishop. Therefore we cite thée by appelation to appeare before the pope, there to answer thine accusors." Then they appointed him a day, in which they ment to prosecute their appeale. "I heare you well" (said the archbishop).

The bishops disallow their archbishop.

The princes and péeres of the realme did also iudge him a periured person and a traitour. Among whome (manie then being present) the earle of Leicester accompanied with Reignald earle of Cornewall, came vnto him and said; "The king commanded thée to come and render an accompt of that which is obiected against thée, or else heare thy iudgement." "Judgement?" said the archbishop, [and wherewith rising vp said,] "Naie sonne earle, first heare thou: It is not vnknowne to thée how faithfull I haue béene to the king, in consideration whereof he aduanced me to the archbishops see against my will. (as God can be my iudge:) for I knew mine owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his pleasure, than for Gods cause, and therefore dooth God both withdraw himselfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me frée, and discharged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as touching those things from which I am frée and deliuered, I am not bound to answer, neither will I. So much as the soule is more worth than the bodie, so much the more art thou bound to obeie God and me, rather than any earthlie creature. Neither will law nor reason permit, that the sonnes should iudge or condemne the father: and therefore I refuse to stand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (vnder God) I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto Gods protection and his, and vnder the defense of his authoritie I depart out of this place." Hauing thus spoken, went incontinent to take horsse.

Ger. Dor. The stout courage of the archbishop.

Now as he passed on his waie, the kings seruants and others of the court did cast out manie reprochfull words against him, calling him traitor and false forsworne caitife. At which words turning himselfe, and looking backe with a sterne countenance he said; "That if it were not for his order of priesthood, and that it were lawfull for him, he would

would surelie cléere himselfe of periurie and treason, in defending and mainteining his cause against them with weapon in hand."

When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the same fast locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his seruants espieng where a bunch of keies tied to a clubs end were hanging on a pin, he tooke them down, & tried which was the right key, by proof whereof he found it at the last, opened the gate, and let the archbishop out, the porters standing still as men amazed, and speaking not one word against it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, saieng: "Blessed be God, which hath deliuered his seruant from the face of his enimie." Thus with a great rout or companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conueied to the abbie of S. Andrews: and looking behind and before him, as he passed thitherward, he said vnto those that went with him; "How glorious a procession dooth bring me from the face of the enimie? Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie togither in the Lord." Hauing thus spoken the people had entrance, so that all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furnished with tables and stooles, they were conuenientlie placed, and serued with vittels to the full.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop Becket fled awaie in the night.

The verie same night before the cockcrowing he issued foorth by a little posterne gate, and taking with him onelie two moonks of the Cisteaux order, the one named Robert Canne, and the other S. Cayman, with one of his owne seruants called Roger de Broc, he fled awaie disguised in a white vesture and a moonks coule, and changing his name, caused himselfe to be called Dereman, & iourneied still all the night, and by daie laie close in one fréends house or other; till at last he got to Sandwich, and there taking ship, he sailed ouer into Flanders, and so went to France, where at the citie of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whose bosome he emptied whole cart lodes of complaints and greeuances.

Gilbert Follioth bishop of London was sent to the French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbishop was fled the realme, sent Gilbert Follioth bishop of London, and William earle of Arundell in spéedie ambassage to the king of France, to signifie vnto him the whole matter and circumstance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbishop, requiring him not to receiue the archbishop into his realme, but this request was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbishops cause was fauoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, so that the archbishop found great grace with the French king, and no small fauour at the hands of the pope.

Additions to *Iohn Pike. Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.*

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accused by the archbishop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbishop of Yorke, the aforesaid Gilbert bishop of London, Hilarius bishop of Chichester, Roger bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew bishop of Exceter, with diuerse bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & other learned men of good accompt, to the number of 15. to passe in ambassage vnto the pope, that they might excuse his doings, and burden the archbishop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good proofe.

Roger archbishop of Yorke with others are sent to the pope.

Being admitted to declare their message in the consistorie before the pope, they opened the whole circumstance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie and the king there was a controuersie moued, and by both their consents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iustice should require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the chéefest lords of the realme both spirituall and temporall were assembled, to the end that the more generall the méeting should be, the more manifest might the discouerie of the fraud and malice of the archbishop appéere.

"At the daie appointed (saie they) there came before the catholike prince his presence, the Nobles of his realme: and amongst other, the archbishop the disquieter both of the kingdome & church, who (as one not well assured of the qualitie of his owne deseruings) blessed himselfe with the signe of the crosse at his comming into the court, as though

though he should haue come before some tyrant or schismaticall person. Notwithstanding all which contemptuous and ambitious behauiour, the kings maiestie was nothing offended, but committed the iudgement of his cause to the faithfull order of the bishops, meaning so to deliuer himselfe of all suspicion of wrong dealing. Then it rested in the bishops hands to make an end of the controuersie, and to set a finall vnion and agréement betwixt them. But the archbishop would none of that, alleging how it should be a derogation to the sée apostolike and his metropoliticall dignitie, to stand before the king in iudgement, or anie other temporall magistrate. And albeit (saie they) some diminution or eclipse might haue chanced to the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it had beene his part to haue dissembled the matter for the time, to the end that peace might haue béene restored to the church. He further obiected (ascribing to himselfe the name of father, which seemed to sauour somewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not to come togither to iudge the fathers cause, but it had béene far more necessarie that the humblenesse of the sons should mitigate the pride and temper the ambition of the father."

The kings tale could not be heard. The archbishop Becket.

To conclude the kings ambassadors made earnest suit, that two legats might be sent from the pope, to haue the hearing & discussing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbishop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbishop hauing alreadie persuaded the pope to the contrarie. For comming to the pope he vttered his complaint as followeth:

Matt. Paris.

"Most holie father, I doo here come for succour to your audience, lamenting that the state of the church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Wherefore when I thought to resist the disease approching, I was suddenlie called before the king, to render accompts as a laie man about certeine wards, for whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had notwithstanding giuen accounts; and also, when I was made bishop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the archbishops sée, I was released and discharged of all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldest sonne, and by the cheefe iusticer of the realme: so that now, where I looked to haue found aid, I was destitute thereof, to my great hinderance and vexation. Consider furthermore (I praie you) how my lords and brethren the bishops are readie at the pleasure of the Noble men of the court to giue sentence against me, so that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almost oppressed: and therfore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, which dooth not forsake your children in their extreme necessitie, before whom I here stand, readie to declare and testifie that I am not to be iudged there, nor yet at all by them. For what other thing should that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church? What else then to submit spirituall things to temporall? This example therefore once sproong vp, might giue an occasion to manie enormities to follow. The bishops doo say, 'Those things that are Cesars, ought to be restored to Cesar.' But admit that in manie things the king is to be obeied, is he therefore to be obeied in things wherein he is no king? For those belong not to Cesar, but to a tyrant. Wherein if for my sake they would not, yet ought the bishops for their owne sakes to haue resisted him. For what should be the cause of such deadlie and vnnaturall hatred, that to destroie me, they should destroie themselues? Therefore whilest for temporall things they neglect spirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then most holie father, my fleeing awaie, and my persecution, and how for your sake I haue beene prouoked with iniuries, vse your rigour, constraine them to amendement, through whose motion this hath chanced; let them not be borne out by the king, who is rather the obstinate minister, than the finder out of this practise."

The popes answer to the archbishop.

The pope hauing heard his words, tooke deliberation in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals, and therevpon answered the archbishop in effect as followeth: "That the lower power may not iudge the higher, and chéefelie him whome he is bound to obeie, all the lawes both of God and man doo witnesse, and the ordinances of the ancient fathers

fathers doo manifestlie declare: Herevpon we (to whome it apperteineth to reforme disorders) doo clearelie reuerse and make void the iudgement pronounced against you by the barons and bishops, whereby as well against the order of law, as against the customes of the church, your goods were adiudged forfeit, whereas the same goods were not yours, but the churches of Canturburie, ouer which you haue the onelie cure and charge. But if those that haue violentlie entred vpon the possessions and goods of your church, and haue thereby wronged either you or yours, will not vpon admonition giuen to them, make restitution with sufficient amends, then may you (if you shall thinke conuenient) exercise ecclesiasticall iustice vpon them, and we shall allow of that which you shall reasonablie doo in that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himselfe we will not giue you any speciall commandement, neither yet doo we take from you any right belonging to your bishoprike office, which you receiued at your consecration. But the king onelie we will spare, and exempt from your excommunications and censures." After these and many by-matters were ouerpassed, the archbishop resigned his pall vnto the pope, but the pope gaue it him againe, and appointed him to remaine at Pountney an abbeie of moonks Cisteaux in the diocesse of Auxerre, till the variance were brought to some good end betwixt the king and him. This was doone in the yeare of our Lord 1164.

The archbish. resigneth his pall.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambassadors what answer the pope had made, became greeuouslie offended in his mind, and therevpon confiscated all the goods that belonged to the archbishop and his complices, and seized their reuenues into his hands, appointing Randall de Broc to haue the custodie of all that belonged to the see, which Broc was nothing freendlie to the archbishop, being his knowne enimie of old, but fauoured the moonkes, and would not suffer that they should take wrong or displeasure at any hand. *Ger. Dor.*

In the yeare 1165. queene Elianor was deliuered of a daughter which was named Joane. Also on the 26. daie of Januarie, there chanced a maruellous earthquake in Northfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in Suffolke, so that men as they stood on the ground were ouerthrowne therewith, and buildings so shaken, that the belles in steeples knolled; the like had also chanced in the Aduent season then last before passed. 1165. *Malth. West. Matt. Paris.*

The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of those countries that bordered vpon them: wherewith the king being sore mooued, leuied an armie with all speed as well of Englishmen as strangers, and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did go against the rebels, and finding them withdrawne into their starting holes (I meane the woods and strait passages) he compassed the same about in verie forceable maner. The Welshmen perceiuing themselues now to be brought into such ieopardie, as that they could not well deuise how to escape the same, consulted what was best to be doone. After consultation, casting awaie their weapons, they came foorth to the king, asking mercie; which somewhat hardlie they obteined. Few of them were executed in comparison of the numbers that offended: but yet the captcines and chéefe authors of this rebellion were so punished, that it was thought they would neuer haue presumed so rashlie to offend him in like sort againe. For (as some writers affirme) he did iustice on the sonnes of Rice or Rees, & also on the sonnes and daughters of other noble men that were his complices verie rigorouslie: causing the eies of the yoong striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off or slit: and the eares of the yoong gentlewomen to be stuffed.

The Welshmen make war on the English marshes. *Wil. Paruus. Polydor.*

The king inuadeth Wales.

Rog. Houed.

The seuere punishment vsed by king Henry against the Welshmen.

But yet I find in other authors, that in this iournie king Henrie did not greatlie preuaile against his enimies, but rather lost manie of his men of warre, both horssemen and footmen: for by his seuere proceeding against them, he rather made them more eger to séeke reuenge, than quieted them in any tumult. They tooke the castell of Cardigan, and in besieging of Briges, the king was in no small danger of his life: for one of the enimies shooting directlie at him, had persed him through the bodie if Hubert de Saint Clere conestable of Colchester, perceiuing the arrow coming, had not thrust himselfe betwixt

Ger. Dor. Ran. Cogge.

Cardigan castell woonne by the Welshmen.

Hubert de S. Clere conestable of Colchester.

the

the king and the same arrow, and so preseruing his maister, receiued the stripe himselfe, whereof he died presentlie after, beséeching the king to be good lord to one onelie daughter which he had, whome the king bestowed in mariage vpon William de Langualée, togither with hir fathers inheritance, which William begat of hir a sonne that bare both his name and surname. ¶ A president of gratitude & thankfulnes is here committed to memorie. And surelie the king could doo no lesse, than some way requite the venturous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who with the losse of his owne life preserued the king, if not from death, yet from some dangerous wound that might haue put him to extreame anguish and paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of benefits receiued, a virtue no lesse rare than the contrarie is common, and as one saith,

William de Langualée.

——— inueniuntur
Quidam sed rari, acceptorum qui meritorum
Assiduè memores, &c.

W. Paruus. But to conclude with this iourneie which king Henrie made at this time against the Welshmen, although by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of the places, he could not enter within the countrie so farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and constreined them to kéepe within the woods and mountains, that they durst not come abroad, insomuch that at the length they were glad to sue for peace.

William king of Scots doth his homage to king Henrie.

William king of Scots, successor of Malcolme (who departed this life in the yeare last past) after he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about this present time into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predecessour Malcolme had doone before. He made suit also to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, which the king of Englands mother the empresse had in times past giuen vnto king Dauid. But king Henrie gaue diuerse reasons to excuse himselfe whie he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that present, namelie, without consent of a parlement: wherevpon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his suit for that present, meaning (when occasion serued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, sith that by praier and suit he sawe well inough he should not obteine it.

Moreouer, the Scotish king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted so to doo: insomuch that king Henrie, hauing set all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following passed ouer into Normandie. But before he tooke his iourneie, he set foorth a decree consisting of these points in effect as followeth.

N. Trivet. Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

An edict against the archbishop Becket.

1 That no man should bring any letters or commandement from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbishop of Canturburie into England, conteining an interdiction of the realme: vpon perill to be apprehended and punished as a traitour to the king, and an enimie to the realme.

2 That no religious person or préest should be permitted to passe the seas, or to come into the relme of England, except he had letters of safe conduct from the iusticers for passage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

Appeales forbidden.

3 That no man should appeale to the said pope or archbishop, nor by their appointment hold any plée: and if any person were found dooing the contrarie herevnto, he should be taken and committed to prison.

4 That if any maner of person, either spirituall or temporall, were obedient to the sentence of the interdiction, the same person should be banished the realme without defaie, and all his linage with him, so as they should not conueie with them any of their goods, the which togither with their possessions should be seized into the kings hands.

5 That all spirituall persons, which had any benefices within England, should haue warning giuen to returne into England within foure moneths after the same summons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then should the king seize vpon their goods and possessions.

6 That

6 That the bishops of London and Norwich, should be (and by vertue hereof were) summoned to appeare before the kings iusticers, to make answer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

7 That the Peter pence should be gathered and kept.

In the octaues of Easter king Henrie came to an enterview with the French king at Gisors, where they had conference togither of sundrie matters. The kings of England and France enterview. *Cro. Sigeb.*

This yeare the quéene was deliuered of a sonne named John, who afterward was king of this realme. *Matth. Paris.* King John borne. *Ger. Dor.*

Moreouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his bishops and barons in Normandie, caused and ordeined a collection (by their aduise) to be made through all his countries and dominions of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, iewels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166. and for the space of foure yeares next ensuing, one penie of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and those that were not worth twentie shillings in goods or lands (being housholders notwithstanding) or bare any office, should paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the releefe of the christians in the east parts, and those that warred against the miscreants there. The paiment thereof was appointed to be made in the feast daie of saint Remigius, or within fiftéene daies after. It was also ordeined, that all such as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) should giue the tenth part of the residue of all their goods vnto this so necessarie a contribution. A contribution.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and vnderstanding that diuerse lords and barons of Maine, and the marshes of Britaine, would not in his absence shew themselues obedient vnto his wife quéene Elianor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an armie, and went against them, easilie subduing them whom he found obstinate: and besieging the castell of Foulgiers, tooke and vtterlie destroied it. The castell of Foulgiers. *Matth. Paris.*

Soone after the archbishop of Canturburie came from Pountney to Uizeley, and there (on Ascension daie) when the church was most full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candell solemnelie accurssed all the obseruers, defenders, and mainteiners, with the promoters of such customs, as within the realme of England they terme the custome of their elders: amongst others that were accursed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poictiers, Jocelin de Bailleuille, Alane de Neuille, and manie other. But they being absent, & neither called nor conuinced (as they alleged notwithstanding they were thus excommunicated) sent their messengers vnto the archbishop, and appealed from him, and so feared not to enter into their churches. Uizeley. The archbishop Becket accursed those in England that maintained the customs of their elders.

He had before this also written certeine letters vnto his suffragans, denouncing some of these and other persons by expresse name accursed, not onelie for mainteining the matter against him, touching the ancient custome of the realme: but also for the schisme raised in Almaine by Reignald archbishop of Colein, for the which he accursed one John of Oxford. Moreouer, he accursed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S. Clere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie seizing vpon and deteining the goods and possessions belonging to his archbishoprike, without his consent or agréement therevnto. *R. Hoved.*

The king on the other part banished out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all those persons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbishop, both yoong and old: and furthermore sent aduertisement to the abbat of Pountney and to his moonks, with whom the archbishop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him still in their house, he would not faile to banish all the moonks of their order out of England. Now the archbishop, after he had remained there scarse two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteouslie receiued him, and sent him to the abbeie of saint Columbes neere to the citie of Sens, where he remained a certeine season, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Pauia, and John of Naples both cardinals, *Matth. Paris.*

Legats from the pope.

cardinals, came from the pope to Montmiriall, whom the archbishop suspected rather to fauour the kings cause than his: yet he was contented that they should haue the iudgment thereof committed vnto them: so that first (according to the rules of the church) restitution might be made both to him and his, of such goods as had beene taken from them. For being spoiled, as he was, he would not stand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled thervnto by any reason (as he said.) Now when the two legats saw that they could not bring any thing to passe, they departed without any thing concluded.

Comes Segiensis. *N. Triuet.* Alerium.

About this time William Taiuan earle of Sagium (by the consent of his sons and nephues) deliuered into the hands of king Henrie the castels of Alerium, and Roch Laberie, with all the appurtenances to the castels belonging.

Conan duke of Britaine deceaseth. *Matt. Paris.*

About this season also Conan the duke of Britaine departed this life, leauing behind him no issue, but one onelie daughter begot of his wife the dutchesse Constance, the daughter of the king of Scotland, which succéeded him in the estate. Wherevpon king Henrie made earnest suit to procure a marriage betwixt hir and his sonne Geffrey, which at length he brought to passe, to the great comfort and contentation of his mind, in that his sonne had by such good fortune atteined to the dukedome of Britaine.

A mariage concluded betwixt Geffrey the kings son and the Duchesse of Britaine. *Wil. Paruus.*

At that season in Britaine were certeine Noble men of such strength and power, that they disdained to acknowledge themselues subiect to any superior, in somuch that through ambitious desire of rule and preheminence, they warred continuallie one against an other, to the great destruction and vtter vndooing of their miserable countrie, so that the land sometime fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wildernes. Wherevpon, those that were the weaker, perceiuing themselues too much oppressed by the stronger, submitted themselues vnto king Henrie, and required his aid and succour. King Henrie reioising to haue so good an occasion and opportunitie to reduce them to reason, with all speed aided these supplicants and subdued the resistants, notwithstanding their great puissance, & the strength of the places which they kept.

An. Reg. 13.

1167.

N. Triuet. King Henrie inuadeth the erle of Aluergnes lands.

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his father, and found him at Poictiers, from whence (shortlie after Easter) he remoued, and with an armie entred into the lands of the earle of Aluergnes, which he wasted and spoiled, bicause the said earle had renounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made his resort to the French king, séeking to sow discord betwixt the foresaid two kings: which was kindled the more by a challenge pretended about the sending of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the French king claimed to send it, by reason that the church there apperteined to his dominion: and the king of England would haue sent it, bicause it was gathered within the countrie that belonged to his gouernement.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Belongne prepareth 600. ships to inuade England.

This yeare a great preparation of ships was made by the earle of Bullongne, to haue inuaded England, but by the warlike prouision of Richard Lucie, lord gouernour of the realme, the sea-coasts were so prouided of sufficient defense, that the earles attempts came to nothing. The cause why he made this brag, was for that the king withheld from him certeine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, and therefore he ment to recouer them by force.

The deceasse of the empresse Maud. *Matth. West.*

The empresse Maud mother to the king of England (a woman in stoutnesse of stomach and warlike attempts more famous than commonlie any of that sex) deceassed this yere the 10. of Septem.

The sée of Lincolne void 17. yeares.

Also Robert bishop of Lincolne departed this life, after whose deceasse the sée of Lincolne was vacant by the space of seuentéene yeares, the king in all that meane time receiuing the profits.

An. Reg. 14.

An ambassage from the emperour.

The elect of Colein came ambassadour from the emperour vnto the king of England, requiring to haue one of his daughters giuen in marriage vnto the emperours sonne, and an other of them vnto Henrie duke of Saxonie: which request the K. did willinglie grant, and therevpon was the queene sent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring hir sonne the lord Richard and hir daughter the ladie Maud with hir: which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yeare next insuing;

1168.

insuing; and had issue by him three sons, Henrie, Otho, and William, of which the middlemost came to be emperour. *Matth. West.*

The variance still depending betwixt the king and the archbishop of Canturburie: there was also about the same time a great debate betwixt the emperour Frederike the first and pope Alexander the third: whervpon king Henrie wrote to the emperor, and signified vnto him, that he would aid him if néed should require against the pope, who mainteined such a runnagate traitor as the archbishop Becket was. Moreouer at the same time the king caused all his subiects within the realme of England, from the child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged person, to forsweare all obedience that might be pretended as due to the same pope Alexander. The king for the space of two yeares togither, remaining still in Normandie, and in other places beyond the seas, subdued diuerse rebels, as the earle of Angoulesme, Aimerike de Lucignie, and his sonnes Robert and Hugh.

Debate betwixt the pope and the emperour.
K. Henrie offereth to aid the emperour.

Also he came to an enterview with the king of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of such iniuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poictouins had made their resort to the French king, and were confederate with him against their supreme lord king Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for assurance thereof, which pledges the French king would not restore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feast of S. John Baptist.

An enterview betwixt the king of England and king of France.
The kings met againe to commen of peace.
A truce.

About the feast of Easter Patrike the earle of Salisburie was slaine by treason of the Poictouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whome his sonne William succeeded in the earledome.

Patrike earle of Salisburie slaine.

The Britons practised rebellions dailie: but king Henrie entring their countrie, wan diuerse strong townes and castels, and brought them at length vnder his subiection. Moreouer in this summer season the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without concluding any agréement at all. For there were manie of the Poictouins and Britons, which tooke part with the king of France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hostages, had a promise made them, that the French king should not conclude an agréement with the king of England without their consent. Hervpon they made warres either vpon other, till finallie (about the feast of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt them: and then Henrie the king of Englands sonne made his homage vnto the French king for the countie of Aniou: and the French king granted him the office of the Seneschalcie of France, which ancientlie belonged vnto the earles of Aniou. Also Geffrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder brother the aforesaid Henrie, by commandement of his father, for the duchie of Britaine. And afterwards the same Geffrey went into Britaine, and at Rheines receiued the homage and fealtie of the lords and barons of that countrie.

An. Reg. 15. 1169.
Ger. Dor. N. Triuet.
Geffrey duke of Britaine.

King Henrie in the meane while subdued certeine rebels in Gascoine, and returning into Normandie, built a goodlie towne and fortresse neere to Haie de Malafrey, ycleped Beauver.

About the same time one Haruey de Yuon, who had married the daughter of one William Goieth, (that died in his iournie which he tooke into the holie land) deliuered certeine castels into the hands of king Henrie, bicause he was in despaire to keepe them against Theobald earle of Chartres, who through the French kings aid, sought to dispossesse him of the same castels: wherevpon the war was renewed betwixt the king of England and the said earle of Chartres. Neuerthelesse king Henrie making no great accompt of those wars, went into Britaine with his sonne Geffrey, where going about the countrie to visit the cities and townes, he reformed many disorders, laieng as it were a maner of a new foundation of things there, fortifieng the castels, cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the lords and péeres of the countrie, sought to win their good wils: and so in such exercises he spent a great part of the time.

Haruey de Yuon.

He kept his Christmasse at Nauntes, whither all the great lords and barons of Britaine resorted to him. The solemnitie of which feast being past, he entred into the lands of

An. Reg. 16. 1170.

earle Eudo, and wasted the same, till the said earle submitted himself. At length, after the king had taken order for the good gouernement of Normandie, and his other countries on that side the sea, he returned into England in the first weeke of March, but not without great danger, by reason of a tempest that tooke him on the seas, beginning about midnight, and not ceassing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portesmouth, not with many of his ships, the rest being tossed and driuen to seeke succour in sundrie creeks and hauens of the land, and one of them which was the cheefest and newest, was lost in the middle of the flouds, together with 400. persons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his sons, Gilbert Sullemuy, and Rafe Beumont the kings physician & houshold seruant.

Polydor. Dauid was made knight by K. Henrie as *Houeden* hath.

After this the king held his Easter at Winsor, whither William the Scotish king came with his brother Dauid, to welcome him home, and to congratulat his happie successe in his businesse on the further side the seas. They were honorablie enterteined, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, punished the shiriffes of the land very greeuously for their extortion, briberie, and rapine. After this, studieng how to assure the estate of the realme vnto his sons, vpon good consideration remembring that no liuing creature was more subiect to the vncerteintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingraffed such a feruent desire in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that so oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they haue no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in possession of their desired prey: he thought it not the worst point of wisedome to foresee that which might happen. For if he should chance to depart this life, and leaue his sons yoong, and not able to mainteine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of some to be defrauded and disappointed of their lawful inheritance. Therefore to preuent the chances of fortune, he determined whilest he was aliue to crowne his eldest sonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and so to inuest him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time: which deed turned him to much trouble, as after shall appeare.

A prudent consideration of the king.

Mans nature ambitious.

R. Houed.

Being vpon this point resolued, he called togither a parlement of the lords both spirituall and temporall at London, and there (on S. Bartholomews daie) proclaimed his said sonne Henrie fellow with him in the kingdome, whom after this on the sundaie following, being the fouretéenth daie of June 1170. Roger archbishop of Yorke did crowne according to the manner, being commanded so to doo by the king. This office apperteined vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, but bicause he was banished the realme, the king appointed the archbishop of Yorke to doo it, which he ought not to haue doone without licence of the archbishop of Canturburie within the precinct of his prouince (as was alledged by archbishop Becket) who complained thereof vnto pope Alexander, and so incensed the pope, that he being highly moued by his letters, forbad not onelie the archbishop of Yorke, but also Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie (who were present at the coronation) the vse of the sacraments, which made king Henrie far more displeased with the archbishop Thomas than he was before.

Henrie the son crowned the 18. of Julie saith *Matth. Paris.*

W. Paruus.

The archb. of Yorke is forbidden the vse of the sacraments.

Matt. Paris. Polydor. The king became seruitor to his sonne.

Upon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father serued his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing vp the bores head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Whervpon (according to the old adage,

Immutant mores homines cùm dantur honores)

the yoong man conceiuing a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more stately countenance than he had béen woont. The archbishop of Yorke, who sat by him, marking his behauior, turned vnto him, & said; "Be glad my good sonne, there is not an other prince in the world that hath such a sewer at his table." To this the new king answered, as it were disdainefullie, thus: "Why doost thou maruell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie bloud onlie on the mothers side, serueth me that am a king borne hauing both a king to my father, and a queene

Honours change maners.

Yong men set vp in dignitie easilie forget themselues.

queene to my mother." Thus the yoong man of an euill and peruerse nature, was puffed vp in pride by his fathers vnseemelie doings.

But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie sorrowfull in his mind, and said to the archbishop softlie in his eare: "It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I haue thus aduanced the boy." For he gessed hereby what a one he would prooue afterward, that shewed himselfe so disobedient and froward alreadie. But although he was displeased with himselfe in that he had doone vndiscréetlie, yet now when that which was doone could not be vndoone, he caused all the Nobles and lords of the realme, togither with the king of Scots and his brother Dauid, to doo homage vnto his said sonne thus made fellow with him in the kingdome: but he would not release them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they stood bound to obeie him the father, so long as he liued.

¶ Howbeit some write that he renounced his estate, first before all the lords of the land, and after caused his sonne to be crowned: but in such vncerteine points set foorth by parciall writers, that is to be receiued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and sequele of things after doone and put in practise. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (so long as his sonne liued) did shew himselfe sometime as fellow with his sonne in gouernement, and sometime as absolute king: and after his sons decease, he continued in the entier gouernment, so long as he liued. But to procéed.

The French king hearing that his sonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie the sonne, was highlie offended therewith, and threatned to make war against king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receiue the crowne also as quéene immediatlie. The French king offended.

The cause why she was not crowned, was by reason of hir yoong yeares, and for that she had not as yet accompanied with hir husband. But K. Henrie the father vnderstanding the French kings threats, sailed ouer into Normandie, where whilest they prepared for war on both sides, by the earnest diligence of Theobald earle of Blois, both the kings came to an enteruiew at Uendosme, where at length they were accorded, vpon promise made by king Henrie, that he would cause his sonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the said Margaret the French kings daughter as quéene. An enteruiew of the kings. *R. Houed.*

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards, and king Henrie returning came to Uernon, where he fell into so great a sicknesse, that anon it was noised ouer all the countrie. Insomuch that he was in such despaire of life, that he made his testament: wherein he assigned his sonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all those lands which came by quéene Elianor the mother of the same Richard. And to his sonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchased to his vse of the French king. And to his sonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Normandie, and all those lands which came by his father Geffrey earle of Anion. And to his yoongest sonne John he bequeathed the earledome of Mortaine. And finally appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried. He made his testament. *Rog. Houed.*

In the meane time Henrie the sonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of measure kéeping, and gaue himselfe to all excessiue riot, spending and wasting his reuenues inordinatelie. Of which behauiour his father being aduertised, returned into England, where he taried not long, but passed ouer againe into Normandie, hauing his said sonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of those that were verie like to corrupt this nature, and frame the same to all lewdnesse: for he knew that *Polydor.* King Henrie the sonne his misorder. An. Reg. 16. 1170.

——— commercia turpia sanctos
Corrumpunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facilè ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie remained in exile almost six yeares, and could not be restored, till partlie by swelling threats of the pope, and

partlie at the earnest suit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others king Henrie began somewhat to shew himselfe conformable towards an agréement.

Ex Quadrilogio. The king and the arch. Becket met togither in presence of the French king.

Wherevpon the two kings met diuerse times, and the archbishop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himselfe so to the king of England, that knéeling downe at his féet, he said: "My souereigne liege lord, I commit the whole cause of the controuersie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maiesties order, Gods honour onelie reserued."

The king offended with that ambiguous exception, said to the king of France: "Whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contrarie to Gods honour, and so by that shift will he chalenge to himselfe all that belongeth vnto me. But bicause you shall not thinke that I go about to resist Gods honour, or him, in any reasonable order, looke what the greatest and most holie of all his ancestors haue doone vnto the meanest of mine ancestours, let him doo the same vnto me, and I am contented therewith."

All the companie present cried, "that the king humbled himselfe enough." "My lord archbishop (said the French king) will you be greater than saints, and better than saint Peter? Wherof stand you in doubt? Behold, your peace is at hand." The archbishop made answer in commendation of the present state of holie church, as thus: "My

The present state of the church in Beckets daies.

holie predecessours in their time, although they cut not all things away that extolled it selfe against God, yet did they cut off diuers: but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which might offend, who should now haue raised the fire of temptation against vs? We are in much better case (thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their lot and number, so are we partakers of their labour and reward. What if any of them had béene defectiue or excessiue in any point, are we bound to follow the example of their defection or excesse? We blame Peter for his denieng of Christ, but we praise him in reprooving of Neros violence with danger of his life. The church hath risen and increased out of manie dangerous oppressions, our fathers haue suffered manie things, bicause they would not forsake the name of Christ; and ought I to suppresse his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God forbid."

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

When the Noble men present heard this answer of a subiect againt his souereigne, they all held against him, imputing the fault to the archbishops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betweene the king and him, insomuch that there was an erle which openlie said; "Sith he resisteth the will of both the realmes, he is not worthie to be succoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being cast out of England, let not France receiue him."

The councell then being broken vp, the kings departed without bidding the archbishop farewell, and such as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this meeting, spake manie reprochfull words to him, alledging that he had béene euer stout and wise in his owne conceit, and a folower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderance to the church, that he was ordeined archbishop, and that by him the church was alreadie in part destroied, and would shortlie be altogither brought to vtter ruine.

Archb. Becket wilfull in his owne opinion.

But the archbishop setting a watch before his mouth, kept silence (as though he had not heard) and folowed the French king with his people. Manie said by the waie as they iournied, "Behold the archbishop yonder, which in talke the last night would not for the pleasure of the king denie God, nor kéepe his honor in silence."

After this, when the archbishop was come to Sens, and aduised with himselfe whether it should be best for him to go, at length he said, "God is able in the last point of miserie and distresse, to helpe those that be his." Herewith came a messenger from the French king to bring him to the court, for the French king (as one that had béene better instructed in the matter) repented himselfe that he had iudged euill of his answers at the last meeting, and herevpon receiued him againe into his fauour, and rested not to trauell

so much in his cause, that at length another méeting was assigned at a certeine place neere the confines of Normandie, whither king Henrie came, and there found king Lewes, the archbishop of Rouen, and diuerse other bishops together, with the foresaid archbishop, who after they had reasoned of the matter throughlie as they saw cause, king Henrie receiued the archbishop into his fauour againe, and promised to redresse all that had béene doone amisse, and pardon all those that had followed him out of the realme. Wherevpon the king and the archbishop being reconciled, the archbishop the same day came before the king, and talked with him.

The French K. receiueth the archbishop Becket againe into fauour.

The archb. is reconciled to the king.

Now among other things he required of the K. that it might be lawfull for him (without offending of his maiestie) to punish (according to the censures of the church) the iniurie doone vnto him by the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops in the coronation of his sonne. The king granted this, and shewed himselfe so courteous at that time, that (as it is said) he held his stirrup whiles he mounted on horssebacke.

¶ Notwithstanding which obsequiousnes of the king, it is to be presumed that all inward repining could not be so abolished, as that no fragments remained: but that the archbishop for his part, for the maintenance of his great title, & the K. for the supportation of his souereignitie, when opportunitie serued, sought to get aduantage one of another, & acquit their harts with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for

Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus. *Iuuen. sat. 13.*

But whereas twise within a few daies after, the king and the said archbishop met at masse, the king refused to kisse the pax with him. This was marked as a signe of a fained reconciliation, though in déed he afterwards interteined him verie courteouslie, and at his departure ouer into England, tooke leaue of him in fréendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his seale to his sonne the new king in forme as followeth. *Matt. Paris.*

The king would not kisse the pax with the archbishop.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.

KNOW ye that Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleasure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may remaine in peace; and that he and al those which for his cause departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods restored, and in such quiet estate be now possessed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cause to come before vs of the best and most ancient knights of the honor of Saltwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbishop ought to haue within that honor, and that which shall appeare to apperteine vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the same. And thus farewell.

The honor of Saltwood.

The archbishop (before he tooke his iournie into England) went to visit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell susteined in his cause, who aduised him in no wise as yet to commit himselfe to present danger amongst his new reconciled enimies, but rather to staie till their malice were somewhat assuaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance such a deepe rooted displeasure in his hart, that he agréed to receiue him into fauour rather by compulsion and against his will than otherwise.

The French kings aduice to the archbish. Becket.

But when the archbishop would needs depart & go ouer into England, the French K. suffered him so to doo, dooing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. Then the archbishop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the first of December, in the seuenth yeare after his first departure out of the realme. Shortlie *Matth. Paris.*

The archbishop Becket returneth into England.

Shortlie after his arriuall, Roger the archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie, with diuerse other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might please him to restore them to the ministration of their offices againe: whose request he granted, but yet vpon condition, that they should vndertake to stand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counsell of the archbishop of Yorke) they vtterlie refused.

¶ Here authors agrée not (as Polydor trulie saith) for some write that archbishop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbishop of Yorke with the bishops of Salisburie and London accurssed, whereas before they were depriued of the vse and administration of the sacraments. Some others write, that now at his comming ouer into England from his exile, he depriued them onlie of the ministration of the sacraments, togither with the bishops of Excester, Chester, Rochester, S. Asaph, & Landaff, which had personallie béene present at the coronation of king Henrie the sonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their primat the archbishop of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It shuld seeme yet by Ger. Dorober. that the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham were suspended, and the bishops of London, Salisburie, and diuerse other excommunicated.

The archbish. of Yorke and other go ouer to the king to complaine of the archbishop Becket. *Ger. Dor.*

But how soeuer he vsed them, the archbishop of Yorke, the two bishops London and Salisburie, being offended with his dooings, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries doone to them by archbishop Thomas, grèeuouslie accusing him that he went about to take awaie their libertie of priesthood, to destroie, corrupt, and finallie to abolish both the lawes of God and man, togither with the ancient decrées and statutes of their elders; in somuch that he tooke vpon him to exclude bishops at his pleasure from the companie of christian men, and so being excluded, to banish them for euer: to derogat things meerelie preiudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finallie to take awaie from all men the equitie of laws and ciuill orders.

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was so displeased in his mind against archbishop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he said these or the like words: "In what miserable state am I, that can not be in rest within mine owne realme, by reason of one onelie prèest? Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of such troubles."

The occasion of the kings words that cost bish. Becket his life.

There were some that stood about the king, which gessed by these words, that his mind was to signifie how he would haue some man to dispatch the archbishop out of the waie. The kings displeasure against the archbishop was knowne well inough, which caused men to haue him in no reuerence at all, so that (as it was said) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to doo somewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and despised of the world, cut off his horsses taile.

The knights that slue the archbishop Becket.

There were some also of the kings seruants, that thought after an other maner of sort to reuenge the displeasure doone to the kings maiestie, as sir Hugh Moreuille, sir William Tracie, sir Richard Britaine, and sir Reignold Fitz Urse, knights, who taking aduice togither, and agrèeing in one mind and will, tooke shipping, & sailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs hauen, néere Douer.

Now the first night they lodged in the castell of Saltwood, which Randulfe de Broc had in keeping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and fift daie of Christmasse, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tuesdaie) hauing gotten togither certeine souldiers in the countrie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and first entring into the court of the abbeie of S. Augustine, they talked with Clarenbald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they proceeded in their businesse as followeth.

Reignold Fitz Urse. That is betwéene 4. and 5. in the euening.

The first knight sir Reignold Fitz Urse came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbishop sat in his chamber, and sitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of greeting or salutation, at length began with him thus: "Being sent of our souereigne lord the king from beyond the seas, we doo here present vnto you

his

his Graces commandements, to wit, that you should go to his sonne the king, to doo vnto him that which apperteineth vnto you to doo vnto your souereigne lord, and to do your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maiestie." Wherevnto the archbishop answered: "For what cause ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by oth? or wherein am I giltie in offending the kings Maiestie?" Sir Reignold said: "For your baronie, fealtie is demanded of you with an oth, and an other oth is required of those clerkes, which you haue brought with you, if they meane to continue within the land." The archbishop answered: "For my baronie I am readie to do to the king whatsoeuer law or reason shall allow: but let him for certeine hold, that he shall not get any oth either of me or of my clerks." "We knew that (said the knight) that you would not doo any of these things which we proponed vnto you. Moreouer the king commandeth you to absolue those bishops that are excommunicated by you without his licence." Wherevnto he said: "The bishops are excommunicated not by me, but by the pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lord. If in déed he hath reuenged the iniurie doone to my church, I confesse that I am not displeased therwith." Then said the knight: "Sith that such things in despite of the king doo please you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and be called and taken for king your selfe, but you shall misse of your purpose surelie therein." The archbishop answered: "I do not aspire to the name of a king, rather would I knit three crownes vnto his crowne if it lay in my power."

An oth required of him for his baronie.

At length after these and such words, the knights turning them to the moonks, said: "In the behalfe of our souereigne lord the king, we command you, that in any wise ye keepe this man safe, and present him to the king when it shall please his grace to send for him." The archbishop said: "Doo ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men." "Truelie (said they) you shall not runne away," and herewith went out with noise and threatnings. Then maister John of Salisburie his chancellor said vnto him: "My lord, this is a woonderfull matter that you will take no mans counsell: had it not beene méet to haue giuen them a more méeke and gentle answer?" But the archbishop said: "Surelie I haue alreadie taken all the counsell that I will take, I know what I ought to doo." Then said Salisburie, "I pray God it may be good." Now the knights departing out of the place, and going about to put on their armour, certeine came to the archbishop, & said; "My lord, they arme themselues." "What forceth it? said he, let them arme themselues."

The knights command the moonks to sée the archbishop kept safe.

John de Salisburie the archb. Beckets chancellor.

The archbishops resolution.

The knights put on their armor.

Now when they were armed, and manie other about them, they entred into the archbishops palace. Those that were about the archbishop cried vpon him to flée, but he sat still and would not once remoue, till the moonks brought him euen by force & against his will into the church. The comming of the armed men being knowne, some of the moonks continued singing of euensong, and some sought places where to hide themselues, other came to the archbishop, who was loth to haue entred into the church, and when he was within, he would not yet suffer them to make fast the doores, so that there was a great stur among them, but cheeflie when they perceiued that the armed men went about to séeke for the archbishop, by meane whereof their euensong was left vnfinished.

The moonks with force bring the archbishop into the church.

At length the knights with their seruants hauing sought the palace, came rushing into the church by the cloister doore with their swords drawne, some of them asking for the traitor, and some of them for the archbishop, who came and met them, saieng; "Here am I, no traitor, but the archbishop." The formost of the knights said vnto him: "Flee, thou art but dead," To whome the archbishop said, "I will not flée." The knight stept to him taking him by the sléeue, and with his sword cast his cap besides his head, and said, "Come hither, for thou art a prisoner." "I will not (said the archbishop) doo with me here what thou wilt:" and plucked his sleeue with a mightie strength out of the knights hand. Wherewith the knight stepped backe two or three paces. Then the archbishop turning to one of the knights, said to him, "What meaneth this, Reignold? I haue

The knights enter the church.

As though archbishops can be no traitors.

The courage of the archb.

haue doone vnto thée manie great pleasures, and commest thou now vnto me into the church armed?" Unto whome the knight presentlie answered and said; "Thou shalt know anon what is ment, thou art but dead: it is not possible for thee any longer to liue." Unto whom the archbishop answered: "I am readie to die for my God, and for the defense of his iustice and the libertie of the church; gladlie doo I imbrace death, so that the church may purchase peace and libertie by the shedding of my blood." And herewith taking on other of the knights by the habergeon, he floong him from him with such violence, that he had almost throwne him downe to the ground. This was sir Will. Tracie, as he after confessed.

Then the archbishop inclined his head after the maner of one that would praie, pronouncing these his last words: "To God, to saint Marie, and to the saints that are patrones of this church, and to saint Denise, I commend my selfe and the churches cause." Therewith sir Reignold Fitz Urse striking a full blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who cast vp his arme to saue the archbishop: but when he was not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked his arme backe, and so the stroke staied vpon the archbishops head, in such wise that the bloud ran downe by his face. Then they stroke at him one after an other, and though he fell to the ground at the second blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and pashed out his braines, and dashed them about vpon the church pauement. All this being doone, they rifled his house, spoiled his goods, and tooke them to their owne vses, supposing it lawfull for them being the kings seruants so to doo.

Edward of Cambridge.

The archbish. is slaine.

But doubting how the matter would be taken, after they had wrought their feat, they got them into the bishoprike of Duresme, there to remaine till they might heare how the king would take this their vnlawfull enterprise: though (as they alledged) they had lustilie defended his cause, and reuenged his quarell as faithfull seruants ought to doo. Howbeit, it chanced otherwise than they looked it should haue doone: for king Henrie gaue them so litle thankes for their presumptuous act, sounding to the euill example of other in breach of his lawes, that they despairing vtterlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another into another, so that within foure yeares they all died an euill death (as it hath béene reported.) Some write, that they went to Rome by the kings commandement, and there presented themselues before the pope, to receiue such penance for their wicked act as he should enioine them. Herevpon the pope appointed them to go vnto Jerusalem, their to do their penance, where they remained certeine yeares, applieng themselues verie diligentlie to performe the satisfaction of their offense, according to the maner prescribed to them by the pope, and so at length died.

The murtherers come to an euill end. *Math. Paris. W. Paruus.*

An. Reg. 17. 1171.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into that see eight yeares and six moneths, in the yeare after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Christmas day before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridaie, he preached a sermon to the people, and when he had made an end thereof, he accurssed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violent incumbent of the church of Berges, and Robert de Broc, both which had (vpon spite) curtailed the horsse of the said archbishop: and as the same day whilest he was at the altar, according to his custome, altogither in teares and lamentation; so at dinner he shewed himselfe verie pleasant & merrie, insomuch that when those that were at the table séemed somewhat doubtfull to eat of the flesh that was set before them, bicause it was friday; "Why do ye abhorre (saith he) to eat flesh? This day flesh hath a great priuilege, for this same day the word was made flesh, and came into light, and appeared vnto vs." These his words greatlie contented all the companie.

After their account that begin the yere on Christmas day.

Robert de Broc.

¶ Thus you haue heard the tragicall discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the beneuolence of so gratious a souereigne by his insolencie and presumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnseemelie a thing it was for him, being called to so sacred a function, to lead so secular and prophane a life, as if he had professed open hostilitie to the voca-

tion which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are also taught, that promotions atchiued by ambition are not permanent, and are so farre from procuring fame and renowme to the obteiners, that they turne them in the end to shame, infamie and reproch, after losse of life and effusion of bloud. The issue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the prouidence and counsell of almightie God, as one writeth verie agréablie to this purpose, saieng,

Hesi. in lib. cui tit. op. & dies.

Nam facilè extollit facilè elatúmq; refrænat,
Et clarum obscurans, obscuri nomen adauget.
Erigit & miserum facilè extinguítque superbum
Iuppiter altifremus, cui celsum regia cœlum.

King Henrie sorie for the archb. Beckets death. *Polydor.*

But to let this matter passe. King Henrie doubtlesse was right pensiue for his death, bicause he wist well inough that it would be iudged, that he himselfe was priuie to the thing: and euen so it came to passe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbishops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him most deerelie were most sorowfull for it, and iudging straightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderstand both of the slaughter, and how king Henrie had caused it to be put in execution, requiring most instantlie, that such an iniurie doone to the Christian religion, might spéedilie be punished. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter throughlie considered and ordered, so as might stand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous state of the case required. King Henrie whilest these things were a dooing, lay certein daies at Argenton, so much displeased in his mind, that he would suffer no man once to speake to him about any maner of businesse.

King Henrie sendeth ambassadours to the pope.

At length, he sent his ambassadors to Rome, partlie to purge himselfe of the archbishops death, partlie to excuse his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered words against the archbishop, which had giuen occasion to naughtie men to contriue his death, & partlie to require the pope to send his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbishop, and also of the state of the clergie. The kings ambassadors found the pope at Tiuoli, and there were heard to declare their message: but little credit was giuen to their words, in so much that the pope plainelie told them, that he vnderstood the matter to be much otherwise than they had declared. Yet according to the kings request, he sent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might vnderstand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as apperteined.

Matth. Paris.

There be that write, that the king sent ambassadours twice vnto the pope, for the first that went, could not come to his presence, nor be suffered to declare their message: those that were sent the second time, were receiued of some of the cardinals, but yet onelie with words without anie other way of freendlie interteinement. At length, when the feast of Easter drew néere, on the which either absolution or excommunication was to be denounced against euerie man, there were certeine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the English ambassadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the thursdaie before Easter daie to declare the sentence of interdiction against the king of England, and against all his dominions, and to confirme that which had beene alreadie pronounced against Richard the archbishop of Yorke, and the other bishops his complices.

The ambassadours being brought to a streict issue herewith, by helpe of some of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the English ambassadours had commission to vndertake, that the king of England should obeie in all things what order soeuer it pleased the pope and his court to award him. Herevpon they tooke their oth, that it should so be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The messengers of the archbishop of Yorke & the other bishops vsed the like shift, but yet the same daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murthered the archbishop Thomas, and all those that had procured, aided, succoured, or abetted them therein.

Ger. Dor. The ambassadours were glad to vse a shift by briberie.

therein. Some write, that those ambassadours which the king sent to the court of Rome, could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, till according to the fashion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and so at length were admitted to his presence.

Howsoeuer that matter passed, the king stood in great feare least his land should be interdicted, in so much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this side the sea and beyond, to take good héed, least any cõming with letters of interdiction should passe into England; but if any such came, that the bringer should be arrested and committed to prison. Also he commanded, that no clearke were suffered to come ouer into England, except he first tooke an oth that he came about no businesse that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he set forth, at what time he transported ouer into England himselfe, where he landed this yeare at Portesmouth the third daie of August. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conquest of Ireland vpon this occasion.

Sundrie rulers in Ireland.

It chanced, whereas diuerse rulers or (as we may call them) petie kings reigned the same seson in that Iland (which was diuided into seuerall estates or kingdomes) that continuall strife and dissention remained amongst them, so that oftentimes they made sore war after the manner of their countrie one against an other, (for

Luc. lib. 1.

Nulla fides regni socijs, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.)

Herevpon it fortuned, that one of those kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was sore afflicted and oppressed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might best doo for remedie in that case, at length he sent his son into England to reteine souldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & such commodities as he assured them of.

Matth. Paris. W. Parua. Sée more hereof in Ireland.

Now it came to passe, that by the assistance of such Englishmen as then came ouer, the foresaid Irish king began to recouer his losses, and in the end waxed so strong, that he subdued all his enimies. When he had thus obteined the victorie, he did not onelie not send backe his aiders, but so liberallie reteined them still with him, that they had no hast to returne home, but setled themselues in that countrie, where they liued a pleasant and verie licentious life. For this cause also the stoutest lords and rulers of the Irish nation began sore to stomach the matter against him that had thus brought the English nation into their cõuntrie, in so much that the Englishmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing some feare of themselues, bicause of their small number, they sent ouer into England for such as wanted liuing, and were willing to seeke for it in other countries, of which sort, great numbers went ouer thither within a short space, whereby the multitude of the English greatlie increased: but for as much as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Struguille, aliàs Chepstow in Wales to come ouer thither, and to receiue the souereigne gouernement, with such honorable prouision for maintenance of his estate, as should séeme requisit.

Erle Strangbow. *N. Triuet.*

N. Triuet. Wil, Paruus.

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being also earle Marshall of England) for a rebellion moued against king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more sumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made awaie and consumed the most part of his liuing, and was run so far in debt, that he knew not how to satisfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their request, which made labour vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of such English people, as had alreadie planted themselues there to inhabit & remaine. Herevpon he prepared a nauie, and assembled togither a great number of such as lacked liuing, and shortlie determined to passe ouer into Ireland. But euen as he was readie to set forward, there came vnto him messengers from king Henrie, commanding him to staie, and not to take that iournie in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England whereof to make anie great accompt, notwithstanding the kings commandement,

Strangbow countermanded.

mandement, tooke the sea, and passed ouer into that countrie, where he greatlie delited such Englishmen as dailie had looked for his repaire and comming thither.

Shortlie after, ioining those which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke some feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cause the Irishmen to haue him in feare. Wherevpon he first assailed the citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewise wan Waterford, & diuerse other townes neere vnto the sea side. Also to haue some freendship amongst those barbarous people, he married the daughter of the confederate king, and so grew into verie great estimation in that countrie and region.

Dublin won. Additions to *Iohn Pike.*

Strangbow marrieth Dermutius his daughter.

Howbeit, with these and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie tooke such displeasure (but chéeflie for disobeieng his commandement) that he confined him the realme, seized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation restreined all his subiects from passing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, prouision of vittels, or other commodities whatsoeuer. By reason whereof, earle Strangbow, partlie by constreint, and partlie in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other respects as may be coniectured, aduertised him of the whole state of the countrie of Ireland, promising him, that if it would please his grace to come ouer thither, he would so worke that he should be admitted souereigne lord of all the land. Heerevpon king Henrie pardoned him of all former trespasses, and restored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Normandie: and further, confirmed to him such liuings abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held alreadie in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he should be high steward of Ireland vnder him.

Strangbow confined.

He séeketh to procure the kings fauour.

The king pardoneth him. *M. Triuet.*

King Henrie then returning out of Normandie into England about the sixt day of August (as is aforesaid) caused a nauie of 400. ships to be made readie, and to assemble at Milford hauen in Penbrokshire, with all such prouision and furniture as was thought necessarie for such a iournie. Herewith also he leuied a great armie both of horssemen and footmen, and came forward with the same vnto Penbroke, and so when all his prouision and ships were readie, he entred the sea at Milford hauen aforesaid the sixtéenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crowch, not past seauen miles from Waterford the day next folowing, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the euangelists day, he with all his armie marched foorth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldelme his sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had sent thither before him for such purposes as he thought most conuenient. He remained at Waterford fiftéene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Corke, the king of Limerike, the king of Ossorie, the king of Méeth, Reignald de Waterford, and diuerse other great princes of Ireland. At his first arriuall, the foresaid earle Richard surrendred into his hands all those townes and places which he had subdued in that countrie.

Rog. Houed.

Milford hauen.

King Henrie landeth in Ireland.

Crowch.

The surrender made by erle Strangbow.

Herewithall the whole land began to tremble, so that the rulers of townes and countries sent vnto him messengers; offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hostages: for whilest euerie of those rulers which had the gouernment of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne estate, and mistrusted their owne powers, they all in maner submitted themselues, so that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing foorth of his sword, and in such wise, that he could not haue wished for better or more speedie successe therein. For whereas the whole Iland was diuided into sundrie dominions, and ruled by sundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie studies one enuieng an others wealth (for

Non bene cum socijs regna venúsque manent,
——— Socijsq; comes discordia regnis)

Ouid. li. 3. de art. Stat. 1. Th.

nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making resistance, than that they could not agrée to take councell togither for defending of their liberties, and entier state of the commonwelth. Whervpon, whilest euerie of them apart by himselfe was in doubt

Sundrie rulers in a land what weakenes it causeth.

to

to attempt the hazard of war against so mightie a king, they were all ouercome, as were the Britons likewise in the time of Cesar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladlie receiued their humble submission, and they doing homage vnto him, sware to be his liege and faithfull subiects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refused to submit himselfe.

Roderike K. of Connagh.

This Roderike pretended to be the chéefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall war with the other rulers, which was partlie the cause wherefore they submitted themselues so soone vnto king Henrie. The said Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the west, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, closed also with waters and marishes, so that it should be verie hard, and speciallie in the winter season, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cause whie king Henrie attempted nothing against Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plant garisons of souldiers in places conuenient to kéepe the land in quiet, which he had woone alreadie, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole estate of the countrie to his behoofe and commoditie. Hervpon going to Dublin, which is the cheefest citie of all Ireland, he assembled all the rulers and lords as well spirituall as temporall togither in councell, consulting with them for the assurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

The nature of the countrie of Connagh.

The allegation of the Irishmen.

The Irishmen alleged for themselues, that his deuise therin could not be compassed, vnles the popes authoritie were therein first obteined: for they affirmed, that immediatlie vpon receiuing the christian faith, they did submit themselues, & all that they had, vnto the see of Rome, so that they could not acknowledge any for their souereigne lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion some of them (although vainelie) haue holden vnto these our daies. King Henrie then vnderstanding this matter, dispatched ambassadours to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to ioine the countrie of Ireland vnto the realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge.

And certeinelie, these ambassadors whom the king sent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better spéed in their message, than did the other whom he had sent to him out of Normandie, to excuse him of the death of the archbishop Thomas. For the pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (considering that he had now no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Irish people being wild and rude, were far off from all good order of christianitie in diuerse points) thought it would be a meane to bring some gaine to his cofers, and the people more easilie from their naughtie customes, if they were once made subiect vnto some christian prince of puissance able to tame them, and constreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable. In consideration wherof, he was content to grant vnto the king all that herein he required.

A councell at Cassill.

Herevpon king Henrie considering in what respect the pope was so readie to accomplish his request, called a councell of the bishops to assemble at Cassill, where manie things were decréed and ordeined for the reforming of diuerse customes vsed before amongst the Irish men, and méerelie repugnant to the lawes of the christian religion. There were also appointed as solicitors in these matters, and to sit as assistants with the Irish bishops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Rafe the archdeacon of Landaf.

R. Houed.

The archdeacon of Landaf

1 Amongst other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children shuld be brought to the church, there to receiue baptisme in faire water, with thrée dippings into the same, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and that by the préests hands, except in case where danger of death was feared, which then might be doone by any other person, and in any other place

2 Also it was ordeined, that tithes should be paid to churches, and that such laie men as would kéepe wiues, should keepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwise.

3 The Peter pence also that Adrian reserued in his buls, sent to the king touching the same matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerse other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, so that nothing was omitted that might pleasure the pope, or recouer his gratious fauour alreadie lost in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue alreadie heard. Thus you heare what successe our ambassadours had in this voiage. ¶ Now will I tell you (yer I procéed any further) what strange things did happen in England whilest the king was thus occupied in Ireland, and within the compasse of that yeare, and first of all, in the night before Christmas day last passed, there chanced such a tempest of lightning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of, which tempest was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but also in other foreine parts néere adioining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Christmas daie following, to so great terror of the people, that they looked for present death. *An. Reg. 18. Matth. Paris. Matth. West.* A sore tempest. 1172.

The same night at Andeuer in Hamshire, a préest being in his praiers before the altar, was striken with the tempest, so that he died yer it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Also, a temporall man that was there the same time, was burned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being present, ran to him to haue succoured him, he likewise was caught with the fire, and in like maner consumed. In Ireland also, euill diet in eating of fresh flesh and drinking of water, contrarie to the custome of the Englishmen, brought the flix and other diseases in the kings armie, so that manie died thereof, for Lightning. *Polydor.*

Grauissimum est imperium consuetudinis. *Pub. Mim.*

Wherfore, about the beginning of Lent, the king remoued from Dublin, & went vnto the citie of Wexford, where he remained till toward Easter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he tooke the sea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Meeth, with the appurtenances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights seruice, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them) for euermore. He gaue also vnto the same Hugh, the kéeping of the citie of Dublin, and made him chéefe iusticer of Ireland. Unto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford and Wesseford, that he should kéepe the same to his vse, and build in them castels, for a more sure defense against the enimies. *Rog. Houed.* The kings gift vnto Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted garisons of souldiers in those & other places also where was thought néedfull; and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, so far as he had conquered; he first sent ouer his houshold seruants, which tooke the water on Easter daie, and landed at Milleford, but he himselfe and other of the Nobles staid there all that daie, by reason of the high solemnitie of that feast: howbeit the daie next after they tooke the sea togither, and landed néere to S. Dauids in south Wales, from thence (without delaie) he hasted foorth to Douer, and hauing his sonne the yoong king with him, he sailed ouer into Normandie in the crosse weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he vnderstood to be alreadie come thither. At his méeting with them there, he gaue them verie good countenance, and right honorable enterteinment, omitting nothing that might doo them pleasure. The king returneth into England. *Ger. Dor.* The popes legats.

Here when the matter came to be discussed touching the death of archbishop Thomas, bicause it could not be certeinelie tried out in whom the fault rested, much reasoning to and fro passed, about obiections and excuses laid (as in doubtfull cases it often happeneth) so that welneere the space of foure moneths was spent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to auoid all contention and strife betwixt him and king Lewes, sent his son Henrie togither with his wife ouer into England there eftsoones to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Eureux, Roger bishop of Worcester, and diuerse others. *Ger. Dor. R. Houed.*

Herevpon the yoong king being arriued in England, called an assemblie of the lords spirituall and temporall at Winchester, where both he and his said wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all solemnitie, by the hands of the said Rotrod archbishop of Rouen vpon the twentie one of August. *Rog. Houed.*

In

In the meane time (saith one writer) his father king Henrie might haue foreséene and found means to haue auoided the discord, which euen nów began to spring vp betwixt him and his children, causing a sore and ciuill warre, if he had not beene a man that vtterlie did detest all superstitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to minister iustice, which is a vertue that conteineth in it selfe all other vertues; it would come to passe, that within short time he should fall into great and manifold calamities.

A strange apparition.

"In his returne also out of Ireland (saith an other) vpon the sundaie next after the feast of Easter, commonlie called Lowsundie, as he should take his horsse at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefooted, and in a white kirtell, who boldlie in the Dutch language spake vnto him, and admonished him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the sabboth daie (commonlie called the sundaie) might be more duelie kept and obserued, so that no markets nor bodilie workes be holden, vsed, or doone vpon that day within the bounds of his dominions, except that which apperteineth to dressing of meats. And if thou doo (saith he) after this commandement, I assure thée that all things which thou dooest enterprise of good intent and purpose, shall sort to good effect and verie luckie end.

"But the king was not greatlie pleased with these words, and in French said to the knight that held his bridle; 'Aske of this cliurle, whether he had dreamed all this that he telleth or not.' When the knight had expounded it in English, the man answered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my sleepe or not, take thou héed to my words, & marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and doo as I haue aduertised thée, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou shalt heare such tidings as will make thee sorowfull all the daies of thy life after." The man hauing thus spoken, vanished awaie suddenlie, and the king tooke his words but in sport: howbeit he woondered that he was so suddenlie gone, as he did likewise at his sudden appearing. Manie other warnings the king had (saith mine author) but he set little thereby.

The second warning he receiued of an Irishman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindsey, called Philip de Chesterby, passing the sea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him seauen articles, which he should amend, which if he did, then he should reigne seauen yeares in great honor, and subdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redresse those points, then should he come to death with dishonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The first article or point was, that he should séeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The second, that he should cause rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he should condemne no man without lawfull processe.

4 The fourth, that he should restore the lands, goods and heritages to those rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull meanes.

5 The fift, that he should cause euerie man to haue right, without bribing and giuing of méed.

6 The sixt, that he should paie his debts as well due to any of his subiects, for any stuffe taken vp of them to his vse, as to his seruants and souldiers, who bicause they could not haue their wages truelie paid them, fell to robbing and spoiling of true labouring men.

7 The seauenth and last article was, that he should cause the Jewes to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were sore impouerished with such vnmercifull vsurie as they exercised.

The king (notwithstanding these and other like warnings) tooke no regard to the amendment of his sinfull life, wherevpon (as is thought) the troubles which ensued did light vpon him by Gods iust appointment.

¶ Howsoeuer this may séeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore esteemed as the chaffe of summer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aesop many good morals are comprised,

comprised, so the scope whereto this apparition tendeth being necessarie, maketh the argument it selfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you sée) to reuoke the king from woorse to better, from the swines-stie of vice to the statelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of sinne to the riuers of sanctitie, prooueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their drift manie times to honest purpose, and therefore bring with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the scope of this tale being the same that Dauid pointeth at in the second psalme, when he saith,

(At vos in populos quibus est permissa potestas,
Et ius ab alta sede plebi dicitis,
Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum, &c.)

Ex G. Buch. paraph. in psal. 2.

maketh the narration it selfe (though otherwise séeming méere fabulous) to be somewhat authenticall. But to returne to the course of our storie, and now to saie somewhat of this Henrie the seconds sonne the yoong king, by whom the troubles were moued, (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne togither with his said wife, they both passed the seas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the seauen and twentith of September, at a generall assemblie holden within the citie of Auranches in the church of the apostle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the popes legats, and a great number of bishops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie relikes of the saints, and vpon the sacred euangelists, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbishop Thomas to be murthered, and that when he heard of it, he was sorie for it. But bicause he could not apprehend them that slue the archbishop, and for that he feared in his conscience least they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a presumptuous boldnesse, bicause they had perceiued him to be offended with the archbishop, he sware to make satisfaction (for giuing such occasion) in this maner.

R. Houed. Ger. Dor. King Henrie purgeth himselfe of the archbishop Beckets death.

1 In primis, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike successours, so long as they should repute him for a catholike king.

O vile subiection vnbeséeming a king!

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeales, nor suffer them to be impeached, but that they might freelie be made within the realme vnto the pope, in causes ecclesiasticall; yet so, that if the king haue the parties suspected, they shall find him suerties that they shall not procure harme or hinderance whatsoeuer to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within thrée yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next ensuing, he should take vpon him the crosse, and personallie passe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his successours tooke other order with him.

4 Prouided, that if vpon any vrgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that iournie, he might deferre his going into the east parts.

5 Item, he bound himselfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defense of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceiued against those which were in exile for the archbishop Thomas his cause, so that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to restore all the lands and possessions which had béene taken awaie from the sée of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbishop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he sware to take awaie and abolish all those customes, which in his time had béene brought in against the church, as preiudiciall thereto.

All these articles faithfullie, and without male-ingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degrée, he receiued a solemne oth, and caused his sonne the yoong king being there present, to receiue the same for performance of all those articles, such as touched his owne person onelie excepted. And to the intent the same should remaine in the popes consistorie

consistorie as matter of record, he put his seale vnto the writing wherein the same articles were ingrossed, togither with the seales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father suffered the yoong king his son to go into France, togither with his wife, to visit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iournie verelie bred the cause of the dissention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes most louinglie receiued them (as reason was) and caused diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and pastimes to be shewed for the honour and delectation of his sonne in law and daughter.

Neuerthelesse, whilest this yoong prince soiourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the rash and headstrong disposition of the yong king did first of all inuegle him to consider of his estate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduised him so shortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: wherevnto he furthermore promised all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The French king séeketh to sow sedition betwixt the father and the sonne.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vnquietnesse, but also to follow his father in lawes counsell (as he that was apt of nature to aspire to the sole gouernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie (according to that of the tragedie-writer,

Sen. in Agam. Nec regna socium ferre nec tedæ sciunt)

and namelie such one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie set him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeie, and therefore it became not his highnesse to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernement frèelie in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permission. Herevpon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to wax of a contrarie mind to his father: who suspecting indéed that which chanced; to wit (least his sonnes yoong yeares not able yet to discerne good and wholesome counsell from euill, might easilie be infected with some sinister practise) thought it not good to suffer him to be long absent from him, and therefore sent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feast of Christmas drew néere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the towne of Chinon, he solemnized that feast, hauing left his sonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but sending for him after the feast was ended, they went both into Auvergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Morienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldest daughter Alice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the summe of fiue thousand markes, that he might bestow hir in marriage vpon his yongest sonne John with the heritage of the countie of Morienne, if hir father died without other issue, or at the leastwise the said Hubert chanced to haue any sonne lawfullie begotten, that then he should leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Russellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the same, Pierre castell with the appurtenances, the vallie of Noualleise, also Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aiz, Aspermont, Rochet, mont Magor, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this side the mountaines with their appurtenances, the said Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauoreth with the appurtenances, and all the fées which the earles of Canaues held of him, togither with the fealties and seruices. And also, the fees, fealties, and seruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the vallie called Vale Dosta; and in like maner, the towne of Castellone.

Rog. Houed. An. Reg. 19. 1173.

Hubert earle of Morienne.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellensis.

All the forenamed places the said earle gaue and granted to the said John, sonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, so frèelie, wholie and quietlie (in men and cities, castels, fortresses, or other places of defense, in medowes, leassewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, vallies and mountaines, in customes and all other things)

as

as euer he or his father had held or enioied the same. And furthermore, the said earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleased the king of England) his people should doo homage and fealtie to the king of Englands sonne, reseruing the fealtie due to him so long as he liued. Moreouer, the said earle Hubert granted to the said John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatsoeuer might be got and euicted in the same countie. It was also couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the said John should marrie the yoonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he should haue enioied with the first. The countie of Granople.

Finallie, that these couenants, grants and agréements should be performed on the part and behalfe of the said earle Hubert, both he, the said earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of those countries receiued an oth, and vndertooke to come and offer themselues as hostages to remaine with the king of England, in case the said earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforesaid articles, till he framed himselfe to satisfie the kings pleasure in such behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbishop of Tarensasia, and Ardune the bishop of Geneua, and also William the bishop of Morienne, with the abbat of S. Michell promised vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the censures of the church the said earle and his lands, refusing to performe he foresaid couenants, and so to kéepe him and the said lands bound, till he had satisfied the king of England therein.

William earle of Mandeuill, and William earle of Arundell sware on the part of king Henrie, that he should performe the articles, couenants and agréements on his part, as first to make paiment immediatlie vnto the said Hubert of one thousand markes, and as soone as he should receiue his daughter, he should paie him an other thousand markes at the least, and the residue then remaining of the said sum of fiue thousand markes, should be paid when the mariage was consummate. The earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

It was prouided also, that the said earle Hubert might marrie his yoonger daughter where he would, without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Montferrat & one Geffrey de Plozac with his sonne Miles and other Noble men came to the king as ambassadors from the earle of Morienne, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the couenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as séemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the sonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guien, concerning the controuersie that had béene moued for the countie of Tholouze, dooing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further couenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable maner. Moreouer, the said earle condescended & agreed to give yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horsses with 10. marks a péece. Now also, whilest the king soiourned at Limoges, the earle of Morienne came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne John. Wherevpon the king resolued to allot vnto him the chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabell, whereby he offended his eldest sonne the The earle of S. Giles. *Nic. Triuet.* Tribute for Tholouze. *Ger. Dor.*

yoong king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets faine to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceiued purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vsing the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best aduantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

Matth. West. N. Trinet. This yeere the moonks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Douer, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life as he well shewed, in that he wasted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellouin was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulnes and idlenes (as some take it) than for modestie or wisedome: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they ebb or flow in profit and gaine.

Matth. Paris.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (Saluo semper ordine suo, His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was doone at Westminster in the chappel of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his assent therevnto, where a councell was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, conteining amongst other things this that followeth.

A councell holden at Westminster.

A breefe extract or clause of a letter which the pope sent to the clergie of England, &c. for the making of a new holie daie.

WE admonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemne sort, & that with deuout praiers ye endeuour your selues to purchase forgiuenes of sins: that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdome in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithfull people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarslie read, but euerie man with a lowd voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, Te Deum laudamus. Furthermore bicause his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their errour and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: "Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen."

A collect deuised in honor of the archbishop Becket.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdome. Thus

——cæca superstitionis
Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sæclis.

¶ Notwithstanding all which honor of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memoriall in all ages, succeeding;

succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shrines that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruinated? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such ikons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series & fuga temporum,

Yet is he growne not into renowme, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Romish rakehels ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Naie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Beckets) that he is growne in oblivion euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the pope's calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whome he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his sworne children, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratefull, and not worthie of the dutifulnesse wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their hellish (holie I would saie) father.

M. Vaghan at Spitle the tuesdaie in Easter weeke 1585.

This yeare the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbesse of Berking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find that comming to Canturburie on the saturdaie after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was disappointed by letters that came from king Henrie the sonne, in forme as followeth.

Ger. Dor. The archbishops consecratiō disturbed by the yoong king.

A letter of yoong king Henrie touching the disappointment of archbishop Richards consecration.

HENRIE by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and earle of Aniou, sonne of king Henrie; to our deere and faithfull freend Odo, prior of the church of Canturburie, and to all the conuent there, sendeth greeting. By the assured report of some we vnderstand, that in your church and in other churches also, my father goeth about to institute certein persons not verie meet for such calling: and bicause (without our consent) it ought not so to be doone, who by reason of our kinglie annointing haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: hervpon we haue in the presence of many persons appealed to the see of Rome, and haue signified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals and legats of the apostolike see, by our writing and messenger, who like wise and discreet personages haue assented therevnto. We haue likewise signified the same our appeale to our faithfull freends the bishops of London, Excester, and Worcester, and as we haue appealed, so likewise we do appeale vnder your testimonie.

After the perusall of this letter, and the due consideration of the substance and summe of the same, (albeit no such afterclaps were suspected before) the bishops were altogither driuen to their shifts, some of them desiring to go forward with the consecration, and some

some supposing it better to yéeld vnto the appeale. The elect archbishop therefore first sent messengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie by himselfe, but also by all the bishops and conuent of Canturburie. After this he followed himselfe in person, and comming to the popes court, found there diuers aduersaries to his cause. For some were there that tooke part with the king the father, and some with the king the sonne, and so his businesse could haue no spéedie dispatch. In the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the sonne had conceiued against his father was so ripened, that it could not but burst out, and shew itselfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a sonne towards his father.

You haue heard how king Henrie promised the earledome of Morienne, when the marriage was concluded betwixt his son John and the said earles daughter, to giue vnto the said John certeine townes in Normandie, for the better mainteining of his estate and his wiues. This gift of the fathers caused his eldest sonne the yong king Henrie, the sooner to powre out his poison which he had sucked before at his being with his father in law king Lewes. For conceiuing an offense, that his father should giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condescend to any such gifts, but alledged that sithens he was king of England, and that all belonged to him, his father could not now haue any title to giue awaie that which did in no wise apperteine vnto him.

Fil. Paruus.

There was another cause that troubled his mind also, and mooued him to grudge at his father, which was; for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houshold and port was verie slender, and yet more slenderlie paied. Also his father remooued from him certeine of his seruants, as Astulfe de S. Hilarie, and other whome he suspected to giue him euill counsell. Wherefore those that were procurers of him to attempt the seizing of the gouernement into his hands, vpon this occasion slept not, but put into his head such matter, that at length he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he saw would not be obteined of his father by quiet meanes, he fled secretlie awaie vnto his father in law king Lewes, requiring aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniustlie deteined from him.

Astulfe de S. Hilarie a counsellor, or rather corrupter of king Henrie the sonne.

Polydor.

King Henrie the sonne fled to the French king.

The French king comforted him, and bad him be of good cheare, for he ment to doo for him all that in him laie. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Normandie, and receiued homage of him for the same. King Henrie the father vnderstanding that his sonne was thus fled to the French king, sent ambassadours foorthwith to the same king, requiring him to giue his son some good & wholesome counsell, that he might repent, and not follow such wilfulnesse of mind in swaruing from his fathers freendship, but rather with spéed to returne home againe; & to promise in his name, that if any thing were otherwise than well, he would be contented the same should be reformed by his order and correction. But so farre was king Lewes from meaning to set a quietnesse betwixt the father and the sonne, that he would not heare the ambassadors declare their message, bicause they named the father, king, to the derogation of the sonnes right, to whome he sāid he offered manifest wrong in vsurping the gouernement, which he had alreadie giuen ouer and resigned. Insomuch that when the ambassadours had declared some part of their message, he asked them what he was that willed such things of him: and when they answered that the king of England had sent them with that message, "That is a false lie (saith he) for behold here is the king of England, who hath giuen you no commission to declare any message from him vnto me at all."

W. Paruus.

¶ Here we sée philautie or selfe-loue, which rageth in men so preposterouslie, that euen naturall dutie and affection quite forgotten, they vndertake what mischéefe soeuer commeth next to hand, without exception of place or person; and all for the maintenance of statelie titles, of loftie stiles, of honorable names, and such like vanities more light than thistle downe that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath beene noted to reigne in all ages, among all péeres and people of all nations, both at home and abroad, as one

verie

verie well noteth and giueth his verdict therevpon, saieng,

M. Par. in vita & fact.

——— proh dij, nunc nomina tantùm
Magnifica, & claros titulos sibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, sequitur, rapit; vt meritò iam
Et se asinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illustres præclaráq; nomina prosunt?
Quæ citò mors rapit, & lethæas mergit in vndas.

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that warres would follow, prepared the best he could for his owne defense: but he was in great doubt on euerie side, not knowing whome he might trust. And to increase this mischéefe, his wife quéene Elianor studied to mainteine the strife betwixt hir sonnes. The yoong king then getting an armie togither entred into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whome he may trust. *Polydor.*

King Henrie was not hastie to go against him, but sought rather with gentlenesse and all courteous meanes to reconcile him: insomuch that whereas diuerse graue personages being of the yoong kings counsell, and doubting to runne into the displeasure of his father, reuolted from the sonne to the father, and brought with them the sonnes seale, which he vsed in sealing of letters. Howbeit, the father receiued them not, but sent them backe againe to his sonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in seruing him as he should appoint them, and herewith he sent ambassadours vnto his sonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Richard Bart chancellor to the yoong king, also his chapleine, Sir Walter Ailward with others. *Rog. Houed.*

Now whilest the father went about to asswage the sonnes displeasure, the mother quéene Elianor did what she could to pricke him forward in his disobedient attempts. For she being enraged against hir husband bicause he kept sundrie concubines, and therefore delited the lesse in hir companie, cared not what mischéefe she procured against him. Herevpon she made hir complaint so greeuouslie vnto hir sons Richard and Geffrey, that they ioined with their brother against their father, & came to him into Guien, to aid him to the vttermost of their powers.

¶ This may well séeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his incontinent, vnchast and libidinous life; who hauing Chara coniugij pignora, a notable motiue to kindle and to continue honest loue in wedlocke, did not notwithstanding most inordinatelie abandon his bodie to beastlie and vnlawfull companie kéeping with strange flesh. Note heere how God stirreth vp the wife of his owne bosomé & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eies and godes in his sides for profaning so diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did so honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obseruation thereof, but denounced vndoubted vengeance for the violation of the same, as appeareth in this old testimonie,

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. op. & di.

Patrat & ingreditur quicunq; cubilia fratris
Vxorem maculans, & sancta cubilia stupro
Hunc pater ipse deûm Saturnius odit, & ipsi
Hunc malè dij vexant, &c.

But we will remit this to the readers consideration, and note the issue of this mischéefe now broched. The yoong king reioicing that he had his brethren thus on his side, readie to take his part, became more stout than before, and for answere vnto the messengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer vp the whole gouernment into his hands, he would be content to breake vp his armie. As for such souldiers as would willinglie take his part in this quarell, he caused them to sweare that they should faithfullie serue him against his aduersaries: and those that had rather serue on the other side, he licensed them fréelie to depart and go to his father.

King Henrie the father receiuing such a rebellious answer from his sonne, much lamented the matter, and so much the more, for that he saw there was no remedie, but

Twētie thousand Brabanders were reteined by king Henrie the father as saith *R. Houed. Will. Paruus. N. Triuet. Polydor.*

to haue the controuersie decided by the sword. Therefore least he should be taken vnprouided, he kept his armie in a readinesse about him, hauing reteined certeine bands of Brabanders called the Rowts.

The lords that tooke part with his sonne, being aduertised by espials of the dooings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were constreined) to defend himselfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his sons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they tooke great care how to cause his sons to persist in their enterprise, till the father were compelled by force to resigne the gouernment vnto them. But none more than the French king coueted to mainteine the discord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therefore sent vnto king Henrie the sonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he caused a councell to be called, & there made a league betwixt the said Henrie and himselfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Chester, William Patrike the elder, the thrée sons of Robert earle of Mellent, whose castels king Henrie the elder had in possession, Roger Moumbray, Hugh Bigot, and diuerse other complices of the conspiracie, Flabella seditionum, that tooke part with Henrie the sonne. *N. Triuet. Polydor.*

The French king taketh an oth to aid king Henrie the sonne. *Rog. Houed. Ger. Dor.*

Here after they had consulted of the maner how to mainteine warre, bicause they would assure the yoong king that they ment not to forsake him, first king Lewes, and after that all the residue tooke an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father should either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agrée with him at his will and pleasure. On the other part, he sware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their consent and good will. He also promised vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his seale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thousand pounds of yearlie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the castles of Douer and Rochester. And to Matthew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewise promised and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earledome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Also to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted fiue hundred marks of yearlie reuenue in Anjou with the castell of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countrie of Touraine, and surrendred to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the K. of Scots (for his assistance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tine. And to his brother Dauid (to haue his seruice) he granted the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge. To Hugh Bigot (for his seruice) he gaue the castell of Norwhich. All these gifts and grants (with diuerse other to other persons) promised & granted, he confirmed with his new seale, which the king of France had caused him to make. These things being thus ordered at Paris, euerie man resorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all spéed conuenient.

Philip earle of Flanders.
Matthew earle of Bullongne.
Chateau Reignold.
Earle Dauid.
Hugh Bigot.
Poloydr.

King Henrie the father aduertised of this new league of the conspirators against him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he saw himselfe in danger, not onelie of outward enimies, but also of his owne subiects at home. Yet bicause the winter season was alreadie at hand, taking awaie all conuenient occasions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compasse some agréement with his sons yer the spring of the yeare should returne, and therefore he made not so great prouision for his defense, as had béene necessarie in so dangerous a case. But the Frenchmen who were bent to set forward this war with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatlie vpon the comming of the spring with king Henrie the sonne, and euen at one instant made their inuasions vpon the lands of king Henrie the father in three seuerall parties; namelie, in Normandie, Guien, and Britaine, which (against the will of his sonne Geffrey duke thereof) king Henrie the father did hold and reteine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus inuading the foresaid countries, did much hurt with robbing and spoiling, and also tooke diuerse castels and townes.

The confederats inuade the dominions of king Henrie the father.

The king of Scots inuadeth Cumberland.

Moreouer about the same time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, first into Cumberland, and besieged Carleil: but hearing that an armie was prepared against

against him in the south parties of the realme, and readie to set forward, he raised his siege, and entred into Northumberland (which prouince king Henrie the sonne had giuen him in the last assemblie holden at Paris) endeuouring to bring it into his possession. But the more earnestlie he went about to inforce the people to his will, the more stiflie did they withstand his purpose, hating him so much, that in no condition they were willing to come vnder his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great losse. The kings power also comming into the countrie followed them, and passing ouer the water of Tweed, which diuided then (as it dooth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like spoile in the land of the enimies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland. *Wil. Parua.*

But in Normandie, whilest others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enimies countrie, king Lewes besieged Vernueil, which towne being strong of it selfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valientlie defended, so that the Fench king was a moneth before it, yer he could win anie part thereof. This towne of Vrernueil was in those daies diuided into three portions, beside the castell, euerie of them apart from other with mightie wals and déepe ditches full of water. One of these parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitcht his field & planted his engins. About a moneth after whose cõming thither, vittels began to faile them within, so that at length they required a truce onelie for thrée daies, & if no succour came within those thrée daies, they promised to yeeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the vigill or eeue of S. Laurence. Herevpon were hostages deliuered by the burgesses vnto the French king. Now it was agréed that if they yéelded the towne at the daie appointed for want of succor, king Henrie the son, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earles of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbish. of Sens, vndertooke vpon their othes that the hostages should then be restored free & without any hurt or damage. Vernueil besieged. *R. Houed.* Hugh Beauchampe.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the composition thus made, was driuen to a verie hard shift: for he doubted nothing lesse than that any such thing should haue chanced. Yet considering with himselfe, that the sauing of the towne stood in his speedie comming to the rescue, he hasted thither without any staie, and came to the place the daie before the third and last daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiuing him to be come, doubting least he should loose the preie which he looked for, sent vnto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next daie, touching some means of agréement to be had betwixt him and his sons. This did he of policie, to féed him with hope of some end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his sons, till he had gotten possession of the towne. The French king requireth to talke.

Now as he forecast that matter, euen so it came to passe, for whilest a great péece of the next daie was spent in feined talke about an agréement; K. Lewes appointed a great part of his host to close the towne about, and to declare vnto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Vernueil beléeuing, yéelded the towne & themselues to the Frenchmen. Soone after, king Lewes mistrusting least he should not be able to kéepe it, set it on fire, and so burnt it, contrarie to the composition betwixt him and them agréed and concluded vpon. He kept also the souldiers that had yeelded it into his hands, togither with the hostages as prisoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went awaie in the night with as still noise as was possible. Which euill dealing had not inuaded his hart, but that euill meaning had possessed it before, euen at the composition making: but he neuer learned that,

Fidem qui perdit nihil potest vltra perdere.

Rog. Houed. The ninth of August being thursdaie saieth *R. Houed.* king Lewes fléeth awaie in the night. *Pub. Mim.*

King Henrie at length perceiuing the fraud, sent certeine bands of his horssemen after to persue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was alreadie gotten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, those which were sent, turned vpon those that were left in the vtter-most ward, of whome they slue a great number both horssemen and footmen.

K. Henrie

K. Henrie following his men, came to Vernueil, and staieng there that night, tooke order for the repairing and new fortifieng of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the castell of Danuille, and wan it, taking diuerse knights and yeomen within it: this castell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to passe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Vernueil, as in some authors we find reported. ¶ Other write otherwise of the mater, as thus, the French K. being summoned by K. Henrie the father, either to depart from the seige of Vernueil, or to looke for battell; & hearing also that in performance of the message K. Henrie approched with his power, he sent a bishop & an abbat vnto him to vnderstand if he meant to giue battell in deed. The messengers met king Henrie as he was aduanced before his host vpon some occasion, with a small companie about him, vnto whome they declared that their maister the French king, required to be assured whether he should haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this short answere; "Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand." The messengers returning to their maister, declared what they had séene and heard. Wherevpon (without longer staie) he raised his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great dishonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the same author it should appeere.

Danuille. Gilbert de Tileres.

Will. Paruus.

K. Henrie his short answere to the French kings messengers.

About the same time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats besieged the towne of Albemarle, and the earle therof within it, which earle was thought to betraie the towne, bicause it was so easilie woone, and both he himselfe, and those which king Henrie the father had sent thither to defend the towne were taken prisoners. Diuerse other places which belonged to the same earle were also immediatlie deliuered into the enimies hands, which increased the suspicion.

Albemarle woon by the earle of Flanders.

After this towne of Newcastell (otherwise called Drincourt) in those frontiers was besieged, and finallie woone by surrender, by the said earle of Flanders, who reioised nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew the earle of Bullongne who should haue béene his heire, was shot into the knée with an arrow, as he approched to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was so pensife for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iournie and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war against his coosen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had doone him manie great and singular pleasures from time to time.

R. Houed. Ia. Meir. Ger. Dor.

The earle of Bullongne wounded, and dieth.

¶ Good cause had the earle to giue ouer the prosequuting of violence against his souereigne, being dawnted with so heauie a chance, & griped also with the grudge of conscience, in so vnkindlie rewarding his welwiller, at whose hands he confessed himselfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth anie so much as him or them in whom it is nestled. And hereto alludeth the comedie-writer, when he saith verie neatlie,

Plaut. in Ca. ——— morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt
Dum id impetrāt, boni sunt: sed id vbi iam pene se habet,
Ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.

Moreouer Henrie the elder (after the iournie of Vernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderstanding that Hugh earle of Chester, and Rafe de Foulgiers, men of singular prowesse (who long before were reuolted to his sonne Henrie) had taken the castell of Dole in Britaine, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, hée sent foorth streightwaies certeine of his capteines with the Brabanders to aid his people in those parts who on the twentieth day of August (being monday) encountring with the enimies, discomfited them in battell, tooke seauenteene knights, beside diuerse others both horssemen and footmen, slue aboue fifteene hundred of the enimies being Britaines, and pursuing the residue, entred the towne which they wan, and droue their aduersaries

Rog. Houed.

aduersaries into the castell, where they besieged them, and with all spéed aduertised the king of that enterprise, who immediatlie with all possible hast came thither, applieng his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them which were within the same at his commandement.

To be short, it was not long yer he had his desire, for being such a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within so streict a roome, for want of vittell they fell to a composition, yeelding the castell vnto the king, their bodies, liues, and lims saued, on the 25. day of August. There were within this castell 80. knights, besides yeomen and other common souldiers. In like maner, and with the semblable good fortune, about the same time, his capteins in England ouercame his enimies: for whereas Robert earle of Leicester that tooke part with king Henrie the sonne, had assembled at the towne of Leicester a great host of men, in purpose to set vpon Reignold earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie capteines on the side of king Henrie the father: they vnderstanding his meaning, marched streight towards Leicester, and by the waie met with their enimie earle Robert, whome they so fiercelie assailed, that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it surrendered vnto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the castell (which in those daies was of great strength by reason of the situation) they could not win.

The earle of Leicester put to flight.

Howbeit some write, that by vndermining, the walles of the towne were subuerted and throwne downe, so that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew themselues into the castell and other strong houses, which they defended for a time, till at length they surrendered all, one parcell of the castell excepted, for the which by composition they paied by way of a fine the sum of thrée hundred pounds to the vse of K. Henrie the father. The siege began the seauenth day of Julie, and on the 28. day of the same moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to those that still defended a certeine tower of the castell into the which they were withdrawne.

Matth. Paris. Leicester won by force.

William also the Scotish king, with an armie of Scots and Gallowaimen inuaded Northumberland, and passing by the confines of the bishoprike of Durham, did much hurt by slaughter, burning and spoiling the countrie. Neuerthelesse, hearing of a power raised by the English lords in those parts to resist him, he withdrew into his countrie. The English armie folowing him, wasted the countrie of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to indure till the feast of S. Hilarie. For the which truce happilie some rewards went betwixt, and so the English lords with spoiles and gaines returned homewards.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberland. He retireth. The English spoile Louthian. A truce.

A fe v daies after these luckie chances thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceiuing fortune to be on that side, determined to assaie whether he could obteine his purpose by some means of treatie, or at the least put king Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather suffer all discommodities whatsoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battell with his sonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gisors and Trie, shewing bread in the one hand (as they say) and hiding a stone in the other.

Rog. Houed. A treatie of peace.

King Henrie was easilie intreated to heare of anie talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on tuesdaie the fiftéenth daie of September, made so large offers, that he had almost conuerted the yoong mens minds vnto concord. First he offered to his sonne Henrie the yoong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and four conuenient castels within the same. Or if his sonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that dutchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers perteining to the earledome of Aniou, with certeine castels in Normandie, one castell in Aniou, one in Maine, and one in Towraine. To his sonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues

Rog. Houed. The offers of K. Henrie the father to his sonnes.

of Guien, and foure conuenient castels in the same. And to his sonne Geffrey he offered all those lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan earle of Britaine, if he might by the popes good licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yéelded himselfe to stand to the order of the archbishop of Tharent and other the popes legats, not refusing to giue his sonnes what rents and reuenues soeuer they should say were reasonable, reseruing onelie to himselfe the administration of iustice, and the power roiall.

These séemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine sonnes of Beliall, set vpon nothing but mischéefe, troublers of common peace and quietnesse, wrought so with them, that no conditions of peace (were the same neuer so reasonable) could content them, so that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious words passed betwixt the parties, insomuch that the earle of Leicester (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchase aid at his hands) could not refraine but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus suum est cùm irascitur,

Pub. Mim. The earle of Leicester offred to strike the king.

after many opprobrious words vttered against king Henrie the father, laid hand on his sword to haue striken him, but the standers by would not suffer him and so they departed; which rash attempt or rather disloiall enterprise,

Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes.

On the morrow after, the French and English skirmished togither betwixt Curseils and Gisors, in which conflict Enguerane Chastillone de Trie was taken prisoner by earle William de Mandeuille, who presented him to the king of England. King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preserue his sonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing lesse than to ioin battell with the English at that present. But within a few daies after, he sent Robert earle of Leicester into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to ioine with Hugh Bigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promises and gentle persuasions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the sonne.

Additions to John Pike. The earle of Leicester therefore landing at Walton the 21. of September, passed through the countrie vnto Fremingham, where he was receiued of Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other fléet of Flemings were arriued for their aid, they went vnto Gipswich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Bigot, they went to the castell of Haghenet (that belonged vnto Ranulph Broc) which they tooke, spoiled & burned, & then returned to Fremingham.

Rog. Houed.

After this, hearing that the countesse of Leicester was arriued at Orreford with an other power of Flemings, they went to méet hir: and so the earle of Leicester, hauing now a strong armie about him, tooke leaue of earle Bigot, and ment to passe through the countrie into Leicestershire, there to succour his freends, and to worke some feat for the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

In the meane time the arriuall of the earle of Leicester being knowne, the people of the countrie were assembled togither. Also Richard Lucie lord cheefe iustice, and Humfrey de Boun high conestable of England, with the kings power of horssemen which latelie before had béene in Scotland and made inrodes there (as before is mentioned) came with all spéed to saue the countrie from spoile, hauing first taken a truce (as before is said) with the king of Scots, till the feast of Saint Hilarie next ensuing (or rather Ester) hostages being deliuered on both sides. Vpon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to doo, the said Richard Lucie & Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundsburie, whither Reignold earle of Cornewall the kings vncle, Robert earle of Glocester, and William erle of Arundell resorted.

Rog. Houed. *Rog. Houed.*

In the meane while, the earle of Leicester passed forward on his waie so farre as Fornham

ham a little village beside S. Edmundsburie. The lord chéefe iustice & the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongst others the said Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundsburie, hauing the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, & in a marish ground betwixt Fornham & Edmundsburie, they encountred with the said earle of Leicester, and after long and cruell fight discomfited his people, and tooke him prisoner, togither with his wife the countesse Petronill, after he had doone all that belonged to a valiant capteine. The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thousand [and almost as manie taken] verelie [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thousand were either taken or slaine:] the residue that escaped fled towards Leicester, that they might both defend the towne & themselues from the danger of their foes. *Rog. Houed. Polydor. Wil. Faruus.*

¶ But here is to be noted, that it séemeth by the report of some writers, how the earle of Leicester had not so great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number slaine and taken it should appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bigot, he tooke vpon him to passe through the countrie (as some write) partlie vpon trust that he had of the force and number of his souldiers, being about foure or fiue thousand stout and valiant footmen, besides 80 chosen and well appointed horssemen; and partlie in hope that manie of those which were in his aduersaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight against him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indéed presumed much vpon their owne strength, so that they made account of some great conquest, in such wise, that when they came into any large plaine where they might rest, they would take ech others by the hand, and leading a danse, sing in their countrie language,

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine. *Matth. Paris.*

King Henrie receiuing aduertisement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was maruellous ioifull, and commanded that the prisoners should be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: which being doone, he went into Aniou, and there fortified the towns and castels of the countrie with sure garrisons of men, to resist all sudden inuasion, secret practises, and other attempts of the enimies. On the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, he tooke the towne of Vandosme by force, which Buchard de Lauerdin held against him, hauing first expelled his father the earle of Vandosme. *R. Houed.* The towne of Van-dosme woone.

About this season, or rather somewhat before, king Henrie the father, (contrarie to the prohibition of the king his sonne) and after the appeale made vnto the pope) gaue not onelie vnto Richard prior of Douer, the archbishoprike of Canturburie; but also to Reignold Fitz-Joceline the bishoprike of Bath; to Richard de Worcester archdeacon of Poictiers the bishoprike of Winchester; to Robert Foliot the bishoprike of Hereford; to Geffrey Ridell archdeacon of Canturburie he gaue the bishoprike of Elie, and to John de Oxenford the bishoprike of Chichister. Séehis letter before in page 147.

But now to our purpose. The nobles of the realme of England (after the * battell of S. Edmundsburie) with an infinit number of men went against Hugh Bigot in purpose to abate his pride. But whereas they might easilie haue had him at their pleasure, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Whitsuntide, within which time hauing gotten togither fourteene thousand Flemings, he passed through Essex, and so getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he tooke ship and transported ouer into France. *Matth. Paris.* * Which was fought on the 17. of October.

King Henrie the father held his Christmasse this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Easter, or (as others write) for the terme of six moneths. For ye haue to vnderstand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father against the earle of Leices- An. Reg. 20. 1174.

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ter (being not onlie spred through England, but also blown ouer into France) put those that tooke part with him in great feare; but speciallie king Lewes mistrusting the matter began to wax wearie that he had attempted so far, and susteined so great trauell and expenses in another mans cause.

Ger. Dor. Whilest this truce indured, the archbishop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in dispaire of his businesse, vpon a feigned rumor spred that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and sonne, he was called backe and consecrated by the pope the sundaie after Easter: and then furnished with the dignities of primat and legat of England, and other priuileges according, he tooke his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid foorth great summes of monie to disappoint the purposes of his aduersaries.

This yeare in June, the lord Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings sonne besieged the castell which Roger de Mowbry had repaired at Kinard Ferie, within the Isle of Oxholme, and compelling the souldiers within to yéeld, he beat downe and raced the same castell vnto the verie ground. Robert Mowbray conestable of that castell, as he passed thorugh the countrie towards Leicester, there to procure some aid, was taken by the men of Claie, and kept as prisoner. Moreouer, the said elect of Lincolne tooke the castell of Malesert that belonged to the said Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the keeping of the archbishop of Yorke. The said elect also fortified a castell at Topclife, and tooke it to the kéeping of William Stuteuille. In this meane while the king tooke the strengths and fortresses which his sonne Richard had fortified at Xanctes, and in the same forts and church (which was also fortified against him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archbalisters, that is, the best of them that bare crossebowes.

The oth of the earle of Flanders. Philip earle of Flanders in the presence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laieng his hand vpon the holie relikes, sware that within 15. daies next insuing the feast of S. John then instant to enter England with an armie, and to doo his best to subdue the same to king Henrie the son. Vpon trust whereof the yoong king the more presuming came downe to Whitsand, the 14. daie of Julie, that he might from thence send ouer into England Rafe de la Haie with certeine bands of souldiers. Before this the earle of Flanders had sent ouer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call them. But after their arriuall at Orwell, which chanced the 14. of June, by reason that there associats were dispersed, and for the more part subdued, they tooke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, assaulted the citie and wan it, gaining there great riches, and speciallie in readie monie, and led awaie a great sort of prisoners whome they ransomed at their pleasure. This chanced the 18. of June.

Additions to John Pike.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

¶ I remember that William Paruus writeth, that the citie of Norwich was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the earle of Leicester in the yeare last past, by the conduct of the said earle before he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie, being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led those Flemings also vnto Dunwich, purposing to win and sacke that towne also: but the inhabitants being better prouided against the comming of their enimies than they of Norwich were, shewed such countenance of defense, that they preserued their towne from that danger, so that the two earles with Flemings were constreined to depart without atchiuing their purpose. But whether that this attempt against Dunwich was made by the earle of Leicester (before his taking) in companie of earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verilie for the winning of Norwich, I suppose that William Paruus mistaketh the time, except we shall saie that it was twise taken, as first by the earle of Leicester in the yeare 1173. For it is certeine by consent of most writers, and speciallie those that haue recorded particularlie the incidents that chanced here in this land during these troubles betwixt the king and his sons that it was taken now this yeare, 1174. by earle Bigot (as before we haue shewed.)

But now to procéed. The lords that had the rule of the land for king Henrie the

father, perceiuing earle Bigots procéedings, sent knowledge thereof with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in the parties beyond the seas. Whilest these things were a dooing, although the minds of manie of the conspirators against king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot (by reason of his new supplie of men got out of Flanders) ceased not to attempt fresh exploits: and chéeflie they solicited the matter in such wise with William king of Scotland, that whilest they in other quarters of the realme plaied their parts, he entred into the confines of Cumberland, and first besieged the citie of Carleil, but perceiuing he could not win it in any short time, he left one part of his armie to keepe siege before it, and with the residue marched into the countrie alongst by the riuer of Eden, taking by force the castels of Bourgh and Applebie, with diuerse other. This doone, he passed ouer the riuer, and came through Northumberland (wasting the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place he attempted to win, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

Additions to John Pike.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Castels woon by the Scots.

This enterprise which he made into Northumberland, he tooke in hand chéeflie at the suit and request of Roger Mowbray, from whome Geffrey (who after was bishop of Lincolne) K. Henries eldest base son had taken two of his castels, so that he kept the third with much adoo. He had giuen his eldest sonne in hostage vnto the said king of Scots for assurance of such couenants to be kept on his behalfe as were passed betwixt them. In the meane time one Duncane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scotish armie entred into Kendall, and wasted that countrie in most cruell wise, neither sparing age nor sex, insomuch that he brake into the churches, slue those that were fled into the same for safegard of their liues as well preests as other. The English power of horssemen which passed not the number of 400. was assembled at Newcastell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Rafe Glanuille, William Ursie, Bernard Balliolle [and Odonet de Umfreiuille.]

Polydor. Duncane a Scotish capteine wasteth Kendall.

Wil. Paruus. Rog. Houed.

These capteines hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one side of the countrie, and king William in another, determinned to issue foorth and trie the chance of warre, (which is doubtfull and vncerteine, according to the old saieng,

Fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est)

Sen. in Tha.

against the enimies, sith it should be a great rebuke to them to suffer the countrie to be wasted after that sort without reuengement. Herevpon riding foorth one morning, there arose such a thicke fog and mist that they could not discerne any waie about them, so that doubting to fall within the laps of their enimies at vnwares, they staied a while to take aduise what should be best for them to doo. Now when they were almost fullie resolued to haue turned backe againe, by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of Bernard Balliolle, they changed their purpose, and rode forward, till at length the northerne wind began to waken, and droue awaie the mist, so that the countrie was discouered vnto them, and perceiuing where Alnewike stood, not knowing as yet whether the Scots had woone it or not, they staied their pace, and riding softlie, at length learning by the inhabitants of the countrie, that the Scotish king desparing to win Alnewike, had raised his siege from thence the same day, they turned streight thither, and lodging there all night, in the morning got to their horsses verie earelie, riding foorth towards the enimies that were spred abroad in the countrie to forey the same. They had anon espied where the king was, and incontinentlie compassed him about on euerie side, who perceiuing the English horssemen readie thus to assaile him, with all diligence called backe his men from the spoile; but the more part of them being straied far off through the swéetnes they found in getting of preies, could not heare the sound of the trumpets, yet notwithstanding with those his horssemen which he could get togither, he encountred the English men which came vpon him verie hastilie.

Bernard de Balliolle.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the first, and well fought for a time, but the Scotish horssemen being toiled before in foreieng the countrie, could not long continue against the fierce assault of the English, but were either beaten downe, or else constrein-

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ed to saue themselues by flight. The king with a few other (who at the first had begun the battell) was taken. Also manie of the Scots that being far off, and yet hearing of the skirmish, came running toward the place, & were taken yer they could vnderstand how the matter had passed. This taking of the king of Scots was on a saturdaie, being the euenth of Julie.

The king of Scots taken.

Ger. Dor.

The English capteines hauing thus taken the Scotish king in the midst of his armie, conteining the number of 80000 men, returned to Newcastell, greatlie reioising of their good successe, aduertising king Henrie the father hereof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scotish king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after shall appéere.)

Wil. Paruus.

Matt. Paris. Matth. West. Wil. Paruus. Ger. Dor.

Polydor.

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketille Malorie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, tooke two hundred prisoners, and slue or wounded néere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterprise returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set foorth. The kings horssemen herevpon came streightwaies to Northampton, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

This chanced a little after Whitsuntide.

Rob. Ferreis.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of horssemen, suddenlie made to Notingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in kéeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning tooke it, droue out the kings souldiers that laie there in garison, burned the towne, slue the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselues vnto him.

Polydor. Rog. Houed. Notingham taken.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his fréends here in England, eftsoones conceiued some good hope to obteine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Herevpon he purchased aid of king Lewes, who (bicause the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterprise so farre as in him laie. Wherfore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine horssemen, and of a number of Brabanders.

W. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the dooings in England, with all possible spéed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboord, among whome were certeine bands of Brabanders: and so soone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoised vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting least the bloud of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and tooke order for the placing of capteines with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Julie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yéelded themselues to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saued.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Huntington castell woone.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agréed with the king to haue peace, paieng him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agréement was concluded

R. Houed.

Matth. Paris. Earle Bigot is accorded with the K.

the 25. of Julie. Herevpon a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Rafe de la Haie departed without impechment by the kings sufferance. The Flemings sent hea.e.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Northampton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his féet bound vnder the horsses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Norham, and Alierton. Thither also came to the king Roger Mowbraie, and surrendred to him the castell of Treske, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vp into his hands the castels of Tutburie, and Duffield, and Anketill Mallorie, and William de Diue constables to the earle of Leicester yeelded to the king the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsorell, to the intent that he should deale more courteouslie with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Glocester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselues to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished; so that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enimies returned to London. *R. Houed.* The king of Scots presented to the king of England. The earle of Glocester. The earle Richard of Clare.

¶ All this hurlie burlie and bloudie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did deiect and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obteine the monarchie, and the old king doo him homage: and partlie to the quéenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had béene (notwithstanding such dishonour doone hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asléepe, and doone what she possiblie could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath béene said long ago,

Mulier nihil nouit nisi quod vult, *Pub. Mim.*
Et plenum malorum est onus.

But what insued herevpon euen by waie of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namelie, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie? For the king after this happie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quéene Elianor had prooued hirselfe to be) should still annoie his eies, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, bicause she had procured his sons Richard and Geffrey to ioine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.) Quéene Elianor is committed to close prison.

But to procéed, king Lewes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streitlie. Shortlie after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obteine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they stood, without faint harts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue ouer their citie for any threats or menaces of their enimies. Now whilest they within were busie in deuising how to repell the assault, and to defend themselues, the aduersaries about midnight came forth of their campe, and approching the walles with their ladders, raised them vp, and began to scale the citie. But the citizens being aduised thereof, boldlie got them to the loops and towers, ouerthrew the ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, stones and darts beat them backe, to their great losse and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the enimies could not preuaile thus *Polydor.* Rouen besieged by the French king. *Will. Paruus.*

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to get the citie by this assault, yet they continued the siege, and suffered not them with to be in quiet, but daie and night assailed them by one meanes or other.

Ex. Vnied. King Henrie returneth into Normandie.

King Henrie the father being aduertised héereof, after he had set his businesse in order, touching the suertie and safe defense of the English estate, he returned into Normandie, and landed at Harfleet on a thursdaie being the eight daie of August, bringing backe againe with him his Brabanders, and a thousand Welshmen. In this meane while, king Lewes continued still his siege before Rouen, constreining them within by all meanes he could deuise to yeeld vp their citie. At length came the feast of Saint Laurence, on which daie the French king commanded that no man should attempt any enterprise against the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in worship of that saint. This truce was so acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themselues, without all respect to the danger wherein the citie stood, threw off their armour, and gaue themselues to sléepe and rest. Some also fell to banketting and other pastimes in verie dissolute maner.

¶ But through this their remisse vsage and loose behauiour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is no safe warrant of securitie and peace, they deriued danger and destruction to themselues; which it had beene their parts prouidentlie to haue preuented, and not through their carelesnesse to set open a gap of aduantage to their enimies, who pursued them with professed hostilitie, notwithstanding they reposed confidence in the truce that was granted. Héerein they are to be resembled to the cooks of whome Plautus speaketh verie neatlie, saieng,

———coquos equidem nimis
Demiror, qui tot vtuntur condimentis, cos eo
Condimento non vtier quod præstat omnibus,

Meaning sobrietie: so these delighting more in their dishes, than mistrusting their enimies, remembred to take the vse of any pleasure that the conuenientnesse of this present time might proffer; onelie as cookes among all their sawces doo mind nothing lesse than sobernesse: so these in the abundance of their ioies, thought nothing of after claps, which afterwards made them (like fooles) to sing an vnhappie had I wist. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this their negligence, required licence of the French king to giue assault to the citie, declaring in what state the matter presentlie stood; who not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promised faith, with any such vnlawfull attempt, commanded his men of warre that made the request in no wise to stirre. Howbeit the souldiers vpon couetousnesse of the spoile, raised the ladders to that part of the wall which they iudged to be most without warders, so that some of them mounting aloft, got vp, and were about to helpe vp their fellowes.

The Frenchmen assault the citie, without commandement of their king.

Two préests.

Now it happened (as God would haue it) that two préests being gone vp into the steeple of the cheefe church, to looke about them for their pleasures, fortuned to sée where the French men were about to enter the citie, and streightwaies gaue knowledge to the citizens beneath. Wherevpon the alarum rose, insomuch that with all spéed the people ran to the place, and with such violence came vpon their enimies which were entred vpon the walles, that streightwaies they slue manie of them, and chased the residue out of the ditches, so that they returned with bleeding wounds to their campe, repenting them of their vnhappie enterprise, that turned them to such wo and greeuance.

The Frenchmen are repelled.

Polydor.

The same day a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the citie with great ioy and gladnesse: for he came thither by chance, euen about the time that the citie had thus like to haue bin surprised & taken at vnwares.

Matt. Paris.

¶ There be that write, how the French king (immediatlie vpon the arriuall of king Henrie) left his field and departed, greatlie to his dishonor, burning vp his engines of warre, and not staieng till his men might haue leisure to charge their wagons with their armor and other stuffe, which they were glad to leaue behind for a prey to the English men issuing

ssuing foorth vpon them. But other declare, that the French king being nothing abashed of king Henries comming, continued the siege, in hope to win the citie.

The next day earlie in the morning (or as other say in the night season) the king did send foorth a certeine number of Welshmen to passe ouer the riuer of Saine, which they did, and by force made themselues waie through the French campe, getting without losse or danger vnto a great wood, and slue that day of their aduersaries aboue an hundred men. After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they skirmished dailie with the French horssemen, and oft times cut of such prouision of vittels as came to nourish the campe. The king himselfe on the other side remaining within the citie, caused his people to issue out at the gates, and to keepe the enimies occupied with skirmishes afore the citie. And moreouer, where there was a great trench cast betwixt the French campe and the walles of the citie, he caused the same to be filled vp with fagots, stones, and earth. But although the French men sawe this the kings deed well enough, yet none of them issued foorth of their tents to hinder the English of their purpose.

R. Houed. The Welshmens good seruice. *Nic. Triuet.* *Rog. Houed.*

Now king Lewes being sore vexed with his enimies on ech side, and perceiuing the citie would not be woone within any short time, began to wax wearie, and to repent himselfe (as afore) for taking in hand so chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell. Wherevpon he caused William bishop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to king Henrie, and to promise vpon forbearance from warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and his sonnes, betweene whom vnnaturall variance rested. Whereof K. Henrie being most desirous, and taking a truce, appointed to come to Gisors [in the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and bring it to some good end.

The French king maketh an ouerture for peace. *N. Triuet.* A truce.

The French king, so soone as he knew that truce was taken, raised his siege, and returning home, within a few daies after (according to the appointment) came to Gisors, and there communed with king Henrie: but bicause he could not make any agréement betwixt him and his sonnes at that time, he appointed another time to meet about it. King Henrie the father (whilest the truce continued with the French king) and his sonne Henrie went to Poictou, where his sonne Richard (whilest his father had beene occupied in other places) had gotten the most part of the countrie into his possession. But now hearing of his comming, and that a truce was taken with the French king and with his brother, he considered with himselfe, that without their assistance he was not able to withstand his fathers power. Howbeit at length choosing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie to yéeld, he prepared for defense, furnishing diuerse townes and castels with garisons of men: and assembling togither all the other power that he was able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents not far off from his father. In the meane while, which way soeuer his father passed, the townes and castels submitted themselues vnto him, so that Richard began to despaire of the matter, insomuch that he durst not approch néere his father, but kept aloofe, doubting to be entrapped.

The French king leaueth his siege. Richard the kings sonne prepareth to resist his father. He beginneth to dispaire of good successe.

At length when he had considered his owne state, and weied how vnthankefullie the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no consideration of him at such time as they tooke truce, he determined to alter his purpose, and hauing some good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought best to trie it, which he found to be the best waie that he could haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter thoughts are better aduised than the first, as the old saieng is,

Polyder.

Δεύτεραι φρόντιδες σοφώτεραι.

Herevpon Richard laieng armour aside, came of his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of September, and asked pardon. His father most courteously receiuing him, made so much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of courtesie preuailed much to the alluring of his other sons to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to speedie effect, he sent this Richard vnto king Lewes, and to his other sonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did so effectuallie

The son submitteth himselfe to the father.

effectuallie his message, that he brought them both in good forwardnesse to agree to his fathers purpose, so that there was a daie appointed for them to meet with their father, betwixt Towres in Touraine and Ambois.

Ger. Dor. The father & sonnes are accorded.

King Henrie reioising hereat, kept his daie (being the morrow after the feast of S. Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two sonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finallie the father and the sonnes were accorded; he promising to receiue them into fauour vpon these conditions.

The conditions of the agréement.

1 First the prisoners to be released fréelie without ransome on both sides, and their offenses, which had taken either the one part or the other, to be likewise pardoned.

R. Houed.

2 Out of this article were excepted all those which before the concluding of this peace had alreadie compounded for their raunsomes, as the king of Scots, the earles of Leicester and Chester, and Rafe Fulgiers, with their pledges.

3 It was also agréed that all those castels which had beene builded in time of this warre, should be raced and throwne downe, and all such cities, townes, castels, countries and places, as had beene woone by either part during these wars, should be restored vnto those persons that held the same, and were in possession of them 15. daies before the departure of the sonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father should assigne to his sons more large reuenues for maintenance of their estates, with a caution included, that they should not spend the same riotouslie in any prodigall sort or maner.

R. Houed.

5 To the king his sonne, he gaue two castels in Normandie, with an increase of yearelie reuenues, to the summe of 15. thousand pounds Aniouin.

Richard.

6 To his sonne Richard he gaue two houses in Poictou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of the countie of Poictou to be receiued and taken in readie monie.

Geffrey.

7 And to his sonne Geffrey he granted in monie, the moietie of that which he should haue by the mariage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had maried hir by licence purchased of the pope, he should enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that descended to hir, as in hir fathers writing thereof more at large was conteined.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the son couenanted to & with the king his father, that he would performe and confirme all those gifts, which his father should grant out of his lands, & also all those gifts of lands which he either had made and assured, or hereafter should make and assure vnto any of his men for any of their seruices: & likewise

John.

those gifts which he had made vnto his sonne John the brother of king Henrie the sonne; namelie, a thousand pounds in lands by yeare in England of his demaine and excheats with the appurtenances, and the castell and countie of Notingham, with the castell of Marlebrough, and the appurtenances. Also a thousand pounds Aniouin of yearelie reuenues in Normandie, and two castells there. And in Aniou a thousand pounds Aniouin, of such lands as belonged to the earle of Aniou, with one castell in Aniou, and one in Touraine, and another in Maine.

Thus were the father and sons agréed and made freends, the sonnes couenanting neuer to withdraw their seruices and bounden dueties from their father, but to obeie him in all things from that day forward. Herewith also the peace was renewed betwixt king

A marriage concluded.

Henrie and king Lewes, and for the further confirmation, a new aliance was accorded betwixt them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes should be giuen in mariage vnto earle Richard the sonne of king Henrie, who bicause she was not yet of age able to marie, she was conueied into England to be vnder the guiding of king Henrie, till she came to lawfull yeares.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all iniuries passed, brought

Wil. Parvus.

home his sons in maner aforesaid, who being well pleased with the agreement, attended their father into Normandie, where Richard and Geffrey did homage to him, receiuing their othes of allegiance according to the maner in that case required. But king Henrie

the

the sonne did no homage, for his father (in respect that he was a king) would not suffer him, and therefore tooke onelie sureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient. *R. Houed. Wil. Parius saieth that he did homage also.*

¶ All this dissention and strife was kindled (no doubt) by the meanes of certeine sowers of discord, sycophants, parasits, flatterers, clawbacks, & pickethanks, who had learned their lesson, that

Principibus placuisse viris non vltima laus est,

and thinking by their embossed spéech to tickle the cares and harts of the yoong princes, who by reason of their yoong yeares and nakednesse of experience in the course of worldlie maters, sought their owne aduancement, euen by flinging firie faggots of dissention betweene them, whose harts naturall affection had vnited. For by the tenor of the storie (marke it who will) we shall sée that no attempt of the sons against the father but had originall from the suggestions of euill disposed persons, who (like eeles that fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie motes and ponds) sought honour in hurlie burlies, & reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones impouerishment. This to be true, the finall euent and issue prooueth; namelie, the mutuall attonement and reconciliation wouen betweene the father and the sonnes; their remorse for their vndutifulnes, his louing fauour and gratiousnesse; their promptnesse to yéeld to conditions of agreement, his forwardnes to giue consent to couenants required; their readinesse to do the old king homage, his acceptable admission of their proferred seruice; with other circumstances to be collected out of the storie, all which doo prooue that this their disloiall resistance sprang rather by others incitement, than of their owne seeking. Thus we sée what alterations happen in the actions of men, and that euill things manie times (though naturallie bad) doo inferre their contraries, as one aptlie saith,

Discordia fit charior concordia.

At length king Henrie went to Faleise, and there deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scotland, Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh earle of Chester, with diuerse other Noble men which were kept there as prisoners, putting them to their ransomes, and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of allegiance. This king Henrie the father released for his part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men of armes (if yée list so to terme them) which had beene taken since the beginning of these passed warres. *Willi. king of Scots deliuered out of prison with other.* *Matth. Paris.* *Prisoners released.*

As for king Henrie the sonne he also set at libertie aboue an hundred, and that without ransome paieng, according to the articles of the peace (as before you haue heard.) But yet some (as is alreadie specified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotland, who being not able to paie his ransome in present monie, deliuered vp in gage foure of the strongest castels within his realme into king Henries hands; namelie, Barwike, Edenbourgh, Roxbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and paied not the monie behind due for his raunsome, king Henrie and his successours should enioy for euer the same castels. He also couenanted, not to receiue any English rebels into his realme. Other write that the king of Scots did not onelie become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to doo homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and all other his lands, but also deliuered the castels of Barwike, and Roxbourgh to be possessed of the same king of England and his heires for euer, without any couenant mentioned of morgage. *Castels deliuered by the K. of Scots.* *N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.*

Things being setled thus in good order, king Henrie leauing his sonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Argenton, and there held his Christmasse, and afterwards, namelie in the feast of the purification of our ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the sonne) were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, came to a communication with the French king at Gisors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the sonne (to put the father out of all doubt and mistrust of any euill meaning in him) sware fealtie to him against all persons, and so became his liegeman in the presence of *Rog. Houed. 1175.* *The kings of England and France méet at Gisors.*

of Rothrod archbishop of Rouen, Henrie bishop of Baieux, William earle of Mandeuille Richard de Humez his conestable, and manie other.

Philip earle of Flanders.

After this they kept their easter at Chirebourgh, from whence they came to Caen, where they met with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before taken on him the crosse, to go to the holie land: where king Henrie the father required him to release all such couenants as king Henrie the sonne had made vnto him in time of his last warres, which he freelie did, and deliuered vp the writing that he had of the same king concerning those couenants, and so they confirmed vnto him the yearelie rent which he was woont to receiue out of England, before the said warres.

Polydor.

Finallie, when king Henrie had visited the most part of the countrie, he came to Harflew, and caused his nauie to be decked and rigged, that he might saile ouer into England. Whilest he tarried heere till his ships were readie, he sent letters to his sonne king Henrie, willing him to repaire vnto him, and meaning that he should accompanie him into England. Who at the first was loth to obeie his fathers will and pleasure herein, bicause some enuious persons about him had put in his head a doubt, least his father had not altogither forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into England to commit him to prison. Which was a surmize altogither void of likeliehood, considering that the father, in the whole processe of his actions betweene himselfe and his sonnes, was so farre from the desire of inflicting any corporall punishment, or leuieng anie fine vpon them for their misdemenour, that he alwaies sought meanes of reconcilement and pacification. And though this Henrie the sonne for his part deserued to be roughlie dealt withall; yet the father handled him so gentlie with courteous letters & messages, that shortlie after he came of his owne accord vnto Harflew, from whence shortlie after they sailed both togither ouer into England, landing at Portsmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maie, from thence they tooke their iournie streight to London, all the waies being full of people that came to see them, and to shew themselues glad and ioifull of their concord and happie arriuall. At their comming to the citie they were receiued with great reioising of the people, beseeching God long to preserue them both in health and honour.

Enuious persons readie to forge matters of suspicion.

The two kings the father and the sonne returne into England.

William de Breause.

The same yeare William de Breause hauing got a great number of Welshmen into the castell of Abergauennie, vnder a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be receiued of them with a corporall oth; That no traueller by the waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refused to take, bicause they would not stand to that ordinance he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vsed towards them in reuenge of the death of his vncle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon easter euen before, they had through treason murthered, and were now acquited with the like againe.

The Welshmē not well dealt withall.

N. Trinet. Reignold erle of Cornewall departed this life.

The same yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall, bastard sonne to king Henrie the first without heirs male, by reason whereof the king tooke into his hands all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held within England, Normandie and Wales, except certeine portions which the daughters of the same earle had by assignement allotted to them. Also Richard erle of Glocester deceassed this yeare, and his sonne Philip succeeded him.

Matth. West. A synod held at London.

The same yeare was a synod of the cleargie kept at Westminster, wherein many things were decréed for the conseruation of religion. Amongst other things it was prouided, that those abbeies and churches which were void of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, should now be committed vnto men worthie to enioy the same, for the reformation of disorders growne and plentifullie sproong vp in time of the vacations.

W. Paruus. The king of Scots dooth homage to the king of England.

The realme now brought into good order and deliuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abroad, the king being at good leisure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Yorke, sent for the king of Scots to come and doo his homage. Now the king of Scots (according to couenants before concluded) came vnto Yorke in the moneth of August, where dooing his homage about the twentith day

day of the same moneth in S. Peters church, the king granted further by his letters patents, that he and his successours kings of Scotland, should doo homage and fealtie to the kings of England, so often as they should be necessarilie required therevnto. In signe and token of which subiection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his saddle vpon the altar of S. Peter in Yorke, which for a remembrance hereof was kept there many yeares after that day.

The charter conteining the articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings, which was read in S. Peters church at the same time, exemplified as followeth.

WILHELMUS rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, et fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis salua fide domini regis patris sui. *R. Houed.*

2 Omnes vero episc. abbates & clerus terræ Scotiæ & successores sui facient domino regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & Dauid & hæredibus eorum.

3 Concessit autem rex Scotiæ, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines sui domino regi, quòd ecclesia Scotiæ talem subiectionem amodò faciet ecclesiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & solebat tempore regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum.

4 Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus episcopus Dunkelden. & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin. & Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt, vt ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat ius in ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ. Et de hac concessione sicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde assecurauerint.

5 Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regem Scotiæ & Dauid fratrem suum & barones suos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent, & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis salua fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum suorum homagium & ligiantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

6 Præterea rex Scotiæ et homines sui nullū amodò fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & stare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines sui quàm citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iusticiarijs suis aut balliuis suis in Anglia.

7 Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectū in curia domini regis Scotiæ & stare iudicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit.

8 Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conuentione & fine firmiter obseruando domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus suis, liberauit rex Scotiæ

domino

domino regi castellum de Roxburgh, & castellum Puellarum, & castellum de Striueling, in manu domini regis, & ad custodienda castella assignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu suo mesurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

9 Præterea pro prædicta conuentione & fine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Dauid fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Waldenum, similiter alios comites et barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando castella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnusquisq; postquam liberauerit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes suos vel propinquiores sibi hæredes, & castellis vt dictum est redditis liberabuntur.

10 Præterea rex Scotiæ & barones sui prænominati assecurauerunt, quòd ipsa bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione facient vt episcopi & barones & cæteri homines terræ suæ, qui non affuerunt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit: eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio suo quam ipsi fecerunt, & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obsides, liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

11 Præterea episc. comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio suo, quòd si rex Scotiæ aliquo casu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt sicut cum ligio domino suo contra regem Scotiæ, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

12 Prædictam itaq; conuentionem firmiter obseruandam bona fide, & sine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suos à Wilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Dauid fratre suo & baronibus suis prædictis, & hæredibus eorum assecurauit ipse rex Scotiæ, & Dauid frater eius, & omnes barones sui prænominati sicut ligij homines domino regis contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij sui (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Abrincensi, et Iohanne Salisburiæ decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburiæ, & Radulpho abbate Mundesburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs suis scilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things being recited in the church of S. Peters in Yorke, in the presence of the said kings, & of Dauid the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the bishops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland sware fealtie to the king of England and to Henrie his sonne, and to their heires against all men, as to their liege and souereigne lords.

King Henrie hauing ended his businesse at Yorke with the king of Scots and others, which likewise did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaues of S. Michaell, and he called a parlement at Windsor, whereat were present king Henrie the sonne, Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the same time the archbishop of Tuamon, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancellor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambassadours from the said Roderike, vnto king Henrie, who willinglie heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those sauage people by some freendlie order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seeme to fish with an hooke of gold. Therefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the request of the said ambassadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie vnto him in token of subiection, a tribute of ox hides.

A parlement at Windsor.

Ambassadors from K. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides.

The

The charter of the agreement was written and subscribed in forme as followeth.

HAEC est finis & concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windshore in octauis sancti Michaelis an. Gratiæ 1175. inter dominum regem Angliæ Henr. secundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per catholicum Tuamensem archiep. & abbatem C. sancti Brandani, & magistrum L. cancellarium regis Conaciæ. The tenor of the charter of the agreement.

1 Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini suo regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter seruiet, vt sit rex sub eo, paratus ad seruicium suum sicut homo suus, & vt teneat terram suam ita bene & in pace sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat sub se, & iusticiet vt tributum regi Angliæ integrè persoluant, & per manum eius sua iura sibi conseruent. Et illi qui modò tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè persoluerint tributum & alia iura sua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, saluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & suo.

2 Et si qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius soluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos iusticiet & amoueat. Et si eos per se iusticiare non poterit, constabularius regis Angliæ, & familia sua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quòd necesse fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra sua, quàm de aliena.

3 Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet, scilicet Duuelina cum pertinentijs suis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs suis sicut vnquam Marchat Wamailethlachlin eam meliùs & pleniùs tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wesefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, scilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ est à Waterford vsq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnam sit cum omnibus pertinentijs suis infra terram illam.

4 Et si Hibernenses qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua seruicia quæ facere solebant pro terris suis. Et hoc sit in arbitrio dominorum suorum. Et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obsides ab omnibus quos ei commisit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & suam. Et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipsi seruient domino de canibus & auibus suis singulis annis de præsentis suis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Duuelinensi archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao & Rogero capellanis regis, Guilhelmo comite de Essex, & alijs multis.

Moreouer, at this parlement the king gaue an Irishman named Augustine, the bishoprike of Waterford, which see was then void, and sent him into Ireland with Laurence the archbishop of Dubline to be consecrated of Donat the archbishop of Cassels. The same yeare, both England and the countries adioining were sore vexed with a great mortalitie of people, and immediatlie after followed a sore dearth and famine. A great dearth.

Reg. 22. 1176. King Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, and about the feast of the conuersion of saint Paule he came to Northampton, & after the mortalitie was well ceassed, he called a parlement, whereat was present a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being sent into England as a legat from the pope, to take order in the controuersies betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke. This cardinall whose name was Hugh Petro Lion, assembled in the same place a conuocation or synod of the bishops and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation, after the ceassing of certeine strifes and decrées made as well concerning the state of common-wealth, as for the honest behauiour of mans life, the cardinall consented that (according as by the kings lawes it was alreadie ordeined) all maner of persons within the sacred orders of the cleargie, which should hunt within the kings grounds and kill any of his deare, should be conuented and punished before a temporall iudge. Which libertie granted to the king, did so infringe the immunitie which the cleargie pretended to haue within this realme, that afterwards in manie points, préests were called before temporall iudges, and punished for their offenses as well as the laitie, though they haue grudged indéed and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempted and iudged by none, except by those of their owne order.

A parlement at Northhampton. *Matth. Paris.*

An act against préests that were hunters.

Polydor.

Moreouer, in this councell the matter came in question touching the obedience which the bishops of Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbishop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome had constituted and ordeined to be primat of all Scotland, and of the Iles belonging to that realme, as well of the Orkeneis as all the other. Which constitution was obserued by the bishops of those parts manie yeares togither, though after they renounced their obedience. Whervpon the archbishops of Yorke (for the time being) continuallie complained, so that these popes, Paschall the second, Calyxt the second, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and Adrian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and with often sending their letters, went about to reduce them to the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots still withstanding this ordinance, at length the matter thus in controuersie was referred to pope Alexander, who sent the foresaid cardinall Hugh as well to make an end of that contention, as of diuerse other: but yet he left it vndecided.

Obedience of the church of Scotland to the church of England.

Rog. Houed. The king of Scots commeth to the parlement.

William king of Scotland came personallie vnto this parlement at Northhampton, by commandement of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard bishop of S. Andrew, and Josseline bishop of Glascow, with other bishops and abbats of Scotland, the which being commanded by king Henrie to shew such subiection to the church of England as they were bound to doo by the faith which they owght to him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to him, they made this answer, that they had neuer shewed any subiection to the church of England, nor ought. Against which deniall, the archbishop of Yorke replied, and brought foorth sufficient priuileges granted by the forenamed popes, to proone the subiection of the Scotish bishops, and namelie Glascow and Whiterne vnto the see of Yorke. But bicause the archbishop of Canturburie meant to bring the Scotish bishops vnder subiection to his see, he wrought so for that time with the king, that he suffered them to depart home, without yéelding any subiection to the church of England. The letters which the foresaid popes did send touching this matter, were remaining safe and sound amongst other writings in the colledge at Yorke, when Polydor Virgil wrote the histories of England, the copies whereof in an old ancient booke he confesseth to haue séene and read.

R. Houed. Diuision of circuits for iustices itinerants.

But to speake further of things ordered and doone at this parlement holden at Northampton, the king by common consent of his Nobles and other states, diuided his realme into six parts, appointing thrée iustices itinerants in euerie of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Cressie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantell, were deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Hertfordshire: Hugh de Gundeuille, William Fitz Rafe, and William Basset were

were appointed to Lincolnshire, Notinghamshire, Derbishire, Staffordshire, Warwikeshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire: Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Gifford, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were assigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire and Oxfordshire: William Fitz Stephan, Berthram de Verdon, Thurstan Fitz Simon were ordeined to Herefordshire, Glocestershire, Worcestershire, and Salopshire: Rafe Fitz Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wilshire, Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, Deuonshire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Yorkeshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, Copeland, Westmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

The king caused these iustices to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that they should kéepe his assises which he first had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & also caused all his subiects within the relme of England to kéepe and obserue the same. The oth of the iustices.

Moreouer at this councell, king Henrie restored vnto Robert earle of Leicester all his lands, both on this side the sea, and beyond, in maner as he held the same fiftéene daies before the warre. To William de Albenie earle of Arundell, he gaue the earledome of Sussex. About midlent, the king with his sonne and the legat came to London, where at Westminster a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was set, and the archbishop of Canturburie on his right hand as primat of the realme, the archbishop of Yorke comming in, and disdaining to sit on the left, where he might séeme to giue preheminence vnto the archbishop of Canturburie (vnmanerlie inough indeed) swasht him downe, meaning to thrust himselfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And where belike the said archbishop of Canturburie was loth to remooue, he set his buttocks iust in his lap, but he scarslie touched the archbishops skirt with his bum, when the bishops and other chapleins with their seruants stept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the archbishop of Canturburie yeelding good for euill, sought to saue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence, *Ger. Dor.* The presumptuous demeanor of ye archbishop of Yorke.

Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur. *Pub. Mim.*

The archbishop of Yorke with his rent rochet got vp, and awaie he went to the king with a great complaint against the archbishop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and "that was all the remedie he got. As he departed so bebuffeted foorth of the conuocation house towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that diddest betray that holy man Thomas, go get thee hence, thy hands yet stinke of bloud." The assemblie was by this meanes dispersed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with shame enough, which is the common panion and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well said,

Citò ignominia fit superbi gloria. *Pub. Mim.*

After this, followed appealings, the archbishop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the legat also for his owne safegard appealed the archbishop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbishop submitting himselfe and his cause vnder the popes protection, made a like solemne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwise than he wished, and séeing little remedie to be had at that present, gaue ouer his legatship as it had béene of his owne accord, though greatlie against his will, and prepared himselfe to depart. Neuerthelesse, through mediation of fréends that tooke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either side, and dissembled the displeasures which they had conceiued either against other, but yet the conuocation was dissolued for that time, and the two archbishops presented their complaints to the king, who kept his Easter this yeare at Winchester, and about the same time or shortlie after, licenced his sonne Henrie to saile ouer into Normandie, meaning shortlie after to go Appeales made. The conuocation dissolued.

vnto Compostella in Spaine, to visit the bodie of saint James the apostle, but beeing otherwise aduised by his fathers letters, he discontinued his purpose and staied at home.

The same yeare, the ladie Johan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Also the same yeare died the lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwise Chepstow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord cheefe iustice in his place, who seized into the kings hands all those fortresses which the said earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Irishmen also paied to the king a tribute of twelue pence yearelie for euerie house, or else for euery yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died also this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wimondham.

N. Triuet.
R. Houed.
N. Triuet.

A tribut grãted by the Irish.

R. Houed.

This yeare, when it might haue beene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made against king Henrie the father by his sons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he caused the wals both of the towne and castell of Leicester to be raced, and all such castels and places of strength as had béene kept against him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewise ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the castels of Huntington, Waleton, Growby, Hey, Stutesbirrie or Sterdesbirrie, Malasert, the new castell of Allerton, the castels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the castels of Pascie, and Mountsorell he reteined in his owne hands as his of right, being so found by a iurie of freeholders impanelled there in the countrie; further he seized into his hands all the other castels of bishops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, appointing keepers in them at his pleasure. This yeare also he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alfonse king of Castile.

The wals of the towne and castell of Leicester raced.

Elianor the kings daughter married to the king of Castile.

Moreouer, Gilbert the sonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had slaine his brother Uthred coosen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, swearing fealtie to him against all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thousand marks of siluer, and deliuered into his hands his son Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred also, that in this yeare, Richard earle of Poictow sonne to king Henrie, fought with certeine Brabanders his enimies betwixt S. Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame them.

Gilbert Fitz Fergus.

Richard earle of Poictow.

¶ Here I haue thought good to aduertise the reader, that these men of war, whom we haue generallie in this part of our booke named Brabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerslie, as Brebazones, Brebanceni, and Brebationes, the which for so much as I haue found them by the learned translated Brabanders, and that the French word somewhat yeeldeth thereto, I haue likewise so named them: wherein whether I haue erred or not, I must submit mine opinion to the learned & skilfull searchers of such points of antiquities. For to confesse in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnresolued doubt herein, I can not satisfie my selfe with any thing that I haue read, whereby to assure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihood is great, that the Brabanders in those daies for their trained skill and vsuall practise in warlike feats, wan themselues a name, whereby not onelie those that were naturallie borne in Brabant, but such also as serued amongst them, or else vsed the same warlike furniture, order, trade and discipline, which was in vse among them, passed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders. Or else I must thinke, that by reason of some od kind of habit or other speciall cause, a certeine sort of souldiers purchased to themselues the priuilege of that name, so to be called Brabanceni or Brebationes (whether ye will) as hath chanced to the Lansquenetz and Reisters in our time, and likewise to the companions Arminaes and Escorchers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewise it hath fortuned amongst men of warre. Which if it so chanced to these Brabanceni, I know not then what countriemen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of such souldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye shall heare) is reported by some authors to be a Prouancois.

It

It should séeme also that they were called by other names, as the Routs (in Latine Ruptarij) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would say some vnrulie and headstrong companie, or of the Dutch word Rutters, that signifieth a rider, I cannot say. But it may suffice for the course of the historie to vnderstand that they were a kind of hired souldiers, in those daies highlie estéemed, and no lesse feared, in so much that against them and others there was an article conteined among the decrées of the Laterane councell holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all those were to be denounced accursed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nourish those Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Basques and Coterelles, which did so much hurt in the christian world in those daies. *Wil. Parua. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beside the aboue mentioned victorie against those Brabanders, if we shall so take them; he also vanquished Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angolesme, with the vicounts of Ventadore and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion against him, whome earle Richard subdued, and tooke prisoners, with diuerse castels and strong holds which they had fortified.

About the feast of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find that as he granted to the king some liberties against the priuileges which the cleargie pretended to haue a right vnto: so he obteined of the king certeine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus. The departure of the legat fourth of the Realme. Liberties obteined for churchmen.

1 First, that for no offense, crime or transgression any spirituall person should be brought before a temporall iudge personallie, except for hunting, or for some laie fee, or that for which some temporall seruice was due to be yéelded, either to the king, or some other that was cheefe lord thereof.

2 Secondlie, that no archbishops see, nor bishops sée, nor any abbaie should be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except vpon some euident cause or necessitie constreining.

3 Thirdlie, that such as slue any spirituall person, and were of such offense conuicted, either by euidence or confession before the iustice of the realme in presence of the bishop, should be punished as the temporall law in such cases required.

4 Fourthlie, that spirituall men should not be compelled to fight in lists for the triall of any matter or cause whatsoeuer.

It should appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbishop of Canturburie procured the bishops of Winchester, Elie, and Norwich, three prelats highlie at that present in the kings fauour, to further these grants; namelie, that such as slue any préest or spirituall person might haue the law for it: where before, there was no punishment for a season vsed against such offendors but onelie excommunication. But now to leaue preests, we will passe to other matters. *N. Triuet.*

In this meane time, king Henrie the sonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuise new practises how to remooue his father from the gouernment and to take it to himselfe; but one of his seruants named Adam de Cherehedune being of his secret counsell, aduertised king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maister king Henrie the sonne The yoong K. beginneth new practises against his father.

(Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper)

put him to great shame and rebuke, causing him to be stripped naked, and whipped round about the streets of the citie of Poictiers, where he then was vpon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whome he had beene to aid him against his enimies. King Henrie the father perceiuing the naughtie mind of his sonne, and that he ceassed not from his wilfull maliciousnesse, thought to dissemble all things, sith he saw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be prouided against his wicked attempts, he furnished all his fortresses both in England & in Normandie with strong garisons of men, and all necessarie munition. *R. Houed.*

About this time, the sea rose on such a heigth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Also a great snow fell this yeare, which by reason of the hard frost that chanced therewith,

with, continued long without wasting away, so that fishes both in the sea and fresh water died through sharpenesse and vehemencie of that frost, neither could husbandmen till the ground. A sore eclipse of the sunne chanced also the sixt ides of Januarie. The monasterie of Westwood or Lesnos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord chéefe iustice. The same yeare also at Woodstocke the king made his sonne the lord Geffrey knight.

Rog. Houed. 1177.

In the yeare 1177. king Henrie held his Christmas at Northampton, with his two sonnes Geffrey and John, his other two sonnes the yoong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poictou, were in the parts beyond the seas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gascoigne, where he besieged the citie of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Bigorre had fortified against him, but he wan it within ten daies after his comming thither. Within the like terme also he wan the citie of Baion, which Arnold Berthram had fortified against him, and cõming to the vttermost frontiers of that countrie adioining to Spaine, he tooke a castell called saint Piero which he destroied, and constreined the Basques and Nauarrois to receiue an oth, that from thencefoorth they should suffer passengers quietlie to come and go through their countrie, and that they should liue in quiet and keepe peace one with an other, and so he reformed the state of that countrie, and caused them to renounce manie euill customes which they before that time had vnlawfullie vsed.

The citie of Aques or Aigues.

An. Reg. 23. *Polydor.* Geffrey the kings base sonne made bishop of Lincolne.

Moreouer, king Henrie, to auoid further slander, placed for bishop in the see of Lincolne a bastard son which he had named Geffrey, after he had kept that bishoprike in his hands so long till he had almost cleerelie destroied it. And his sonne that was now made bishop to helpe the matter for his part, made hauocke in wasting and spending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forsooke his miter, and left the sée againe in the kings hands to make his best of it.

Furthermore, the king in times past made a vow to build a new monasterie in satisfaction of his offenses committed against Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie: wherefore he required of the bishops and other spirituall fathers, to haue some place by them assigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whilest they should haue taken aduise herein, he secretlie practised with the cardinals, and with diuerse other bishops, that he might remoue the secular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, so to saue monie in his cofers, planting in another mans vineyard. Howbeit, bicause it should not be thought he did this of such a couetous meaning, he promised to giue great possessions to that house, which he after but slenderlie performed, though vpon licence obteined at the bishops hands, he displaced the preests, and brought in to their roomes the canons as it were by waie of exchange.

Preests displaced, & canons regular put in their roomes.

R. Houed. Nunnes of Amesburie.

The same yeare also he thrust the nunnes of Amesburie out of their house, bicause of their incontinent liuing, in abusing their bodies greatlie to their reproch, and bestowed them in other monasteries to be kept in more streightlie. And their house was committed vnto the abbesse and conent of Founteuered, who sent ouer certeine of their number to furnish the house of Amesburie, wherein they were placed by the archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of the king and a great number of others.

Philip earle of Flanders.

Philip earle of Flanders by sending ouer ambassadours to king Henrie, promised that he would not bestow his two néeces, daughters to his brother Matthew earle of Bullongne, without consent of the same king: but shortlie after he forgot his promise, & married the elder of them to the duke of Zaringes, & the yoonger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

John de Curcie.

The citie of Dun taken. Roderike K. of Ulnestre vanquished.

John de Curcie lord cheefe iustice of Ireland discomfiting a power of Irishmen, wan the citie of Dun in Ulnestre, where the bodies of S. Patrike and S. Colme confessors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of which citie, Roderike king of Ulnestre being sore offended, raised a mightie host, and comming into the field, fought with the lord cheefe iustice, and in the end receiued & tooke the ouerthrow at his hands, although the lord cheefe iustice at that encounter lost no small number of his men. Amongst

prisoners that were taken, the bishop of Dun was one, whom yet the lord cheefe iustice released and set at libertie, in respect of a request and suit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that was there in Ireland at that time.

This cardinals name was Viuiano, intituled the cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was sent from the pope the yeare before, and comming into England, though without licence, was pardoned vpon knowledging his fault for his entring without the kings leaue first obteined, and so permitted to go into Scotland, whither (as also into other the northwest regions) he was sent as legat, authorised from the pope. Now when he had ended his businesse in Scotland, he passed ouer into Man, and there held his Christmasse with Euthred king of Man, and after the feast of the Epiphanie, sailed from thence into Ireland, and chanced (the same time that the Englishmen inuaded that countrie) to be in the citie of Dun, where he was receiued of the king & bishops of that land with great reuerence. Viuiano a cardinall. *Wil. Parius.*

The inuasion then of the Englishmen being signified to them of the countrie aforehand, they asked counsell of the legat what he thought best to be doone in that matter; who streightwaies told them, that they ought to fight in defense of their countrie, and at their setting forward, he gaue them his benediction in waie of their good speed. But they comming (as ye haue heard) to encounter with the Englishmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the citie, which was herewith also woone by the Englishmen, so that the Romane legat was glad to get him into the church for his more safegard, and like a wise fellow had prouided afore hand for such haps if they chanced, hauing there with him the king of Englands letters directed to the capteins in Ireland in the legats fauour, so that by the assistance and authoritie of the same, he went to Dublin, and there (in the name of the pope and the king of England) held a councell. The legat holdeth a councell at Dublin,

But when he began to practise, after the manner of legats in those daies, somewhat largelie for his owne aduantage, in the churches of that simple rude countrie, the English capteins commanded him either to depart, or else to go foorth to the wars with them: whervpon he returned into Scotland, hauing his bags well stuffed with Irish gold, for the which it seemed he greatlie thirsted.

¶ Where we haue to note the drift of the pope and all popelings to be far otherwise than they pretend. For who (vnlesse he will be wilfullie ignorant) knoweth not, that he and his neuer attempt any thing, but the same beareth the hew and colour of holinesse and honestie? Hereto tend the sendings out of his legats and cardinals to make pacifications, to redresse disorders, to appease tumults, & I wot not what infinit enormities (for he must haue his ore in euerie mans bote, his spoone in euerie mans dish, and his fingers in euerie mans pursse) but the end and scope of all his doings consisteth in this; namelie, to set himselfe aboue all souereigntie, to purchase and assure to himselfe an absolute and supereminent iurisdiction, to rob christian kingdomes, to impouerish churches, chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are full of these his pranks, and here we haue one practised by a lim of his, who (as you sée) verie impudentlie and licentiouslie preied vpon the church-goods, and conuerted the same to his owne profit and commoditie: which he had if not trembled, yet blushed to doo, considering that the goods of the church are the treasurie of Christ (or at leastwise ought to be) and that none ought to alienate or change the propertie of such goods, as the canon law hath prouided. Besides, the wretch ought to haue remembred that which euen the verie pagans did not forget; namelie,

Haud vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad vndas, *Prop. lib. 3.*
Nudus ad infernas stulte vehere rates.

But now to the dooings of John de Curcie, and of those Englishmen that were with him, who did not onelie defend such places as they had woone out of the Irishmens hands against those kings and their powers, but also inlarged dailie more and more their frontiers, and wan the towne of Armach (wherein is the metropolitane see of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

About

Matth. Paris. Polydor. About the same time came ambassadours vnto king Henrie from Alfonse king of Castile and Garsias king of Nauarre, to aduertise him, that in a controuersie risen betwixt the said two kings touching the possession of certeine grounds néere vnto the confines of their realms, they had chosen him for iudge by compromise, promising vpon their oths to stand vnto & abide his order and decrée therein. Therefore they required *R. Houed.* him to end the matter, by his authoritie, sith they had wholie put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, either king had sent a most able and valiant knight furnished with horsse and armour readie in their princes cause to fight the combat, if king Henrie should happilie commit the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battell. *Polydor.* King Henrie gladlie accepted their request, so that thervpon calling his councellors togither, he consulted with them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opinion, at length he gaue iudgement so with the one, that the other was contented to be agreeable therevnto.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders came ouer into England to doo his deuotions at the toome of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, of whome the most part of men then had conceiued an opinion of such holinesse, that they reputed him for a saint. The king met him there, and verie frèendlie enterteined him, and bicause he was appointed shortlie after to go ouer into the holie land to war against Gods enimies, the king gaue him fiue hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Mandeuile earle of Essex to go in that iourneie with other lords, knights and men of warre of sundrie nations that were of his dominions.

The king then returning vnto London, tooke order for the establishing of things touching *R. Houed.* the suertie of the realme, and his owne estate. And first he appointed the custodie of such castels as were of most importance by their situation, vnto the kéeping of certeine worthie capteins. To sir William de Stuteuille he assigned the custodie of Rockesburgh castell, to sir Roger de Stuteuille the castell of Edenburgh, to sir William Neuille the castell of Norham, to sir Geffrie Neuille the castell of Berwike, and to the archbishop of Yorke he deliuered the castell of Scarborough, and sir Roger Coniers he made capteine *Durham tower.* of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the bishop, bicause he had shewed himselfe an vnstedfast man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therefore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thousand marks, with condition that his castels might *Henrie de Pudsey.* stand, and that his sonne Henrie de Putsey alias Pudsey, might enioy one of the kings manor places called Wighton.

A parlement at Oxford. After this, the king went to Oxenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he *John the kings sonne created king of Ireland. Polydor.* created his sonne John king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the same time it rained bloud in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies togither, so that linen clothes that hoong on the hedges were coloured there- *It rained bloud.* with: which vnvsed woonder caused the people, as the manner is, to suspect some euill of the said Johns gouernement.

Moreouer, to this parlement holden at Oxenford, all the chéefe rulers and gouernours *R. Houed.* of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, swearing fealtie to him against all men. Héerevpon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffiin prince of Southwales the land of Merionith, and to Dauid ap Owen he gaue the lands of Ellesmare. Also at the same time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is said) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the seruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his sonne John by a charter which he made thereof. Also he diuided there the lands and possessions of Ireland with the seruices to his subiects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing some to hold by seruice to find fortie knights or men of armes, and some thirtie, and so foorth.

Vnto two Irish lords he granted the kingdome of Corke for the seruice of fortie knights, and to other three lords he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his sonne John, reseruing to himselfe & to

his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adelme his sewer, he gaue the citie of Wesseford with the appurtenances and seruices: and to Robert de Poer his marshall, he gaue the citie of Waterford; and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the safe keeping of the citie of Diueline. And these persons, to whome such gifts and assignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his sonne for those lands and possessions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requisite. William Fitz Adelme. Robert de Poer. Hugh Lacie.

The cardinall Viuian hauing dispatched his businesse in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings safe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a councell holden at Edenburgh, he suspended the bishop of Whiterne, bicause he did refuse to come to that councell: but the bishop made no account of that suspension, hauing a defense good inough by the bishop of Yorke, whose suffragane he was.

After the king had dissolued and broken vp his parlement at Oxenford, he came to Marleborrough, and there granted vnto Philip de Breause all the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and William the brethren of Reignold earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pumeray their nephue, refused the gift thereof, bicause it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, surnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie slaine, one of his kinsemen got possession of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any subiection to king Henrie, nor would obeie his officers, bicause of the losses and damages which they did practise against the Irish people, without occasion (as they alleadged) by reason whereof the king of Corke also rebelled against the king of England and his people, and so that realme was full of trouble. Philip de Breause. *Matth. Paris.*

The same season, quéene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the sonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not past thrée daies. In that time there was also through all England a great multitude of Jewes, and bicause they had no place appointed them were to burie those that died, but onelie at London, they were constreined to bring all their dead corpses thither from all parts of the realme. To ease them therfore of that inconuenience, they obteined of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place assigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The same yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was instructor to saint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S Albones, and there in the monasterie of that towne buried with great and solemne ceremonies. *Polychr.* Jewes in England.

In the meane time, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Lewes began to be renewed vpon this occasion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promised in mariage vnto his sonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till she were able to companie with hir husband, king Henrie being of a dissolute life, and giuen much to the pleasure of the bodie (a vice which was grafted in the bone and therefore like to sticke fast in the flesh, for as it is said,

Quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit)

at least wise (as the French king suspected) began to fantasie the yoong ladie, and by such wanton talke and companie-keeping as he vsed with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to consent to his fleshlie lust, which was the cause wherefore he would not suffer his sonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (vpon consideration of the other kings former loose life) what an inconuenience & infamie might redound to him and his, bethought himselfe that *R. Houed.*

Turpe senex miles turpe senilis amor,

and therefore déemed iustlie that such a vile reproch wrought against him in his bloud, was in no wise to be suffered, but rather preuented, resisted & withstood. Herevpon he complained to the pope, who for redresse thereof, sent one Peter a préest, & cardinall intituled of saint Grisogone as legat from him into France, with commission to put Nor-

mandie

mandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder inderdiction, if he would not suffer the mariage to be solemnized without delaie betwixt his sonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertised hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Yurie, vpon the 21. of September, and there offered to cause the mariage to be solemnised out of hand, if the French king would giue in marriage with his daughter the citie of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and also vnto his sonne king Henrie the countrie of Veulgesine, that is to say, all the land betwixt Gisors and Pussie, as he had likewise couenanted.

The kings méet at Yuric.

But bicause the French king refused so to doo, king Henrie would not suffer his sonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice; howbeit at this entervew of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other Noble men on both sides, they agreed to be freends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuersies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auuergne and Berrie, and for the fée of Chateau Raoul; then should the matter be put to twelue persons, six on the one side, and six on the other, authorising them to compound and finish that controuersie and all other which might rise betwixt them. For the French king these were named, the bishops of Claremount, Neuers, and Trois; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtneie, the kings bretheren. For the king of England were named the bishops of Mauns, Peregort, and Naunts; with three barons also, Maurice de Croume, William Maigot and Peter de Mountrabell.

At the same time also, both these kings promised and vndertooke to ioine their powers togither, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Jerusalem, whome the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did sore oppresse with continuall and most cruell war. This doone, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Vernueil, where he made this ordinance, that no man should trouble the vassall or tenant, as we may call them, for his lords debt.

R. Houed. A law.

After this king Henrie went into Berrie, and tooke Chateau Roux or Raoul, and marching towards Castre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, surrendring into his hands the daughter of Rafe de Dolis latelie before deceassed, whome the king gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honor of Chateau Roux or Raoul. Then went he vnto Graundemont, where Audebert earle of March came vnto him, and sold to him the whole countrie of March for the summe of fifteene thousand pounds Anioun, twentie mules, and twentie palfreis. The charters of this grant and sale made and giuen vnder the seale of the said earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countrie of March, after he had satisfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the couenants.

The purchase of the erldome of March.

An. Reg. 24.

1178. The king this yeare held his Christmas at Angiers, and meaning shortlie after to returne into England, he sent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and sent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings letters of protection.

LVDOVICVS rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra quòd nos recipimus in protectione & custodia nostra totam terram Henrici regis Angliæ charissimi fratris nostri, in cismarinis partibus sitam, si contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficisci. Ita planè, vt quādo balliui sui de terra transmarina nos requisierint, bona fide & sine malo ingenio eis consilium & auxilium præstabimus, ad eiusdem terræ defensionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The English whereof is thus.

" Lewes

" Lewes king of France, to all those to whom these presents letters shall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & custodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this side the sea, if it chance him to passe ouer into England, or to go any waie foorth from home, so that when the bailiues of his lands on this hither side the sea shall require vs, we shall helpe them and counsell them faithfullie and without male-engine for defense and protection of the same lands. Giuen at Nicens."

Shortlie after, king Henrie returned into England from Normandie, and at Woodstocke made his sonne Geffrey knight. This yeare pope Alexander sent into all parts legats to summon the bishops and prelates to a generall councell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Whereabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commission to summon them of England and Normandie: and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to summon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about the same: wherevpon obteining licence to passe through the king of Englands dominions, he was constreined to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that he should not attempt any thing in his legatship that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he should come and visit the king againe as he returned homewards.

A generall councell summoned at Rome.

This yeare on the sundaie before the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, being the 18 of June, after the setting of the sunne, there appeared a maruellous sight in the aire vnto certeine persons that beheld the same. For whereas the new moone shone foorth verie faire with his hornes towardes the east, streightwais the vpper horne was diuided into two, out of the mids of which diuision a burning brand sprang vp, casting from it a farre off coles and sparks, as it had beene of fire. The bodie of the moone in the meane time that was beneath, séemed to wrest and writh in resemblance like to an adder or snake that had béene beaten, and anon after it came to the old state againe. This chanced aboue a dozzen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke. *Ger. Dor.*

A strange sight about the moone.

In September following, the moone being about 27. daies hold, at six of the clocke, a partile eclipse of the sunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned shooting the hornes towards the west as the moone dooth: being twentie daies old. The residue of the compasse of it was couered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightnesse that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either side to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwards, the hornes at length were turned towards the west, and so the blacknesse passing awaie, the sunne receiued his brightnesse againe. In the meane time the aire being full of clouds of diuerse colours, as red, yellow, green, and pale, holpe the peoples sight with more ease to discerne the maner of it.

A strange eclipse of the sunne.

The king this yeare held his Christmasse at Winchester, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Oxenhale, within the lordship of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it selfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie tower, and so it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noise, so that as such as were thereabout, were put in a great feare. That péece of earth with the fall was swallowed vp, leauing a great déepe pit in the place, as was to be seene many yeares after.

An. Reg. 25. *R. Hoved.* 1179.

A strange wonder of the earth.

¶ Touching these celestiall apparitions, the common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be méere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipses, as well such as are proper to the sunne, as also those that are peculiar to the moone, the position is not so generallie deliuered, as it is constantlie beléeued. For the philosophers giue this reason of eclipses.

M. Pal. in. Aquar.

——radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec sinit in terras claram descendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non est quàm terræ atque æquoris vmbra,
Quæ si fortè ferit nocturnæ corpora lunæ,
Eclipsin facit.

Luc. lib. 1.

In somuch as obseruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpassed and nothing regarded. Howbeit Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipses, and of other strange sights precécding the bloudie battels betweene Pompeie and Cesar; intimating hereby, that prodigious woonders, and other rare and vnaccustomed accidents are significations of some notable euent insuing, either to some great personage, to the common-wealth, or to the state of the church. And therefore it is a matter woorth the marking, to compare effects following with signes and woonders before going; since they haue a doctrine in them of no small importance. For not manie yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall state tooke end; a prediction whereof might be imported by the extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the skie.

Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus the archbishop of Tuamon, with fiue or six other Irish bishops, and diuerse both bishops and abbats of Scotland, passed through England towards the generall councell, and withall tooke their oth, that they shuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure bishops out of England, to wit, Hugh Putsey, or Pudsey bishop of Durham, John bishop of Norwich, Reignold bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Hereford, beside abbats: for the English bishops firmelie stood in it, that there ought but foure bish. onelie to go foorth of England to any generall councell called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbeie of Westwood or Lesnos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Julie after he died there.

Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England deceasseth.

A parlement at Windsore.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windsore, at the which was present king Henrie the sonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, so that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine sage personages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the same, but not by the name of iustices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkeshire, & authorised iustice there, as he that best vnderstood in those daies the ancient lawes and customes of the realme. The same yeare, Geffrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leuied an armie, and passing ouer into Britaine, wasted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and constreined him to submit himselfe vnto him.

Ranulfe de Glanuille.

Geffrey earle of Britaine son to king Henrie.

Guidomer de Leons.

The moone eclipsed.

The French K. commeth a madding to visit the archbishop Beckets toome.

The 18. day of August, the moone was eclipsed, which was séene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to méet the French king, who was comming towards England to visit the toome of archbishop Thomas Becket, as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of August. There came ouer with him Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Mandeuille, and diuerse other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water side, and the morow after brought them with great honor to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnspeakeable ioy receiued of archbishop Richard, and diuerse other bishops there assembled togither with the couent of Christes-church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the toome of the said archbishop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the moonks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued yearelie of his gift for euer at Poissie in France. Further he granted to the same moonks, that whatsoeuer was bought in his dominions of France to their vse, should be free from toll, tallage, and paieng any maner of excise for the same.

The French word is Muis.

These grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Putsey, son to the bishop of Duresme that was his chancellor. King Lewes hauing performed his vow, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and shortlie after causing his sonne to be crowned king, resigned the gouernment to him (as by some writers appeareth.) About the same time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his answer to diuerse accusations exhibited against him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings safe conduct, was laid for by his enimies, and slaine, to the kings great slander, though he were not giltie in the matter. After this, King Henrie the father held his Christmasse at Notingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris. Cadwallon prince of Wales.

An. Reg. 26. *R. Houed.* 1180.

The same yeare fell discord betwixt the yoong king of France, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themselues not well vsed, procured king Henrie the sonne to ioine with them in frendship, and to go ouer into England to purchase his fathers assistance in their behalfe against their nephue. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole mater, and did so much by his earnest suit therin, that before the feast of Easter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arriuall in those parts, the old French quéene, mother to the yoong king Philip, with their brethren the said earles, and manie other Noble men of France came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hostages into his hands, and re-ceiued an oth to follow his counsell and aduice in all things.

Discord betwixt the French K. and his nobles.

Herevpon king Henrie assembled a great armie, in purpose after Easter to inuade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an enteruew with the new king of France, betwixt Gisors and Treodsunt, where partlie by gentle words, and partlie by threatnings which king Henrie vsed for persuasion, the French king released all his indignation conceiued against his mother and vncles, and receiued them againe into his fauour, couenanting to allow his mother for euerie day towards hir expenses seuen pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, she should enioy all hir dower, except the castels which king Philip might reteine still in his hands. Also at this assemblie, king Henrie the father in the presence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the same a thousand markes of siluer, to be receiued yearelie out of the checker at London; so that in consideration thereof he should find fiue hundred knights or men of armes, to serue the king of England for the space of 40. daies, when soeuer he should haue warning giuen vnto him.

R. Houed.

The earle of Flanders doth homage to the king of England.

Moreouer, the two kings at this assemblie concluded a league togither, and whereas certeine lands were in controuersie betwixt them, as the fée of Chateau, Raoul, and other small fees, if they could not agree among themselues concerning the same, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuersies betwixt them vnto six bishops, to be chosen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to choose three, and the other three.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine say) in the yeare last passed, Richard earle of Poictou subdued the strong fortresse of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time, inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppressed them that kept it so sore with streight siege, that first in a desperate mood they issued foorth, and assailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet neuerthelesse they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortresse, which finallie they surrendred into the hands of earle Richard, who caused the wals thereof to be raced. The like fortune chanced to diuers other castels and fortresses that stood in rebellion against him within a moneth space.

Matth. Paris. Tailbourg woone.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, who of a proud and loftie stomach practising rebellion against duke Richard, tooke this enterprise in hand, and when he had atchiued the same to his owne contentation, he passed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

Matth. Paris.

About

W. Parvus. The forme of the kings coine changed.

About the same time, the forme of the kings coine was altered and changed, bicause manie naughtie and wicked persons had deuised waies to counterfeit the same, so that the alteration thereof was verie necessarie, but yet gréeuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

An. Reg. 27. *R. Houed.* 1181.

King Henrie the father, whilest he was at Mauns after Christmasse made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Aniouin, should keepe one horsse able for seruice in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Also that such as had goods woorth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the same monie, should at the least haue in his house for his furniture an habergeon, a cap of stéele, a speare, and a sword, or bowe and arrowes. Furthermore he ordeined, that no man might sell or laie to gage his armour and weapon, but should be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertised that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongst his subiects, they gaue commandement that their people should be armed after the like manner.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare after Candlemasse, Laurence archbishop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie and brought with him the son of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenants passed betwixt them, as the paiment of tribute and such like. The said archbishop died there in Normandie, wherevpon the king sent Geffrey de Haie one of his chapleins, and chapleine also to Alexius the popes legat into Ireland, to seize that archbishops sée into his hands. He also sent John Lacie conestable of Chester, and Richard de Peake, to haue the citie of Dublin in kéeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before and now was discharged, bicause the king tooke displeasure with him, for that without his licence he had maried a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

This yeare also, Geffrey the kings bastard sonne, who was the elect of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that bishoprike, by the space of seuen years, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feast of the Epiphanie at Marlebridge, in presence of the king and bishops renounced that preferment, of his owne free will. Within a while after the pope sent a streit commandement vnto Richard archbishop of Canturburie, either to cause the same Geffrey by the censure of the church to renounce his miter, or else to take vpon him the order of préesthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his especiall fréends, iudging himselfe insufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and therevpon wrote letters vnto the said archbishop of Canturburie, in forme as followeth.

R. Houed.

A letter of Geffrey the kings base sonne elect of Lincolne to Richard archbishop of Canturburie,

VENERABILI patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apostolicæ sedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius salutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maiestati apostolicæ vestræ iniungere sanctitati, vt me certo tempore vocaretis ad suscipendum ordinem sacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò considerans quamplures episcopos maturiores ac prouectiores prudentia & ætate vix tantæ administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum suarum sui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus sum onus importabile senioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nō ex leuitate animi, sed ob reuerentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super eo cum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus

fratribus meisque rege & Pictauensi & Britannorum comitibus: episcopis etiam Henrico Baiocensi, Frogerio Sagiensi, Reginaldo Batoniensi, Sefrido Cicestrensi, qui præsentes aderant, aliter de vita & statu meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequijs militare ad tempus, & ab episcopalibus abstinere: omne it que ius electionis inde & Lincolnensem episcopatum spontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu vestra pater sancte resigno, tam electionem quàm episcopatus absolutionem postulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apostolica sede specialiter delegato. Bene vale.

The king for his maintenance, now after he had resigned his bishoprike, gaue him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreouer lord chancellor.

This yeare also after Easter, the kings of England and France came to an enteruew togither, at a place in the confines of their countries called by some writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaie being the 17. of April, in which assemblie of those two princes, the knights templers and hospitallers presented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all christian princes, aduertising them of the danger wherein the holie land stood at that present, if spéedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. Wherefore he exhorted them to addresse their helping hand towards the releefe thereof, granting vnto all such as would enterprise to go thither in person (to remaine there vpon defense of the countrie against the infidels) great pardon, as to those that did continue there the space of two yeéres, pardon of penance for all their sins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and vsurie; in which cases restitution was to be made, if the partie were able to doo it; if not, then he should be absolued as well for those things as for other. And those that remained one yeare in those parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their sinnes. And to those that went to visit the holie sepulchre, he also granted great pardon, as remission of their sinnes, whether they came thither or peraduenture died by the waie. He also granted his frée indulgence vnto those that went to warre against the common, the professed and open enimies of our religion in the holie land, as his predecessors the popes Vrbanus and Eugenius had granted in time past: and he receiued likewise their wiues, their children, their goods and possessions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome. The danger of the holie land.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letters read, and taken good aduice thereof, promised by Gods fauour shortlie to provide conuenient aid for relécfe of the holie land, and of the christians as yet remaining in the same. This was the end of their communication for that time, and so they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two bishops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whome he had latelie before banished, and driuen out of his realme. Moreouer, as king Henrie laie at Harfléet readie to saile ouer into England, discord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, so that the king of England at desire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Gisors, where the French king met him, and so did the earle of Flanders, betwixt whome vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuersie, he made a concord, and then comming downe to Chirburge, he and the king of Scots in his companie passed ouer into England, landing at Portesmouth the 26. of Julie.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a statute for armour and weapon to be had amongst his subiects heere in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights fée should be bound to haue a paire of curasses, an helmet, with shield and speare; and euerie knight or man of arms should haue as manie curasses, helmets, shields and speares as he held knights fées in demaine. Euerie man of the laitie hauing An ordinance for armour.

goods or reuenues to the value of sixteene marks, should haue one paire of curasses, an helmet, a speare, and a shield. And euerie free man of the laitie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, should haue an habergeon, a steele cap, & a speare; and all burgesses, and the whole communaltie of frée men should haue a wambais, a cap of stéele, and a speare.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, should be sworne to haue the same before the feast of S. Hilarie, and to be true vnto king Henrie Fitz-empres, in defense of whome and of his realme they should kéepe with them such armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furnished with such armour, should sell, pledge, or otherwise alien the same, neither may his lord by any means take the same from him, either by waie of forfeiture, by destresse or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing such armour, he shall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the custodie of his bodie shall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

If any burgesse of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this statute, he shall sell it or giue it to some man that may weare it in the kings seruice.

Iewes might haue noarmour. No Jew might haue armour by this statute: but those that had anie, were appointed to sell the same to such as were inhabitants within the realme, for no man might sell or transport anie armour ouer the sea, without the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inquests should be taken by sufficient iurors, what they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Also the K. would, that none should be sworne to haue armour, except he were a frée man of birth and bloud.

Matt. Paris. The same yeare, the king being at Waltham, assigned an aid to the maintenance of the christian souldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thousand marks of siluer, and

The decesse of Hugh earle of Chester. *Ran. Higd.* fiue hundred marks of gold. Hugh Bosun otherwise called Keuelocke the sonne of Ranulfe the second of that name earle of Chester, died this yeare, and was buried at Léeke. He left behind him issue by his wife, the countesse Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iustice of England, a sonne named Ranulfe, who succéeded him, being the first erle of Chester, & third of that name after the conquest. Besides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his said wife; to wit, Maud married to Dauid earle of Angus, Huntington and Galloway; Mabell coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derbie, and Hauise ioined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne.

The archbish. of Yorke deceasseth. The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbishop of Yorke died, who (when he perceiued himselfe in danger of death by force of that his last sicknesse) deliuered great summes of monie vnto certeine bishops and other graue personages to be distributed amongst poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and seized it to his vse, alleadging a sentence giuen by the same archbishop in his life time, that no ecclesiasticall person might giue any thing by will, except he deuised the same whilest he was in perfect health: yet the bishop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to destribute amongst the poore, alledging that he dealt the same awaie before the archbishops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, must go gather it vp of them to whom he had distributed it, which he himselfe would in no wise doo. But the king tooke no small displeasure with this vndiscréet answer, insomuch that he seized the castell of Durham into his hands, and sought means to disquiet the

1182. said bishop by diuerse maner of waies.

The K. passeth ouer into Normandie. The K. & his sonne eftsoones reconciled. The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Winchester, and afterwards sailed ouer into Normandie, bicause he heard that the king his sonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practise eftsoones new trouble, which was true indéed: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforth he would neuer swarue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Aniouin by the daie, and ten pounds a day of the same

monie

monie for his wife. His father granted this, and also couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the seruices of an hundred knights. Neuerthelesse all this did little amend the matter, for though he set a new copie of countenance therevpon, yet he reteined his old peruerse purpose in his discontented mind, hauing learned that

Qui nescit fingere nescit regere.

After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the earle of Flanders touching controuersies betwixt them did so much in the matter, that he set them at one for that time.

About the same season, king Henrie the father sent William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and other ambassadors vnto the emperour Frederike, to intreat for his sonne in law the duke of Saxonie, that he might be againe restored into his fauor, which could not be obteined: for he was alreadie condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleasure the king of England the emperour granted, that so manie as went with him out of their countrie, might returne againe at their pleasure, and that his wife the dutches Maud the K. of Englands daughter, should inioy hir dowrie, and be at libertie, whether she would remaine vpon it, or follow hir husband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he must depart out of his countrie, he set forward with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finallie came into Normandie, where he was right ioifullie receiued of his father in law king Henrie. *Rog. Houed.* The duke of Saxonie.

Shortlie after his comming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himselfe went into Spaine to visit the bodie of S. James the apostle. His wife being great with child, remained with hir father in Normandie, and at Argenton she was deliuered of a sonne. This yeare the Welshmen slue Ranulfe Poer shirife of Glocestershire. King Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, with his three sons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. There was also Henrie duke of Saxonie, with his wife and their children, besides the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other bishops earles and barons in great number. The dutchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne. Ranulfe Poer slaine. An. Reg. 29. 1183.

Here would king Henrie the father, that his son the king should receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not staie at the matter, but the earle of Poictow refused, alledging that it was not conuenient so long as their father liued, to acknowledge any superioritie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldest sonne, so he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall so much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue doone homage, he would not receiue it, whervpon Richard departed from the court in great displeasure, & comming into Poictow, began to fortifie his castels & townes, that he might be in readinesse to stand vpon his safegard, if his father or brethren should come to pursue him. King Henrie the sonne followed him, set on by the earles and barons of Poictow, which for the sharpe and cruell gouernement of earle Richard, hated him mortallie. Againe on the other side, the fauourable courtesie, séemelie personage, and other noble qualities which they saw in the yoong king, moued them to take part with him against Richard, and shortlie after their brother Geffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in so much that earle Richard not knowing how to shift off the present danger, sent to his father for aid, who being verie sorie in his mind to sée such vnnaturall dealing among his sonnes, gathered an armie and set forward. *Will. Paruus.* *Polydor.* *Ger. Dor.* *Rog. Houed.* War betwixt the brethren.

He had a little before trauelled to set them at one, in somuch that where earle Richard held a castell named Clareualx, which after the fathers deceasse ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the son, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did so much with the earle, that he surrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the three sonnes came to Angers, and there sware to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to serue him against all men: whervpon he appointed them a daie to meet at Mirabell, where the barons of Guien should also be, vnto whom king Henrie the sonne had The father secketh to appease the quarell betwixt his sonnes.

swarne

sworne to aid them against earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geffrey sent vnto them to persuade them to peace and quietnesse, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in stéed of persuading them to peace (contrarie to his oth so oftentimes receiued) he procured them to pursue the warre both against his father and his brother earle Richard: and no maruell, for

Earle Geffrey dealeth vnfaithfullie.

Malè sarta gratia nunquam benè coalescit.

King Henrie the sonne remaining with his father, shewed outwardlie that he wished for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and so obteined licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietnesse. But such dissembling was put in practise by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in stéed of receiuing him with honor, as it had béene their duties to haue doone, they shot at him, and pearsed through his vppermost armor, so that both he and his sonne Richard were constreined to depart. Howbeit afterwards he entered that citie, and comming foorth of it againe to talke with his sonnes, those within Limoges eftsoones rebelled, so that certeine of them within, shot the horsse whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had so chanced, that the horsse in casting vp his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings brest, to the great danger & perill of his person. Neither did his sonnes the king and his brother Geffrey go about to sée such an heinous attempt punished, but rather séemed to like well of it, and to mainteine those most malicious enimies of their souereigne lord and father, for they ioined with them against him, although king Henrie the sonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of some agréement: but his double dealing was too manifest, although indeed he abused his fathers patience for a while, who was desirous of nothing more than to win his sonnes by some courteous meanes, and therefore diuerse times offered to pardon all offenses committed by his enimies, at the suit of his sonne the king, who in déed offered himselfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with such Brabanders and other souldiers as he had with him in aid, beside the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more mischéefe against their father and their brother earle Richard, in wasting and destroieng their countries that stood stedfast on their side.

The disloiall dissembling of the yoong king.

In the meane time Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other bishops and abbats both of England and Normandie assembled togither at Caen, and in the abbeie church of S. Stephan pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all those that did hinder and impeach their purpose, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king and his sonnes, the same sonnes onlie out of the said sentence excepted.

Diuerse shiftes were made by king Henrie the sonne, and his brother earle Geffrey also to get monie for the paiment of their souldiers, as spoiling of shrines, and such like. But at length when things framed not to their purpose, and that the harme which they could doo against their father was much lesse than they wished, if power had béene answerable to their willes, king Henrie the sonne through indignation and displeasure (as some write) fell into a grieuous sicknesse in a village called Mertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father laie at siege.

King Henrie the sonne falleth sicke.

At the first he was taken with an extreame feuer, and after followed a sore flixe. Now perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, and that the physicians had giuen him ouer, he sent to his father (better late than neuer) confessing his trespasse committed against him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come & sée him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himselfe into the hands of such vngratious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing, and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings against him. The son receiuing it with great humilitie, kissed it, and so ended his life in the presence of the archbishop

He sendeth to his father.

archbishop of Burdeaux and others, on the day of saint Barnabie the apostle. He died (as some write) verie penitent and sorowfull.

His repentance before his death.

And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a iourneie into the holie land against Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the crosse for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar freend William Marshall to go thither with it in his stead. Moreouer when he perceiued present death at hand, he first confessed his sinnes secretlie, and after openly before sundrie bishops and men of religion, and receiued absolution in most humble wise. After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tieng a cord about his necke, he said vnto the bishops and other that stood by him; "I deliuer my selfe an vnworthie and greeuous sinner vnto you the ministers of God by this cord, beséeching our Lord Jesus Christ, which pardoned the théefe confessing his faults on the crosse, that through your praiers and for his great mercies sake it may please him to be mercifull vnto my soule;" wherevnto they all answered, "Amen." Then he said vnto them, "Draw me out of this bed with this cord, and laie me on that bed strawed with ashes" (which he had of purpose prepared) and as he commanded so they did: and they laid at his feet and at his head two great square stones. Thus being prepared to die, he willed his bodie after his deceasse to be conueied into Normandie, and buried at Rouen. And so after he had receiued the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, he departed this life as afore is said, about the 28. yeare of his age.

A strange kind of superstitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true.

He is drawne out of his bed, a thing vnlike to be true.

His death.

His bodie after his death was conueied towards Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had willed: but when those that had charge to conueie it thither were come vnto the citie of Mauns, the bishop there and the cleargie would not suffer them to go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in honourable wise within the church of saint Julian. Whereof when the citizens of Rouen were aduertised, they were sore offended with that dooing, and streightwaies sent vnto them of Mauns, requiring to haue the corps deliuered, threatening otherwise with manie earnest oths to fetch it from them by force. Wherefore king Henrie, to set order in this matter, commanded that the corps of his sonne the king should be deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buried in their citie, as he himselfe had willed before his death. And so it was taken vp and conueied to Rouen, where it was eftsoones buried in the church of our ladie.

N. Triuet.

The bodie of the yong king lastlie buried at Rouen.

¶ Thus ended this yoong king in his floorishing youth, to whome through his owne iust deserts long life was iustlie denied, sith he delighted to begin his gouernement with vnlawfull attempts, as an other Absolon against his owne naturall father, seeking by wrongfull violence to pull the scepter out of his hand. He is not put in the number of kings, bicause he remained for the more part vnder the gouernance of his father, so that he rather bare the name of king as appointed to reigne, than that he may be said to haue reigned in déed. So that héere by the waie a notable obseruation dooth occurre and offer it selfe to be noted of vs; namelie, that euen princes children, though borne to great excellencie, and in high degree of dignitie, are to consider with themselues, that notwithstanding their statelie titles of souereigntie, they haue a dutie to discharge vnto their parents, which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof disobedience is substituted, God himselfe (when politike lawes prouide not to punish such offenses) will take the cause in hand, & will powre vengeance vpon such vngratious children. For he will be true of his word both in blessing and curssing, in blessing the dutifull child with long life and happie daies, and in curssing the obstinate and froward with short life and vnfortunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If this man had liued in the old Romans time, when aged persons were so reuerenced and honoured (much more parents) he had beene cut off in the prime of his disobedience, and present death had beene inflicted vpon him as a due and deserued reward; which Iuuenal noteth excellentlie well in these words,

Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum,
Si iuuenis vetulo non assurrexerat, & si
Barbato

Iuuen. sat. 13.

Barbato cuicunq; puer, licèt ipse videret
Plura domi farra, & maioris glandis aceruos,
Tam venerabile erat præcedere quattuor annis,
Primáq; par adeò sacræ lanugo senectæ.

Limoges rendred to king Henrie.

King Henrie (after his sonne the king was thus dead) inforced his power more earnestlie than before to winne the citie and castell of Limoges which he had besieged, and at length had them both surrendered into his hands, with all other castels and places of strength kept by his enimies in those parts, of the which some he furnished with garisons, and some he caused to be laied flat with the ground.

Veulquesine.

There rose about the same time occasion of strife and variance betwixt king Henrie and the French king, about the enioieng of the countrie lieng vpon Gisors, called Veulquesine, on this side the riuer of Hept, which was giuen vnto king Henrie the sonne, in consideration of the marriage betwixt him and queene Margaret the French kings sister. For the French king now after the death of his brother in law king Henrie the sonne, required to haue the same restored vnto the crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length they met betwixt Trie and Gisors to talke of the matter, where they agréed that quéene Margaret the widow of the late deceased king Henrie the son, should receiue yearelelie during hir life 1750 pounds of Aniouin monie at Paris, of king Henrie the father and his heires; in consideration whereof she should release and quit claime all hir right to those lands that were demanded, as Veulquesine and others. Shortlie after, Geffrey erle of Britaine came to his father, and submitting himselfe, was reconciled to him, and also to his brother Richard earle of Poictow. Also I find that king Henrie at an enteruiew had betwixt him and the French king at their accustomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Gisors on saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the same French king for the lands which he held of him on that side the sea, which to doo till then he had refused. The same yeare king Henrie held his Christmas at the citie of Mauns.

The kings of England and France talke togither.

An. Reg. 30.

1184.

When the king had set the French king and the earle of Flanders at agréement for the controuersie that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Vermendois, he passed through the earle of Flanders countrie, and comming to Wisand, tooke ship and sailed ouer into England, landing at Douer the tenth day of June, with his daughter the dutches of Saxonie, who was afterwards deliuered of a sonne at Winchester, and hir husband the duke of Saxonie came also this yeare into England, and was ioifullie receiued and honourablie interteined of the king his father in law.

The duchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne.

The archbish. of Colen.

And whereas the archbishop of Colen came ouer into England this yeare to visit the toome of Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie, the king trauelled to make an agréement betwixt him and the Saxonish duke touching a certeine variance depending betwixt them, wherin the king did so much, that the archbishop forgaue all iniuries past, and so they were made fréends. Also by the counsell of the same archbishop the king sent Hugh Nouant archdeacon of Liseux and others, ambassadours from him vnto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made some waie to obteine a pardon for the said duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Those that were sent demeaned themselues so discréetly in dooing their message, that the emperour comming where the pope then was, that is to say, at Verona in Italie, at the earnest suit of the said pope was contented to release all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things past, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being cléerlie reuoked.

Hugh Nouant.

The duke of Saxonie pardoned and reuoked out of exile.

There died this yeare sundrie honorable personages, as Simon earle of Huntington son to Simon earle of Northampton, after whose decease the king gaue his earledome vnto his brother Dauid, or (as Radulfus de Diceto saith) bicause the said Simon died without issue, the king gaue the earledome of Huntington vnto William king of Scots sonne to earle Henrie that was sonne to king Dauid. Also the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and

Death of Noble men.

Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chéefe iustice of the forests, which roome Alaine de Neuill had inioied before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his forests into sundrie quarters, and to euerie quarter he appointed foure iustices, two of the spiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beside two generall wardens that were of his owne seruants, to be as surueiers aboue all other foresters of vert and venison, whose office was to sée that no disorder nor spoile were committed within any grounds of warren contrarie to the assises of forests. Diuerse prelates died this yeare also, as foure bishops, to wit, Gerald surnamed la Pucelle bishop of Chester, Walran bishop of Rochester, Joceline of Salisburie, and Bartholomew of Excester.

The gouernment of the forests diuided.

Besides these, diuerse abbats, & on the 16. of Februarie died Richard archbishop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of that sée. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and wasted the goods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a vision, which said; "Thou hast wasted the goods of the church, and I shall root thée out of the earth." Wherevpon he tooke such a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was bishop of Worcester succéeded him, he was the 40. archbishop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and bishops procured his election not without much adoo: for the moonks pretending a right thereto, were sore against it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white moonke, he neuer eat flesh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and asked him if it were true that he neuer eat any maner of flesh; "It is true said he." "It is false quoth she, for I had but one cow to find me with, and thy seruants haue taken hir from me." Wherevnto he answered, "that if it so were, she should haue as good a cow restored to hir by Gods grace, as hir owne was." The same time also Margaret the wife of the late deceased king Henrie the son, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioined in marriage with Bela king of Hungarie.

But after long digression to returne againe to our purpose. The king being aduertised of the destruction and spoile which the Welshmen dailie did practise against his subiects, both in their persons and substance, assembled a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto Worcester, meaning to inuade the enimies countries. But Rées ap Griffin fearing his puissance thus bent against him and other the leaders of the Welshmen, came by safeconduct vnto Worcester, and there submitting himselfe, swarę fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promising to bring his sonne and nephues vnto him as pledges. But when (according to his promise) he would haue brought them, they refused to go with him, and so the matter rested for a time.

After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Windsore, and the same yeare Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger master of the house of S. Johns of Jerusalem came into England, to make suit vnto king Henrie for aid against the Saracens that dailie wan from the christians, townes and holds in the holie land, taking and killing the people most miserablie, as in the description of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the dooings of Saladine the Saracen are touched. The patriarch made earnest request vnto the king, proffering him the keies of the citie of Jerusalem, and of the holie sepulchre (with the letters of Lucius the third then pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iournie, and to haue mind of the oth which before time he had made.

Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem.

The king deferred his answer for a time, and calling a councell of his lords togither at Clerkenwell, on the 15. of Aprill, asked their aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they tooke it, he might not well depart so far out of his realme and other dominions, leauing the same as a prey to his enimies. And whereas it was thought by some, that he might appoint one of his sonnes to take vpon that iournie, yet bicause they were not as then within the realme, it was iudged that in their absence there was no reason why it should be so decréed.

A councell at Clerkenwell.

Howbeit

Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie exhorteth men to go to warre against the Saracens.

Howbeit in the meane time vpon licence granted by the king, that so manie might go as would, Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon him the crosse so effectuallie, that a great number receiuing it, fullie purposed to go on in that iournie. At length the king gaue answer to the patriarch, excusing himselfe in that he could go, for he declared that he might not leaue his land without keeping, being in danger to remaine as a prey to the robberie and spoile of the French men: but he offered to giue large summes of gold and siluer to such as would take vpon them that voiage. With this answer the cardinall was nothing pleased, and therefore said; "We séeke a man and not monie: euerie christian region well neere sendeth vs monie, but no countrie sendeth vs a prince; and therfore we require a prince that néedeth monie, and not monie that needeth a prince." But the king still alledged matter for his excuse, so that the patriarch departed from him comfortlesse, and greatlie discontented in his mind: whereof the king hauing knowledge, and intending somewhat to recomfort him with sweet and pleasant words, followed him to the sea side. But the more the king thought to satisfie the patriarch with words, the more wroth and discontented he shewed himselfe to be; in so much that at the last he said vnto him, "Hitherto hast thou reigned gloriouslie, but hereafter shalt thou be forsaken of him, whom thou at this time forsakest. Consider of him, and remember what he hath giuen thée, and what thou hast yéelded to him againe, how first thou wast false to the king of France, and after sluedst archbishop Becket, and now lastlie thou forsakest the protection of Christes faith."

Fiue thousand marks saieth *Gerv. Dor. Ran. Higd.*

The words of the patriarch to the king.

The king was stirred with these words, and said vnto the patriarch, "Though all the men of the land were one bodie, and spake with one mouth, they durst not vtter such words against me." "No woonder (said the patriarch) for they loue thine and not thée; that is to say, they loue thy temporall goods, and stand in feare of thée for losse of promotion, but thy soule they loue not." And when he had so said, he offered his head to the king; saieng, "Doo by me euen as thou diddest by archbishop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be slaine heere in Europe of a wicked christian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art woorse than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and spoile and not a man." The king kept his patience, and said, "I may not go out of my land, for if I should, mine owne sonnes would rise and rebell against me." "No maruell (said the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they shall." And thus he departed from the king in great displeasure. ¶ Thus haue some written: but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himselfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went also (as after shall appear.)

Rash iudgement in an holie father.

R. Honed. John the kings sonne made king of Ireland. *Ger. Dor.*

This yeare the last of March, king Henrie made his sonne John knight, and shortlie after sent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his coming into Ireland, he was honourablie receiued of the archbishop of Diueline, and other noble men that had béene sent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treasure, but he hauing learned that

Non minor est virtus quàm quærere parta tueri,

keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a strange place, and not knowing what he shuld want) would not depart with it so fréelie amongst his souldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reason whereof their seruice was such, that in diuerse conflicts he lost manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and souldiers to remaine in places most expedient for the defense of that countrie. ¶ But héereof yée may read more at large in the historie of Ireland.

An earthquake.

On the mondaie in the wéeke before Easter, chanced a sore earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, such a one as the like had not beene heard of in England sithens the beginning of the world. For stones that laie couched fast in the earth, were re-

mooued out of their places, stone houses were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwards.

The day next after this terrible woonder, the king and the patriarch with the bishop of Durham and a great sort of other Noble men of this realme, passed the seas from Douer to Wissand, and so rode foorth towards Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his comming thither he raised a power, and sent word to his sonne Richard earle of Poictou (which had fortified the townes and castels of Poictou against him, and taken his brother Geffrey prisoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poictou, he would surelie come to chastise him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience smallie to his ease. Vpon this message earle Richard being somewhat better aduised, obeied his fathers commandements in all points, rendring vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient sonne, shewed himselfe readie to serue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Soone after this, and about the seauenth houre of the day, the sunne suffered a generall eclipse, so that no part of it appeared, and therewith followed great thunder with lightning and sore tempest, with the violence whereof both men and beasts were destroied, and manie houses burned.

The king and the patriarch passe ouer into France.

The kings message to his sonne earle Richard.

Erle Richard obeieth his father.

Rog. Houed. Particular and not generall, saieth *Ger. Dor.*

Shortlie after this the kings of England and France met and communed togither for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promised indéed to send thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made small account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to passe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his sonnes, or some other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but bicause that would not be, he departed from the court verie sorrowfull and sore displeased, so that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he spake his mind so plainlie vnto the king (as before yee haue heard.)

Moreouer, about this time king Henrie obteined of pope Vrbane the third, that he might crowne which of his sonnes it should please him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the said pope sent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner wouen in with gold.

An. Reg. 32.

This yeare the king held his Christmasse at Danfrount, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he tooke a solemne oth that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings sister (whome he had as yet in his custodie) vnto his sonne Richard erle of Poictou in mariage. For the which mariage to be had and solemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the said Richard the towne of Gisors, with all that which his father king Lewes promised vnto king Henrie the sonne (latelie deceassed) in marriage with quéene Margaret the wife of the same Henrie, receiuing an oth thereto, neuer to make anie claime or chalenge to the same towne and lands.

1186.

King Henrie returneth into England.

Ger. Dor.

Hugh prior of Witham made bishop of Lincolne.

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finished his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maie, and then was Hugh prior of Witham instituted bishop of Lincolne after that the see there had béene void and without any lawfull gouernour almost the space of seauenteene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Constance was nominated to that sée, but bicause he was made archbishop of Rouen before he was inuested in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the bishops of Lincolne.

Moreouer king Henrie shortlie after his returne at this time into England, assembled a great armie, and went with the same to Caerleill, in purpose to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chastised Rouland lord of that countrie, who was sonne to Uthred the sonne of Fergus, for the iniuries doone to his coosine germains, namelie to Duncane sonne to Gilbert, who was sonne to the same Fergus, in spoiling him and the residue (after the deceasse of the said Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, vsurping the whole to himselfe. But as the king was now readie to inuade his countrie, Rouland came to him,

him, and vsed such meanes vnder pretense of satisfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who therevpon brought backe his armie, and did no more at that time.

Hugh Lacie slaine.

About the same time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was slaine in Ireland by an Irish gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Irish historie you may read) whereof the king was nothing sorie, bicause the same Hugh was growne to so high degrée of puissance in that countrie, that he refused to obeie the kings commandement when he sent for him.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the most part of Ireland, and set the countrie in some good order, and after his comming from thence, such capteines as he left there behind him, were not idle, but still did what they could to inlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernance: but amongst them all this Hugh Lacie was the chéefest, in somuch that after the death of Richard earle of Striguile, the king made him gouernour of the countrie in place of the said earle, by reason whereof he so inlarged his possessions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onelie to the enimies, but also to his associats, as to such English capteins as were abiding in Ireland vpon gard of the English frontiers. For if any of them disobeied his commandement, he would not sticke to chastise them at his pleasure, so that by such meanes he seemed rather to conquer the countrie to his owne vse, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not so directlie or discréetlie as he might; for,

Hugh Lacies diligence to inlarge his possessions in Ireland.

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had also ioined himselfe in mariage with a daughter of the king of Unlester, not making king Henrie priuie to the same. Wherevpon the king hauing sundrie informations presented to him of such his presumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his presence, which to doo (as before I haue said) he refused, by reason whereof he confirmed the suspicion which was conceiued of him, to rise vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euill that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good cause was highlie offended towards him for the contempts and considerations aforesaid.

King Henrie not sorie for the death of Lacie.

The death of Geffrey the kings sonne.

This yeare Geffrey the kings son who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the same citie, leauing behind him (besides two daughters) one onlie sonne as then in his mothers wombe, of whom she was deliuered in the night of the feast of Easter next insuing hir husband's death: he was named Arthur, and succeeded his father in the earledome of Britaine. His fathers death was occasioned (as men iudge) by a fall which he caught at a iournie, for he was sore bruised therewith, and neuer had his health, but finallie fell into a flix and so died.

About this season pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, granting him licence to build a church at Alkinton, in honour of S. Stephan and Thomas Becket now reputed a martyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which came to the box of Thomas the martyr should be assigned to the vse of the moonks, & an other fourth part to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the poore, and the other fourth part remaining he might reserue to himselfe to bestow at his pleasure. But within a while after, at the suit and supplication of the prior and couent of Canturburie (who liked nothing of the former partition) the pope sent letters of prohibition to the said archbishop, that he should ceasse from building of the fore mentioned church, bicause the building thereof would be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

The ladie Ermengard the vicount Beaumonts daughter, maried to William king of Scots.

About the same time also king Henrie gaue his coosen the ladie Ermengard (who was daughter to Richard Vicount Beaumont) in marriage vnto Willam king of Scotland, causing the archbishop of Canturburie to ioine them togither in the bond of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodstocke, where he kept great cheere in honour of that marriage for the space of foure daies togither. And further he gaue at the same time vnto the king of Scots the castell of Edenbourgh: and the king of Scots streitwaies gaue it vnto his wife

Castell of Edenbourgh.

the

the forsaid Ermingard, as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hundred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights fées.

The French king required to haue the custodie of the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Britaine: but king Henrie would in no wise grant thereto. Wherefore he sent Walter archbishop of Rouen, William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glandeuille lord cheefe iustice of England to the French court, to talke with king Philip about that matter, so that king Philip hauing heard them, was contented to staie from attempting force till the feast of S. Hilarie. But in the meane time it chanced, that one sir Richard de Walles a knight of the realme of France went about to fortifie a castell in a village that belonged to him called Walles, situated betwixt Trie & Gisors. Whereupon Henrie Vere (constable of Gisors vnder William earle of Albemarle) was nothing content therwith, and therefore got a companie togither, & went foorth to disturbe the worke. Vpon this occasion the seruants of the said sir Richard de Walles came foorth, and encountred with him in the field, in somuch that Rafe the sonne of sir Richard de Walles was slaine, and the residue that were with him fled, many of them being sore beaten and wounded.

Ambassadours sent to the French king.

Sir William de Walles.

When the French king was informed hereof, he caused all the kings of England his subiects, that could be found within his countries and dominion of France to be apprehended, and their goods seized. The stewards, bailifes, & officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings subiects that chanced to be at that present within the king of Englands countries, on that further side of the sea. But within a little while after, the French king set the English subiects at libertie, and so likewise did the K. of Englands officers release the French subiects.

The king of Englands subiects arested in Fráce.

The French subiects arested in Normandie.

At this time king Henrie held his Christmasse at Gilford, and shortlie after came one Octauianus a subdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Nouant from the court of Rome, sent as legats from pope Vrbane into Ireland, that they might crowne earle John the kings sonne king of that land. But king Henrie made a delaie therein, taking the legats with him into Normandie, whither he sailed at the same time, and landing at Wissand, he went from thence into Normandie, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at a place called Vadum Sancti Remigij where after much talke they could not agrée, by reason the French king demanded things vnreasonable, and so they departed without any thing concluded [sauing a truce] till after Whitsuntide.

An. Reg. 33. 1187.

Octauianus a cardinall.

King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

Ger. Dor.

About the same time, the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Saladine the chéefe prince of the Saracens. Wherevpon much conference was had among the christian princes for the succoring of those christians, which as yet held and defended other péeces in the holie land, so that by publishing of the popes buls, manie tooke on them the crosse: and amongst other Richard the sonne of king Henrie (without anie licence obteined of his father) receiued the same, vowing to go thither out of hand, and to fight against Gods enimies to the vttermost of his power.

Jerusalem taken.

In the meane time the grudge still increased betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partlie for one cause, and partlie for an other, but speciallie one cheefe occasion was for that earle Richard deferred the dooings of his homage vnto king Philip for the dutchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appointment he now inioied and held. The French king to preuent his enimies, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce raised a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, wasted the countrie till he came vnto Chateu Raoul: about which castell also he foorthwith planted his siege.

Out of the annales of France written by Nicull Gallis.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he raised his power also, and togither with his sonne earle Richard came with all spéed to succour his people, and to saue his castell from the hands of his enimies. Now when he approched néere vnto the place, he pitcht downe his tents ouer against the one side of the French campe, and earle Richard on the other, so that they were readie to assaile the French king on both sides

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at once, but before they came to ioine battell, by the mediation of a cardinall (as some write) or (as other saie) through meanes made by the earle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For earle Richard through persuasion of the said earle of Flanders came to the French king, and agréed with him, before that his father king Henrie was resolued of any such matter for his part, so that he was now in a maruellous perplexitie, & almost to séeke what was best to doo, as a man fearing his owne suertie, by reason of mistrust which he had in his sonne Richard: but yet at the length through humble suit made by his said sonne vnto the French king, a truce was granted by the space of two yeares.

Ger. Dor.

A truce granted.

Earle Richard, after the matter was thus taken vp, went into France with the French king, of whom he was so honoured whilest he was there, that they kept one table at dinner and supper in the daie time, and was (as was said) one bed serued them both to sléepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all this, fell into great suspicion whereto this great familiaritie betwixt the French king and his sonne would tend, and doubting the likeliest, sent for him to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing his father to mistrust his loialtie, gaue faire words, and promised to returne with all conuenient spéed. Howbeit he ment an other matter, and so departing from the French court, came to Chinon, where he got into his hands a great portion of his fathers treasure that was kept there, against the will of him that had the custodie of it, and taking it thus awaie with him, he began to fortifie his castels and townes within his countrie of Poictou, and clearlie refused to come backe to his father for a time, although at length forsaking the counsell of naughtie men, he turned home vnto him, and humblie submitted himselfe, in such wise as to his dutie apperteined. And for the more assurance therof, he renewed his fealtie, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangelists. Which doone, king Henrie went into Britaine with an armie, and woone the castell of Mountreleis by siege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Guinemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after the deceasse of Geffrey earle of Britaine.

Erle Richard giueth his father faire words.

He seizeth vpon his fathers treasure.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of Chichester was almost wholie consumed to ashes by mischance of fire. The head church with the bishops palace, and the houses of the canons were burnt euen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, from whence he went to Harfleet, and there taking the sea passed ouer into England. The French king hearing by and by of his departure, assembled a great armie, and threatned to destroie the countrie of Normandie, and other lands on that side the sea, except king Henrie would deliuer into his hands the towne of Gisors, with the appurtenances, or cause his sonne Richard earle of Poictou to take to wife his sister Alice, according to his promise.

An. Reg. 34. 1188.

King Henrie returneth into England.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he turned with all speed into Normandie, that he might prouide for timelie resistance, if the French king came forward to inuade his dominions. About the selfe same time came newes out of the holie land, that Saladine after the winning of Jerusalem, pursued his victorie with such successe, that he had taken from the christians the more part of all other towns and strengths within the land. These newes were nothing pleasant to the christian princes, and namelie the two kings Henrie and Philip seemed sorowfull for the same, and therefore came to an enterview togither on the 21. day of Januarie betwixt Trie and Gisors, where the archbishop of Tire was present, through whose earnest exhortation the two kings were made freends, and the same day receiued the crosse at his hands in purpose to make a iourneie togither against those Saracens that had doone such iniuries to the christian name. And for a difference that one nation might be knowne from an other, the French king and his people tooke vpon them to weare read crosses, the king of England and his subiects white crosses: but the earle of Flanders and his men ware gréene.

King Henrie passeth againe into Normandie.

Polydor. Heanie newes from the east parts.

An enteruiew betwixt the two kings.

The two kings receiue the crosse.

The French ware red crosses, The English white, The Flemings gréene.

Herewith they departed asunder, each one repairing to their countries to prouide their armies, and make them in readinesse to set forward by a day towards this necessarie iournie.

iournie. King Henrie comming to Chinon, [illegible]ise of his councell, ordeined that euerie one of his subiects should yeeld a tenth [illegible]venues and moueable goods for that yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land (come of that yeares growth excepted, and also all armour, horsses, bookes, apparell, ornaments of chappels, and pretious stones, which should not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this paiment.) Moreouer those knights and men of warre that were appointed to go in this iourneie paied nothing, but had that monie also towards their furniture, which were gathered of their tenants and farmers, howbeit burgesses and others that tooke vpon them the crosse without license of their lords, paied his tenth, so that none of them went free. An aid granted to them in the holie land. *Wil. Paruus.*

There were also good orders deuised, both for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and the releefe of the common-wealth, as that no man should sweare in any outragious maner, that no man should plaie at cards, dice or tables, and that no maner of person after Easter should weare any costlie furs or cloth of scarlet, nor that men should vse to haue their tables serued with more than two dishes of meat at one meale, nor should haue their apparell cut, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them should take any women foorth with them in this iourneie, except such a landresse, of whome there might not growe anie suspicion of wanton life. It was also ordeined, that the monie of such as died in this iournie, should go towards the finding and maintenance of their seruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of the christians in the holie land. Moreouer, the pope granted that all those that went foorth in this iournie, repenting and confessing their sinnes, should be absolued and pardoned of the same. The king hauing thus taken order for his businesse in the parts on the further side the sea, came now ouer into England againe, landing at Winchelsey on a saturday the thirtith day of Januarie, and calling a councell togither at Gaitington, which is eight or nine miles from Northampton, he there declared what orders he had taken for his iournie into the holie land. Wherevpon the bishops of Norwich and Lincolne, and a great number of other people tooke vpon them the crosse at the preaching of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester. Good orders and discipline instituted. The king returneth into England. A councell holden at Gaitington. *Ger. Dor.*

This doone, king Henrie tooke order also for the leuieng of the tenth, as well here in England, as he had doone in the parts subiect to him on the further side the sea. He also sent Hugh bishop of Durham, and other both spirituall and temporall persons, vnto William king of Scots, to gather the tenth likewise within his countrie, but he met them betwixt Wark and Brightham, and would not suffer them to enter into Scotland, but he offered to giue vnto the king of England in recompense of the tenths, and for to haue againe his castels, the summe of 5000. marks of siluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewise gathered the tenths in his countrie towards this intended iournie. But by the working of some wicked spirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the aduancement of the christian common-wealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and disappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long vnuiolated. A tenth leuied. The king of Scots. The good meaning of the two kings disappointed. *Polydor.*

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto English men, and the English writers laie it to French men. The French writers say, that earle Richard the son of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The English writers reproue the French king as a wicked man, in that he should of purpose breake the peace and moue warre against king Henrie, to withdraw him from going to make warre against the Saracens, to the which enterprise he was wholie bent and inclined. Such is the maner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countrie than to the truth, doo not obserue the law of histories in their writings, but rather inucie one against another in a bralling and reprouing maner. Reimond erle of Tholouze.

¶ Examples hereof are more than by any possibilitie may be remembred, and namelie for breuitie sake George Buchanan in the 8. booke of his Scotish historie verie reprochfullie speaketh of Richard Grafton (a right reuerend man whiles he liued and of entier

name also being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a shamelesse lier. Whose case, bicause it is not so conuenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remit to the reigne of* Edward the third, in whose time John Balioll was king of Scots, and cleere him (as well as we can) from a Scotish slander. Another example also we haue, and that most notorious, of Gabriel Prateolus the Jesuit, who hauing neuer beene in England, nor yet vnderstanding the English toong, blusheth not to say that the translation of the English bible hath in it a thousand faults. O singular and insufferable impudencie, when men passe not what they vomit and cast vp out of a full gorge surfetting with malice and rancour! But what shall we say,

* Where he shall be fullie & sufficientlie answered.

Horat. in art. poet.

Omne superuacuum pleno de pectore manat.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poictou rebell against earle Richard.

Peter Seille.

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other doo witnes) the foresaid earle Reimond, and also Aimer earle of Angolesme, Geffrey de Racon, and Geffrey de Lusignan, with the most part of all the nobles of Poictou, made warre against earle Richard, and he held tacke against them all, and in the end ouercame them. Amongst other of earle Reimonds part whom he tooke, was one Peter Seille, by whose counsell earle Reimond had taken diuerse merchants of Poictou that were subiects to earle Richard, & doone manie other displeasures to him and to his countrie, wherefore earle Richard kept this Peter in verie close prison, and would not put him to his ransome: in somuch that earle Reimond tooke two of the king of Englands knights, sir Robert Poer, and sir Richard Fraser, as they were returning from Compostella, where they had béene to visit the bodie of S. James, but they were quicklie set at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whose pilgrims they were.

Erle Richard inuadeth the earle Tholouze lands.

After this, earle Richard entred with a great armie into the lands of earle Reimond, wasted the same, and tooke by siege a castell of his situate néere vnto Tholouze, called Moisac: whereof the French king hearing, sent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages doone by his sonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were doone by his commandement, for the which he demanded restitution. Herevnto the king of England answered, that his sonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had signified to him by the archbishop of Dublin, what soeuer he did therin, was doone by the counsell of the French king himselfe.

Annales de France.

Howsoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a sudden entred into Berrie, and tooke from king Henrie Chasteau Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountrichard, Mountresor, Vandosme, Leprose, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Molignon. Wherfore king Henrie (who was at this this time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all spéed possible he sent Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and Hugh bishop of Durham ouer into France, to appease the French kings displeasure with courteous words and reasonable persuasions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to passe, he sailed ouer into Normandie himselfe, with an armie of Englishmen and Welshmen, landing with the same at Herflue the 10. daie of Julie, after he had beene sore tossed by a cruell tempest that tose as he was on the sea, to the great danger of his person, & all that were with him.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Chester, saith *Ger. Dor.*

Ger. Dor.

Now after his comming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increasing his power by gathering vp souldiers and men of warre out of Normandie and other his countries on that side the sea. In the meane time his sonne Richard earle of Poictou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoull vnto the keeping of sir William de Berres returned into France, so that earle Richard spoiled and wasted the lands of those earls and barons which tooke the French part exceedinglie. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durst not come foorth now after the arriuall of king Henrie, but manie enterprises were atchiued by the capteines on both sides. Philip bishop of Beauuois inuading the frontiers of Normandie, burned Blangeuille,

Chateau Roux it is called in the French annales: but ye chronicles of Anion name it Chasteau Raoul, and rightlie as I thinke.

uille, belonging to the earle of Augi, and the castell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the title of earle) and wasted the countrie round about. The French king also came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke 40. men of armes there, but the castell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poictou tooke a strong place called Les Roches, beyond Trow towards Vandosme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. yeomen. Sergeants.

About this time king Henrie sent ambassadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbishop of Rouen, John bishop of Eureux, and William Marshall, to require restitution for the damages doone to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refused to make restitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance against him. Wherevnto the French king answered, that he would not giue ouer to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countrie of Veuxin or Veulgesine wholie in his possession. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the tuesdaie after the feast of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie townes and villages, approching the same day néere to the towne of Maunt, where the French king was thought to be. Now as it chanced, William de Berres and Drogo de Merlo encountred with Richard earle of Poictou and William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, so that William de Berres was taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that should haue taken héed to him, escaped awaie vpon his pages horsse. The morrow after also, earle Richard departed from his father towards Berrie, and vpon the thursdaie the Welshmen burned manie villages, with the castell of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, and tooke manie rich preies and booties. Also William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle burned a place called saint Clare, that was belonging vnto the demaine of the French king. The Welshmen.

But see, when the English were fullie bent to prosecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came messengers vnto king Henrie from the French king, requiring him that he would grant a peace to be had betwixt them, with promise that if he would condescend therevnto, that he should receiue by waie of restitution all that the French king had now taken from him in Berrie. Herevpon they came to a communication betwixt Trie & Gisors, and when they could not agrée, the French king caused a great elme standing betwixt those two places to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and France were accustomed to méet when they treated of matters in controuersie betwixt them, swearing that from thencefoorth there should neuer be anie more méetings holden at that place. The two kings come to a treatie. An elme cut downe.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the earle of Blois with diuerse other earles and barons of the Realme of France, laid their armor aside, protesting openlie that they would not put on the same againe to make warre against any christian, till they should returne from their iournie which they had vowed into the holie land, the French king destitute of men to serue him, made sute once againe to king Henrie, that they might méet and talke of peace, which was hardlie granted, and so they met on the morrow after saint Faithes daie, or the seauenth of October, at Chattellon, where they entreated of a forme of peace, so that the French king should haue restored all that he had taken within the countries belonging to king Henrie, and likewise Richard earle of Poictou should deliuer vp vnto the earle of saint Giles (otherwise called earle of Tholouse) all that he had taken from him since the breach of the last truce. But when king Henrie would not deliuer the castell of Pascie in pledge to the French king, they departed in sunder (as before) without any thing concluded. The king of France after this tooke the castell of Paluell. A commendable protestation and worthie to be noted. Castellium.

Vpon the eightéenth day of August the two kings came againe togither about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonsemblance and Sukennie, where the French king offered king Henrie, to restore to him all that he had taken by his last warres, if his sister Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle of Poictou, now eldest sonne aliue to king Henrie, An other treatie betwixt the two kings.

Henrie, and that all king Henries subiects might doo homage and sweare fealtie to the same Richard. But king Henrie after the old prouerbe, Ictus piscator sapit, hauing bought his experience with the féeling of smart, & bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his sonne Henrie, after such his aduancement to kinglie degrée, would not grant the French kings request herein. Wherevpon a further mischeefe happened, for his sonne earle Richard (taking displeasure that his father should denie him that honour, which made altogither for his more assurance to succeed him as king) fell from his said father manifestlie, and became the French kings man, dooing homage to him also without consent of king Henrie, for all those lands that belonged to his said father on that further side the sea. The French king for his homage and fealtie gaue him Chateau Raoull and Ysoldun, with all the honour thereto belonging.

Erle Richard reuolteth from his father to serue the French king.

Polydor. ¶ Some write, that the cheefest cause which mooued king Henrie to refuse to ioine his sonne earle Richard and the ladie Alice, daughter vnto the French king in marriage togither, was, for that he was linked in the cumbersome chaine of hot burning loue with the same ladie, and therefore he sought all the shifts of excuses & delaies that might be imagined; so that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir. The truth was (as writers affirme) he had alreadie persuaded hir to satisfie his lust, insomuch that he liked hir so well, that he ment to be diuorsed from his wife quéene Elianor, and to marrie this yoong ladie, which if he might bring to passe, and haue children by hir, he purposed to disherit those which he had by Elianor, and to make the other which he should haue by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. And Henrie bishop of Alba a cardinall that was sent from the pope to end this controuersie betwixt these two mightie princes, accursed Richard earle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles rose and were continued betwixt them.

Rog. Houed.

Beuerley burnt. The towne of Beuerley, with the church of saint John the archbishop, was in maner wholie consumed with fire, on the 20. of September. Also the same yeare died William of Sempringham, the author and first founder of the religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerstan a knight templer put in trust by king Henrie, with others, to gather the tenths towards the releefe of the holie land, was prooued to vse falshood in the receipt, and so was deliuered vnto the maister of the temple at London to be punished according to the statutes of his order. Also this yere in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was séene at Dunstable by diuerse persons a figure of the crosse verie long and large in the aire, with the shape of a crucifix thereon, and streames of bloud to their sight seemed to run out of the wounds of the feet, hands and sides. This strange appearance continued in sight from noone till almost night.

William de Sempringham deceaseth.

Gilbert de Ogerstan.

A strange apperance in the aire.

¶ Some will deeme this a meere fable, and saie it sauoureth of grosse superstition and idolatrie, wherevpon they will conclude that no such fragments poudered with papistrie should be inserted into a chronicle. But (to auoid all suspicion of iustifieng the fansies of men) note you this, that in the ecclesiasticall historie, no small number of things no lesse strange and true than this seemeth vaine and false, are recorded; yea euen touching the verie crosse. But considering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in making choise of matter pleasing their owne humor we will not wade too farre in this kind of argument, which we know may as soone offend as it is taken, as a thorne may pricke, or a nettle sting when it is touched. Neuerthelesse, we would not wish that the forme of a thing should be quite condemned for some scandalous peoples pleasures, whome nothing will please, vnlesse it come out of their owne drieuat or casket of conceits.

An. Reg. 35. 1189. King Henrie held his Christmas at Saumur in Aniou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon from him, and tooke part with the French king, and with his sonne Richard earle of Poictou. Now when the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of couenants of the French king and earle Richard, that if

if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Britains should be partakers in the same) entred into the confines of those countries, which still continued their due obedience towards king Henrie, spoiling and wasting the same on each side with barbarous crueltie. At which time also a legat came from the pope named John de Anagnia, who assaied both by courteous meanes and also by threats and menacings to reduce the parties vnto peace and concord: insomuch that by his procurement they met this yeare after Easter néere vnto Fiert Bernard, twise within a few daies togither, to trie if by talke they might sort to some reasonable conditions of agreement. A legat.

The last time of those their meetings was in the Whitsunwéeke, at what time the French king required not onelie to haue his sister Alice deliuered vnto earle Richard for wife, according to the former couenants, but also some assurance giuen vnto the same earle Richard, that he should inherit his fathers lands after his deceasse. Also he required that earle John might take vpon him the crosse to passe ouer into the holie land also, for otherwise earle Richard would not go. Howbeit king Henrie would in no wise consent to any of these demands: but yet as some write, he offered thus much vnto king Philip, that if he could be so content, his sonne John should marrie his sister Alice, and inioy with hir all such things as he demanded in preferment of his sonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requested the same. But king Philip would none of that. *Matth. Paris.* *R. Houed.*

Thus how soeuer it was, whilest the one demanded that which the other thought no reason to grant, they departed without concluding any agréement, so that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occasion to further his enterprises, with all his whole puissance entred into Maine, where he destroied a great part of that countrie, and approched to the citie of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpose to besiege it. But king Henrie being warned of his comming set the suburbs on fire, bicause his enimies should haue no succour in them. Howbeit the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driuen so directlie into the citie, that what with heat and assault of the enimie, the king being without any store of souldiers to defend it longer, was constreined to forsake it. Herewith he was so mooued, that in departing from the citie, he said these words of his sonne Richard to himselfe: "Sith thou hast taken from me this daie the thing that I most loued in this world, I will requite thee, for after this daie, I shall depriue thée of that thing which in me should most please thée, euen mine owne hart." King Philip entereth the countrie of Maine. The words of king Henrie in his displeasure towards earle Richard.

Being thus driuen to leaue the defaced citie of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens whereof being left destitute of aid, yéelded themselues to the French king, who taking a great pride in his dooings for that victorie, passed ouer Loire, and wan the citie of Towrs, wherein he placed a garison, and so hauing sped his businesse with good successe, brought home his armie laden with preies & booties. King Henrie being thus put to the worsse, and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recouer his losses, began to despaire in himselfe, and therefore of necessitie thought it best to séeke for peace, but his suit was in vaine for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agrée vpon any reasonable conditions. Mauns yéelded to the French king. *Wil. Parua.* *Polydor.* The earle of Flanders séeketh to agrée the parties. *Matth. Paris.*

At the last Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbishop of Reimes, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agréement, and to conclude the same betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Britaines and them of Poictou confederate with him, vnder such conditions, as he might not agrée with his father, vnlesse they might be comprised in the agréement. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogither aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chateau Raoul was restored to king Henrie with all that had béene taken from him since the time that the French king & he tooke vpon them the crosse: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which in the beginning of this warre he had surrendred and renounced. He was bound also to paie to the French king 20. thousand markes for the aid which earle Richard had A peace concluded.

Thirtie thousand to the K. and twentie to the barons of France, saith *Ger. Dor.*

had receiued of him: moreouer to resigne and acquite vnto the French king, all that which either he or his predecessours held or possessed within Aluergne. Other articles there were which king Henrie agréed vnto sore against his will, as the deliuerie of the ladie Alice or Adela, and such other, which (as not much materiall) we passe ouer.

Rog. Houed. At Gisors saith *Ger. Dor.*

This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to méet in, about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enteruiew and talke togither so that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithstanding such thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted a sunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which mooued king Henrie the sooner to condescend to the agreement.

Strange thunder & lightning.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongst them, King Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promised to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was presented vnto him, he found his sonne John the first person that was named in that register, wherewith he was so troubled and disquieted in his mind, that comming to Chinon he felt such gréefe hereof, that he cursed euen the verie daie in which he was borne, and as was said, gaue to his sonnes Gods cursse and his, the which he would neuer release, although he was admonished to doo it both of sundrie bishops and other religious and godlie men. Thus saith Houeden.

Howbeit, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother John to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather bicause earle Richard had some suspicion, least his father would make John his heire and successour in the kingdome, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the said John.

¶ These euils were estéemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iust iudgement of God, for that being admonished diuerse waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholesome aduise of graue men, as Hugh bishop of Lincolne and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping vp sinne vpon sinne, but still wallowed therein to his owne destruction. Wherevpon being brought to such an extremitie as ye haue heard, he was taken with a greeuous sicknesse, which bringing him to vtter desperation of recouering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguish and gréefe of his late losse and troubles susteined, than by the force of his bodilie disease (as writers haue affirmed.) But howsoeuer it was, he ended his life the sixt of Julie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our sauiour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at Founteuerard, which is an abbeie situate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanson.

King Henrie departeth this life. 1189.

Immediatlie vpon his death, those that were about him, applied their market so busilie in catching and filching awaie things that laie readie for them, that the kings corps laie naked a long time, till a child couered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, and then it seemed that his surname was fulfilled that he had from his childhood, which was Shortmantell, being so called, bicause he was the first that brought short clokes out of Aniou into England. As his sonne Richard met the corps going towards the buriall, suddenlie there issued bloud out of the dead bodies nosthrilles, which was taken for a signification that it abhorred the presence of so wicked a son, which in his life time had so persecuted the father. His death was signified by a maruellous strange wounder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certeine méere or poole in Normandie, leapt foorth on land in the night season, and fought togither with such a noise, that a great

His surname whereof it came.

A strange maner of fight betwixt fishes.

multitude of men came running thither to behold the woonder, and could not find on fish aliue in the meere.

He had issue by his wife quéene Elianor (as may appeare by that which alreadie is rehearsed) foure sonnes, Henrie, Richard, Geffrey, and John, besides two other that died yoong, as some authors haue recorded: also three daughters, Maud, married vnto Henrie the duke of Saxonie; Elianor the wife of Alfonse the eight of that name king of Castile, and Joane giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. He had also two bastard sonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Geffrey. He was of bodie fleshie and strong, and could abide verie patientlie the displesures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad breast, a broken voice, and was furthermore verie spare of diet, cheefelie bicause he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exercise himselfe in hunting or trauelling abroad. He was of a good stature and verie well formed, of a comelie countenance, partlie red heared, with graie eies, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, so that he would long remember those things which he had either read, heard, or seene. He was stout of stomach, and more constant in time of aduersitie than in time of prosperitie, except at the time of his death, when being destitute in maner of all his frèends, he shewed himselfe almost in despaire. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his souldiers ouer and besides their wages.

The issue of Henrie the second. His sonnes. His daughters.

His base sons. The constitution of his bodie.

His stature.

His qualities and conditions of mind.

Moreouer, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerse his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176. there was a great dearth & scarsitie of bread in the parts of Aniou & Maine, he fed euerie daie with sufficient sustenance ten thousand persons, from the begining of Aprill, till the time that new corne was inned: and what prouision soeuer was laid vp in garners, cellers and storehouses, for the kings necessarie vses, he caused the same to be imploied towards the releefe of religious houses, and poore people. He tooke of his subiects but sildome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praised his capteins and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their losse more than he shewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of policie, that they might vnderstand that they should be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the lesse. He was somwhat learned, and also knowne to be wise.

Radulphus de Diceto.

His care to haue iustice dulie ministred in his realme was exceeding great, insomuch that finding how the shirifes were rather inclined to seeke their owne gaine, than to deale vprightlie with his subiects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their dooings, as if they had béene controllers, that they knowing how there were such appointed to haue a sound ouersight in their dealings, might be the more circumspect in their duties. He ordeined also punishments for hunters in forrests and grounds of warren, either by fining them, or by imprisonment.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, he ordeined that murtherers should suffer death by hanging: and so for other transgressours he appointed other kinds of punishments, as some to be condemned to exile, and other to losse of lims, &c.: according to the qualitie of the offense committed. And to haue the lawes dulie executed, and iustice vprightlie ministred on all hands, he was so carefull that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in roomes of iustice. And lastlie, trusting to find among the cleargie such as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for respect of feare or freendship decline from right iudgement, he chose foorth the bishops of Winchester, Elie, and Norwich to be principall iustices of the relme, so as they might end and determine all matters, except in certeine cases reserued to the hearing of the prince himselfe.

Bishops chosen principall iustices.

His vices were these, as they are remembred. In time of aduerse fortune no man could shew himselfe more courteous, gentle, méeke, and promising more largelie than he would. But when fortune once began to smile, no man was more sharpe, hard to deale with, nor more redie to breake his promise and faith. He was also partlie noted of

The vices of K. Henrie.

of couetousnesse: for although he was liberall towards souldiers and strangers, yet was he streict inough towards his owne people, and namelie towards his sonnes, which caused them to estrange themselues and their good wils from him. He was not so zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuat commoditie.

His incontinencie.

He was out of measure giuen to fleshlie lust, and satisfieng of his inordinate concupiscence. For not contented with the vse of his wife, he kept manie concubines, but namelie he delited most in the companie of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose of the world (the common people named hir Rosamund) for hir passing beautie, propernesse of person, and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and péerelesse péece in those daies. He made for hir an house at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, like a labyrinth, with such turnings and windings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, except he were instructed by the king, or such as were secret with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the quéene in the end found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had drawne after him out of hir chamber with his foot, and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that she liued not long after. She was buried in the nunrie of Goodstow beside Oxford, with these verses vpon hir toome:

Rosamund his concubine.

Hîc iacet in tumulo, Rosa mundi non Rosa munda,
Non redolet sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an English septenarie.

Ran. Higd.

Long time after the death of this damsell, in the said abbeie was shewed a cofer, that sometimes was hirs, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, skirmishing of beasts, swimming of fishes, and flieng of foules, so liuelie, that a man might woonder at the fine deuise thereof.

Moreouer, king Henrie was noted not to be so fauourable to the liberties & freedoms of the church as he might haue béene. For besides the persecuting of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, he would not suffer the legats sent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had sworne that they should doo nothing preiudiciall to the customes of his kingdome, neither by prescribing orders, nor any other maner of act or meanes. He was thought to be negligent in aiding the christian commonwealth in the holie land. For though he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in person, yet being letted by light occasions, he staied at home, and sent small reléefe thither, though he was earnestlie called vpon for the same. His estimation was such amongst forren princes, that Philip king of France being newlie entred into the gouernement of that realme after his fathers deceasse, commmitted himselfe and his kingdome to the disposition and order of king Henrie, as if he had béene regent of his realme, and gouernour of his person.

His negligence in aiding the Christians against the Saracens.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the second, diuerse honourable personages and capteins of great fame, for their approued valiancie and experience in warlike enterprises, as Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh bigot earle of Northfolke, Reignold earle of Cornewall, Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, Richard Lacie, Roger Mowbray, Rafe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun conestable of England, Ranulfe Glandeuille, William Vesey, & Bernard de Ballioll. Also there flourished in his time here in this land, men of singular learning in arts and sciences, as Nicholas Breakespeare, Serlo surnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualensis, Adam de Euesham, Thomas of Munmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Geruasius Cicestrensis, Odo Cantianus, Ealred Rhieuellensis, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Clemens Lanthoniensis, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought alias Camtus, Robert Folioth, William Ramsey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremouth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Douer, William of Peterburough, Cicerciensis, Bartholomew Iscanus, and Gilbert de Sempringham, with others.

Bale.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and mightie prince Henrie the second, I haue

haue thought good to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we find in Matthew Paris and others written of him as followeth.

Epitaphium in Henricum secundum regem mortuum & hîc sepultum.

REX Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multiplicíq; modo dúxq; comésq; fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modò sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hæc, pensa discrimina mortis, & indè
Humanæ specula conditionis habe.
Quod potes instanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Transit, & incautos mors inopina rapit.

Aliud.

TVMULI regis superscriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis,
Res breuis est ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

An epitaph vpon king Henrie the second dead and heere intoomed.

OF late king Henrie was my name,
which conquerd manie a land,
And diuerse dukedoms did possesse,
and earledoms held in hand.
And yet while all the earth could scarse
my greedie mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serues,
wherein my carcase lies.
Now thou that readest this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that serue to shew the state
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doo good then here, foreslowe no time,
cast off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full soone dooth faile,
and death dooth strike vnwares.

An other.

SMALL epitaph now serues, to decke
this toome of statelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could scarse his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that serues now life is spent.

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England tooke end, a hundred twentie two yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour; for those that reigned after this Henrie the second, we may rightlie estéeme to be Englishmen, bicause they were borne in England, and vsed the English toong, customes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the countrie.

Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Frenchmen ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of Bullongne and Henrie the second.

RICHARD THE FIRST,
Second sonne to Henrie the second.

An. Reg. 1. 1189.

Wil. Paruus.

RICHARD the first of that name, and second sonne of Henrie the second, began his reigne ouer England the sixt day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1189. in the seauen and thirteeth yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of Philip the second king of France, and king William surnamed the Lion as yet liuing in the gouernement of Scotland.

Matt. Paris.

This Richard, immediatlie after the solemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made hast to Rouen, where he was ioifullie receiued, and proclamed duke of Normandie, receiuing the inuesture according to the custome, on the twentith day of Julie. Then studieng to set all things in good order on that side the sea, he made search where his fathers treasure was preserued, and therevpon attached Stephan de Turnham, who was seneschall or gouernour (as we may call him) of Aniou, and committing him to prison, compelled him to make deliuerie of all such summes of monie as he had hid and laid vp in certeine castels by the commandement of the late king his father.

Stephan de Turnham committed to prison.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Whilest he was thus occupied, his brother John came to him, to whom he ioifullie gaue the welcome, and besides all other things which his father had bequeathed vnto him by his testament in England, amounting to the value of foure thousand pounds of yearelie rent, with the earledome of Mortaigne, he procured a marriage for him (being now a widower)

widower) for his further aduancement with the ladie Isabell, daughter to Robert earle of Glocester, which earle had appointed the said John to be his heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the archbishop of Canturburie forbad the mariage, bicause they were coosens in the third degree of consanguinitie. To Robert earle of Leicester also he restored all his lands which had béene taken from him, and such persons as his father had disherited, he restored likewise to their former rights and possessions, howbeit those had forsaken his father, and taken part with him against his said father, he séemed now so much to mislike, that he remooued them vtterlie from his presence, and contrariwise preferred such as had continued faithfull vnto his father in time of the troubles.

Isabell daughter to the earle of Glocester married to John ye kings brother.

She is named by diuerse authors Hauisia. *Matth. Paris. R. Houed.*

At length, king Richard remembring himselfe of his mother quéene Elianor, who had béene separated from the bed of hir husband for the space of sixtéene yeares, and was as yet deteined in prison in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to set hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patents, to take vpon hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his absence. The quéene being thus deliuered, and hauing now the cheefe authoritie & rule in hir hands, rode in progresse about the realme, to sée the estate thereof; and as she passed from place to place, she shewed gladsome countenance to the people wheresoeuer she came, dooing also what she could to pleasure them, that she might thereby win their good willes to hir, and to hir sonne: but speciallie remembring by hir late experience and tast thereof, what an irksome & most gréeuous thing imprisonment was, she caused the gailes to be opened, and foorthwith set no small number of prisoners at libertie by the way as she passed through the countries, according to the verse of Virgil,

Matt. Paris.

The kings mother set at libertie.

Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

In the meane time, king Richard concluding a league with Philip king of France, receiued all those places againe which were taken from his father by the same Philip, togither with his wife Adela, whom vpon suspicion that she had beene dishonested in hir person before, without anie sufficient proofe thereof had, he forsooke, & sent hir home with hir dowrie, and otherwise with great and princelie gifts, most bountifullie inriched, hauing alreadie concluded a marriage with the ladie Berengaria, daughter to Garsias king of Nauarre, who was sent into Sicill vnto hir sister Joane, that he might marrie hir there, as he passed that waie towards the holie land.

Whilest these things passed thus in these parties, the christians in the holie land dailie sent hither for aid, wherevpon the two kings of France and England tooke counsell togither, and determined with all conuenient speed to ioine their powers, & with ships prepared for that purpose to saile into Syria. Hauing thus concluded, they went about to prepare themselues of necessarie prouision for so long a iournie. Now when king Richard had set in order his affaires in Normandie and France, he came ouer into England, landing at Portesmouth the 13. of August. With him also came his brother John, vnto whom he assigned the castels of Marlebridge, Lutegareshall, Peake, Bollesour, the honor of Wallingford, Tikehill and Eie, with the earledoms of Mortaigne, Dorset, Sumerset, Notingham, Derbie, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, with the earledome of Lancaster, intituling him earle of the same, whereby he was so exalted in state and degree, that he séemed in manner of a tetrarch, hauing as it were a fourth part of the realme in gouernance: but yet the king held some of the castels (in those counties and honors thus giuen to his brother) in his owne hands. Moreouer, vnto William Marshall he gaue in mariage the daughter of Richard earle of Chepstow, togither with the earledome which hir father possessed: and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the sonne of Rainfrey he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaster. After he was landed (as before ye haue heard) he hasted to Winchester, where his mother quéene Elianor with the most part of the English nobilitie had laine a good space to attend his comming, and there on the euen of the assumption of our ladie, the king was by them receiued with great ioy and triumph.

The 2. kings of England & France determine to go into the holie land.

At Southhampton the 21 of August saith *Ger. Dor. Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris.*

¶ Here is to be noted, that whilest the quéene and lords laie in Winchester waiting for the kings arriuall, Geffrey Riddle the bishop of Elie departed this life. He is named by

Geruasius Dorobernensis the proud bishop of Elie: but he might rather haue named him the rich bishop, for he left in his cofers no small quantitie of treasure, of the which thrée thousand and two hundred marks came to the kings part towards the charges of his coronation. No maruell though Geruasius spake somewhat in his dispraise, for (as he himselfe confesseth) he was no frèend but an enimie to moonks.

But to let this passe, soone after the kings comming into England, he was informed that the Welshmen had broken into the English marshes, and destroied certeine townes; to represse whose presumptuous attempts he made towards them, but was yet staied for that time, & reuoked by his mother. At Salisburie he found his fathers treasure, highlie reioising, for that the summe was far greater than he thought it would haue prooued, for besides the pretious stones, apparell, and iewels, it was reported he had there the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds in readie coine. With this good hap king Richard not a little aduanced, came to London on the first of September, where he had appointed prouision to be made for his coronation, and so calling a councell of the Nobles of the realme, he receiued the crowne with all due and accustomed solemnitie, at the hands of Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie, the third daie of September.

His fathers treasure.

R. Houed. Gau. Vinsaf. Nic. Trivet. The second of September saith *Ger. Dor.*

At his coronation, first the archbishops of Canturburie, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, which were present, with all the other bishops, abbats and cleargie, apparelled in rich copes, and hauing the crosse, holie water and censures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the doore of his priuie chamber, and there receiuing him, they led him vnto the church at Westminster, till he came before the high altar with a solemne procession. In the middle of the bishops and cleargie went foure barons, bearing candlesticks with tapers, after whom came Geffrey de Lucie bearing the cap of maintenance, and John Marshall next to him, bearing a great and massiue paire of spurs of gold: then followed William Marshall earle of Striguill aliàs Pembroke, who bare the roiall scepter, in the top wherof was set a crosse of gold: and William de Patrike earle of Salisburie going next him, bare the warder or rod, hauing on the top thereof a doue. Then came thrée other earles, Dauid brother to the king of Scots, the earle of Huntington, John the kings brother earle of Mortaigne, and Robert earle of Leicester, ech of them bearing a sword vpright in his hand with the scabberds richlie trimmed and adorned with gold.

The order of his coronatiõ. *Matth. Paris.*

Rog. Houed.

The earle of Mortaigne went in the midst betwixt the other two. After them followed six earles and barons, bearing a checker table, vpon the which was set the kings scochens of armes, and then followed William Mandeuill earle of Albemarle, bearing a crowne of gold a great heigth before the king, who followed the same, hauing Hugh bishop of Durham on the right hand, and Reignold bishop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a canapie was borne: and in this order he came into the church at Westminster, where before the high altar in the presence of the cleargie & the people, laieng his hand vpon the holie euangelists and the relikes of certeine saincts, he tooke a solemne oth, that he should obserue peace, honour, and reuerence to almightie God, to his church, and to the ministers of the same all the daies of his life. Also that he should exercise vpright iustice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disanull all euill lawes and wrongfull customes, if anie were to be found within the precinct of his realme, and mainteine those that were good and laudable.

Rog. Houed.

The king his oth.

This doone, he put off all his garments from the middle vpwards, his shirt excepted, which was open on the shoulders, that he might be annointed. The archbishop of Canturburie annointed him then in thrée places, to wit, on the head, on the shoulders, and on the right arme, with praiers in such case accustomed. After this, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his cap aloft thereon; and then when he had put on his roiall garments and vppermost robe, the archbishop tooke vnto him the sword wherewith he should beat downe the enimies of the church; which doone, two earles put his shoes vpon his feet, and hauing his mantell put on him, the archbishop forbad him on the behalfe of almightie God, not to presume to take vpon him this dignitie, except

except he faithfullie meant to performe those things which he had there sworne to performe. Whereunto the king made answer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the king tooke the crowne beside the altar, and deliuered it to the archbishop, which he set vpon the kings head, deliuering to him the scepter to hold in his right hand, and the rod roiall in his left hand, & thus being crowned he was brought backe by the bishops and barons, with the crosse and candelsticks, and three swords passing foorth before him vnto his seat. When the bishop that sang the masse came to the offertorie, the two bishops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him backe againe.

Finallie when masse was doone, and all things ended in order as was requisit, he was brought with solemne procession into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and put on a crowne and other garments more light and easie, and so went to dinner, whereat wanted no store of meats & drinks, which were serued out in most princelie and bountifull wise.

Vpon this daie of king Richards coronation, the Jewes that dwelt in London and in other parts of the realme, being there assembled, had but sorie hap, as it chanced. For they meaning to honour the same coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honourable gift, whereby they might declare themselues glad for his aduancement, and procure his freendship towards them, for the confirming of their priuileges & liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former kings: he of a zealous mind to Christes religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting some sorcerie by them to be practised) commanded that they should not come within the church when he should receiue the crowne, nor within the palace whilest he was at dinner. *Wil. Paruus.* *Matt. Paris.*

The Jewes ment to present him with a rich gift.

But at dinner time, among other that pressed in at the palace gate, diuerse of the Jewes were about to thrust in, till one of them was striken by a christian, who alledging the kings commandement, kept them backe from comming within the palace. Which some of the vnrulie people perceiuing, and supposing it had béene doone by the kings commandement, tooke lightlie occasion thereof, and falling vpon the Jewes with staues, bats and stones, beat them and chased them home to their houses and lodgings. Héerewith rose a rumor through the citie, that the king had commanded the Jewes to be destroied, and therevpon came running togither, to assault them in their houses, which when they could not easilie breake vp nor enter, by reason the same were strongly builded, they set fire on them, so that diuers houses were consumed, not onelie of the Jewes, but also of their neighbours, so hideous was the rage of the fire. Here we see that

A Jew striken.

The people fall vpon the Jewes and beat them.

Their houses are set on fire.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

The king being aduertised of this riotous attempt of the outragious people, sent some of his councellours, as Ranulfe de Glanuille lord iustice, and other officers to appease the tumult: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their persuasions any whit reuerenced, but their thretnings rather brought themselues in danger of life among the rude sort of those that were about to spoile, rob, and sacke the houses and shops of the Jewes: to the better accomplishment of which their vnlawfull act, the light that the fire of those houses which burned, gaue after it was once night, did minister no small helpe and occasion of furtherance. The Jewes that were in those houses which were set on fire, were either smoldred and burned to death within, or else at their comming foorth most cruellie receiued vpon the points of speares, billes, swords and gleaues of their aduersaries that watched for them verie diligentlie.

Jewes burnt to death.

This outrage of the furious and disordered people continued from the middest of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other; the commons all that while neuer ceassing their furie against that nation, but still killing them as they met with any of them, in most horrible, rash and vnreasonable maner. At length, rather wearied with their cruell doings, than satisfied with spoile, or mooued with respect of reason or reuerence of their prince, they withdrew themselues from their riotous enterprise, after they had executed manie

manie vnlawfull and horrible enormities. This great riot well deserued sore and grèeuous punishment, but yet it passed ouer without correction, in respect of the great number of the transgressors, and for that the most part of men for the hatred generallie conceiued against the obstinate frowardnesse of the Jewes, liked the dooings hereof well inough, interpreting it to be a good token, that the ioifull daie of the kings aduancement to the crowne should be doi..ull vnto the Jewes, in bringing them to such slaughter and destruction. Finallie, after that the tumult was ceassed, the king commanded that no man should hurt or harm any of the Jewes, and so they were restored to peace, after they had susteined infinit damage.

¶ The occasion of this tragedie and bloudie tumult (redounding to the Jewes great vexation and pitifull distresse, but to the satisfieng of the peoples furious and vnbridled prowesse to crueltie) sprang principallie from the king, who if he had not so lightlie esteemed of the Jewes when they repaired vnto him with their present, in signe of submission and hope of obteining their sute then purposed to be exhibited; this hurlie burlie had not insued. For it was a violent example & a mightie motiue to the people to maligne the Jewes; as also a hart-grèefe to them in respect of their reiection, when the prince gaue them so discourteous a repulse. Here therefore is to be obserued, that the people is the princes ape, as one verie well saith. For looke whereto he is inclined, note wherein he delighteth; the same is the practise of the people: in consideration whereof the mightie ones of the world haue speciall cause to haue an eie to their course of life, & to set caueats before their actions, that the people may in them sée none but good signes of commendable & vertuous imitation. For

Pul. in suo sag.

——— regis imago
Vulgus, & ad mores accedere principis optat.
Qualis enim rex est talis quoque subditus illi
Esse solet populus, studijsque tenetur ijsdem.

A councell at Pipewell.

Shortlie after, to wit, the 15. day of September, a councell was holden at Pipewell, where the bishops and abbats being assembled, there were in presence of the king and of the archbishop of Canturburie elected certeine bishops and abbats to such places as then were vacant: and amongst other, William de Longchampe the kings chancellor was elected to the sée of Elie, Geffrey the kings bastard brother vnto the archbishoprike of Yorke, who was the 32. in number that had gouerned the same, Geffrey de Lucie to Winchester, one Hubert Walter to Salisburie, and Richard archdeacon of Elie, and the kings treasurer to the see of London. The abbeies that were prouided of abbats were these, Glastenburie, Shirborne, Persore and Feuersham. In like manner, John the elect of Whitherne was consecrated bishop of that see, by the hands of the archbishop of Dublin. Also in this councell the king ordeined Hugh bishop of Durham, and William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, lord chéefe iustices of England, hauing deposed Ranulfe de Glanuille from that roome.

Wil. Paruus.

The bishop of Whitherne consecrated.

Reg. Houed.

Moreouer, the king being thus established in the estate of the kingdome, did not forget his iournie which he had promised into the holie land, but with all diligence made his prouision, and namelie he sought to gather monie to furnish his charges, and so thereupon leuied a tax, engaged, sold, and let to farme his lands, tols, customs, and other his reuenewes, with certeine counties and offices, so that he made an exceeding summe of monie. He also found, that Ranulfe de Glanuille lord chéefe iustice, and other of the head magistrates had not behaued themselues vprightlie in the administration of their offices; so that he both deposed the said lord cheefe iustice as is aforesaid, and almost all the shiriffes and their deputies within the realme of England, putting them to greeuous fines for their offenses and transgressions, and so by that meanes he got no small deale of monie.

Matt. Par.

Wil. Paruus.

¶ Here note by the waie, how William Paruus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glanuille, being a man of high wisedome and stept into age, saw that manie things were doone by

by the new king, not so aduisedlie, nor with such foresight as they ought to be, sought of his owne accord to be discharged of his office, that he might the better prepare himselfe to go in that iournie to the holie land, as by taking vpon him the crosse he had vowed in the daies of king Henrie, and so he solemnelie renounced his office, which other (nothing so worthie of it) did afterwards inioy.

Moreouer, the king vnderstanding that Hugh Putsey or Pudsey bishop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he sold to him the manour of Seggesfield or Sadberge, with the wapentake belonging to the same, and also found meanes to persuade him to buy his owne prouince, which he did, giuing to the king an inestimable summe of monie, and was therevpon created an earle by the king for the same: wherevpon he was intituled both bishop and earle of Durham, whereat the king would iest afterwards and saie; "What a cunning craftesman am I, that haue made a new earle of an old bishop?" The bishop of Durham Sadberge. The bishop of Durham made an earle.

Furthermore, the same bishop gaue to the king a thousand markes to be made chéefe iustice of England, and that he might tarrie at home, and not go into the holie land. And bicause he would not be reproued of any person, he obteined of the apostolike sée (which faileth no man that is surcharged with white or red mettall, and would be eased) a licence for a summe of monie to be dispensed with for that iournie. The king thus being earnestlie bent to make commoditie of those things, for the which he might get any monie at all, the citizens of London presented vnto him a great summe towards the furnishing foorth of his enterprise. Wherevpon to acquite their courtesie, he granted them large priuileges, and ordeined that the citie should be ruled by two head officers, which they should choose amongst themselues remoueable from yeare to yeare by the name of bailiffes. The names of the two first bailiffes chosen by force of that ordinance, where Henrie Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Reiner. The citizens of London present monie to the king. *Polydor.* Liberties granted to London. Two bailiffes.

The citie before those daies euer since the comming in of William Conquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certeine officers or rulers named Port Greues (which word is deriued of two Saxon words, as Port and Greue. By Port is meant a towne, and by Greue a gardian or ruler, as who should saie, A kéeper or ruler of a towne.) These rulers whith the lawes & customes then vsed within this citie, were registered in a booke called (as some haue said) Doomesdaie, but through negligence after these lawes and customes were changed and altered, the booke was lost, so that the remembrance of such rulers as were before the daies of this Richard the first are not to be had. These bailiffes euer entred at Michaelmasse, and so continued foorth their yeare. Port Greues.

Thus began the citie first to receiue the forme and state of a common-wealth, and to be diuided into felowships, which they call crafts or corporations. Such also are admitted to the fellowships of these companies, as haue truelie serued as apprentises a certeine number of yeares, as seuen at the least, vnder which time of seruice expired, there is none made frée, nor suffered to inioy the liberties of that citie, sauing such as are borne free, that is to saie, of fréemen within the citie, of whome at this time, it is not much materiall to make any further report. The citie thus consisting of the said craftes or occupations, chooseth out of the same a senat or companie of graue councellours, whom they name Aldermen (E) changed into (A) according to the old Saxon pronuntiation. It is also diuided into 26. tribes or wards, of the which euerie one hath his seuerall Alderman, or ouerseer, who haue both authoritie sufficient, and large priuileges to mainteine the good gouernement of their portions withall. Out of the number of these, there is another officer yearelie chosen and appointed, called the Maior, who ruleth all the rest. Apprentises. Fréemen. Wards. The Maior.

But now to returne vnto the further dooings of king Richard before his departure out of England towards his iournie into the land of Palestine, commonlie called Holie land, it is said, he made such sale of things apperteining to him, as well in right of the crowne, as

as otherwise, that it séemed to diuerse he made his reckoning neuer to returne againe, in so much that some of his councellours told him plainelie, that he did not well in making things awaie so freelie, to the dishonoring of his maiestie, and preiudice of his successour; vnto whome he answered, "that in time of need it was no euill policie for a man to help himselfe with his owne," and further ioined hereto these words, "that if London at that time of néed would be bought, he would surelie sell it, if he might méet with a conuenient merchant that were able to giue him monie inough for it."

K. Richard setteth things on sale. *R. de Hegd. Wil. Paruus.*

Another way he had also to gather riches, and that was this. He had a licence of pope Innocent the third, to dispense with such as pleased him within his realme, for their vowes made to go into the holie land, although they had taken on them the crosse for that purpose, namelie such as he should appoint to remaine behind him for the defense of his countrie: and of these also he tooke abundantlie, and diuerse other he compelled to fine, namelie, to the end that he might get their monie likewise, that hereby he obteined no small summe toward the furniture of his iournie. But both pope & prince forgat in the meane while, that

Boni pastoris est tondere pecus non excoriare.

This yeare also in the moneth of Nouember, as Matthew Paris saith, Johannes de Anagnia a cardinall and legat from the pope arriued here in England, comming on land at Douer, and bicause the king was as then in the north parts, the same cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the kings mother quéene Elianor, to passe any further without the kings commandement. And so he staied there thirtéene daies at the charges of the archbishop of Canturburie, till the king came to those parties, by whose wisedome a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuersie betwixt the archbishop, and the moonkes of Canturburie, for the chappell church of Hakington now called S. Stephans.

R. Houed. In the same moneth of Nouember, by the kings appointment, Geffrey the elect of Yorke, who was the kings brother, with other barons and lords of Yorkeshire, receiued William king of Scots. A councell called at Canturburie. *Polydor.* An oth. *Matth. Paris.* William king of Scotland at the water of Tweed, and from thence with all due reuerence and honour they brought him vnto Canturburie, where the king had called a councell of the lords of his realme both spirituall and temporall, in the which euerie of them tooke an oth to be true to the king, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, which oth also the king of Scots receiued, being there present, and likewise king Richards brethren earle John and Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. The king of Scots therefore hauing receiued this oth, and thinking the time to serue his purpose for redéeming of those castels, which were deliuered to king Henrie as gages for his ransome, paid now vnto king Richard ten thousand markes, and had restitution for the same, that is of Berwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus saieth, that Edenburgh was restored to him in the daies of king Henrie, by reason of his wife which he tooke in the parties beyond the seas: and herewith agréeth the Scotish chronicle. King Richard also assigned to queene Elianor his mother, the accustomed dower, with manie lordships and honours beside, as an augmentation thereof. About which time died William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putsey the nephue of the bishop of Durham died at Aclet, and was buried at Durham. Also Formalis archbishop of Trier died at Northampton, and was there buried in the church of S. Andrews.

Restitution made to the K. of Scots. *Wil. Paruus.*

Rog. Houed.

N. Trivet.

In the meane time, king Richard still desirous to furnish himselfe with monie, deuised yet another shift, and feigned that he had lost his seale; wherefore he commanded a new to be made, which being doone, he caused it to be proclaimed and published in euerie countrie, that those to whome he had granted any thing by his déed or charter, meaning to inioy the same in suretie, should not thinke it much to come and haue it confirmed by his new seale, least afterward the other being lost, their lawfull titles might be called into question. Whereupon manie that could not come to him whilest he was in England,

Matth. Paris.

land, were glad to follow him, and saile ouer into Normandie, and there to fine at his pleasure for the new seale, to the end that their writings might be confirmed thereby, and made so much the more sure to them and their successours. For the same businesse also Remigius the prior of S. Albons, and manie other went ouer to their great costs, charges, and trauell, after he was transported into France.

I find moreouer about the same time, that the kings brother earle John exhibited a sore complaint against the Romane legat and other bishops, for that the archbishop of Canturburie, after the appeale made vnto the apostolike sea, had put his lands vnder interdiction for his mariage made with the earle of Glocesters daughter: which when the legat heard, he foorthwith confirmed the appeale, and released the earles lands of the aforesaid interdiction. The same time also, the tenth part of all the moueable goods thorough the realme of England was leuied to the aid of the warres in the holie land. And this collection passing vnder the name of an almes, was extended vpon the goods as well of the spirituall men as temporall.

Hugh bishop of Durham gouerneth the north parts. *Matth. Paris.*

After all this, K. Richard desirous to set order in the gouernment of his realme, appointed Hugh bishop of Durham to haue the rule of the north parts as cheefe iustice from Humber northwards toward Scotland, deliuering vnto him also the keeping of Winchester castell: the residue of the kingdome (with the custodie of the towre) he assigned to the gouernance of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, whome he had made cheefe iustice of that part, and chancellour of the realme, a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, but verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches farre aboue all measure. And with these two he ioined in commission Hugh Bardulfe, William Marshall earle of Chepstow, or rather Penbrooke, Geffrey Fitz-Peter, & William Brewer, men of great honour, wisedome, and discretion.

William Lõgchampe bishop of Elie.

R. Houed. King Richard passeth ouer into Normandie. 1190.

On the fift day of December, he departed from Canturburie, and went to Douer, there to take water, and so on the eleuenth day of December he passed ouer vnto Calice, where he found Philip earle of Flanders readie to receiue him, who attended vpon him till he came into Normandie, where the king held his Christmas at Burun, and immediatlie he came to an enteruiew with the French king at Gue S. Remige, where they concluded peace togither, to be kept betwixt them & their countries on ech part; the which was put in writing, and confirmed with their oths and seales in the feast of saint Hilarie.

Vadum sancti Remigij. A league betwixt ye kings of England and France.

Furthermore, about the purification of our ladie, Elianor the quéene mother, and the ladie Alice sister to the French king, Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, John bishop of Norwhich, Hugh bishop of Durham, Geffrey bishop of Winchester, Reignold bishop of Bath, William Bishop of Elie, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, and Hugh bishop of Chester, with Geffrey the elect of Yorke and John earle of Mortaigne the kings two brethren, by commandement of the king passed ouer into Normandie, to commen with him before his setting forward. *R. Houed.*

¶ Some write, that now at this present, the king should ordeine or rather confirme the bishop of Elie his chancellour to be lord chéefe iustice ouer all England, and the bishop of Durham to be lord iustice from Trent northwards. But whensoeuer they were thus aduanced to such dignities, howsoeuer they came by them, directlie or indirectlie, true it is, that immediatlie therevpon, strife and discord did arise betwixt them: for waxing proud and insolent, they disdained ech other, contending which of them should bare most rule and authoritie, insomuch that whatsoeuer séemed good to the one, the other misliked, as in cases were parteners in authoritie are equall, it often happeneth. The like hereof is noted before betwéene the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke in diuerse kings reignes. For the nature of ambition is to delight in singularitie, to admit no peere, to giue place to no superior, to acknowledge no equall. Hereto alludeth the poet verie neatlie, and exemplifieth it in the old Romans, the order of whose actions is

Contention betwixt two ambitious bishops.

continued at this day, as by the words insuing may be gathered, and ordinarilie obserued booth here and elsewhere;

M. Pal. in sua virg.

——— olim
Romulidæ orabant, iacto post terga pudore
Plebeios, quoties suffragia venabantur,
Cerdonúmq; animos precibus seruilibus atq;
Turpibus obsequijs captabant, muneribúsq;
Vt proprijs rebus cúrarent publica omissis:
Pérq; forum medium multis comitantibus irent,
Inflati vt vento folles, ac fronte superba, &c.

Moreouer, at the same time he caused his two brethren, earle John, and Geffrey the eleet archbishop of Yorke to take an oth not to returne into England during the terme of thrée yeares next insuing, without his consent and licence first had. This he did, foreséeing what might happen, prouiding as it were against such practises as his brethren might happilie attempt against him. But yet his mother quéene Elianor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatlie, least it might seeme to the world, that hir sonnes should stand in feare one of another. And so the earle of Mortaigne was licenced to returne into England at his pleasure, swearing an oth at his departure to obeie the kings beheast, and truelie to serue him, according to the dutie of a good and loiall subiect. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour and cheefe iustice of England was also sent backe hither into this realme, to set forward things behoouefull for the kings iournie.

Earle John licenced to returne into England.

The bishop of Elie returneth

In like maner the king sent to Rome to obteine that the said bishop of Elie might be constituted the popes legat through both the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke, and likewise through Wales and Ireland. Which was soone granted by the bulles of pope Clement the third, bearing date the 5. of June. For the which office the bishops gaue him 1500. marks, to the great offense of the king, as he shewed afterward to cardinall Octauian that came to visit him when he arriued in the riuer of Tiber, being vpon his iourneie towards Messina, as after may appeare. But in the meane time, calling togither the lords and peeres of those his dominions on that side the sea, to wit, Normandie, Britaine, Aniou, Poitou, and Guien, he consulted with them what number of soldiors and how manie ships it should be conuenient for him to take with him and furnish into Asia: and herewith he did command them also to obeie Robert earle of Leicester, whome he appointed to remaine amongst them as his lieutenant or vicegerent of those parts during his absence.

Polydor.

¶ But here to leaue king Richard in consultation for matters apperteining to his iournie, and shew briefflie what happened (by the waie) to the Jewes, which as then dwelt heere in England, after that king Richard was passed ouer into Normandie: ye haue heard how after the riot against them at London, when the king was crowned, he tooke order that they should remaine in peace vnder his protection, and commanded that no person should in anie wise molest them. But now after that he was gone ouer, and that the souldiers (which prepared themselues to follow him) began to assemble in routs, the heads of the common people began to wax wild, and faine would they haue had some occasion of raising a new tumult against the Jewes, whome (for their vnmercifull vsurie practised to the vndooing of manie an honest man) they most deadlie hated, wishing most earnestlie their expulsion out of England. Hervpon by reason of a riot committed latelie against them, at the towne of Lin in Norfolke, where manie of them were slaine, other people in other parts of the realme, taking occasion hereat, as if they had béene called vp by the sound of a bell or trumpet, arose against them in those townes where they had any habitations, and robbed and bet them after a disordered and most riotous maner.

W. Paruus.

The hatred borne to the Jewes.

As at Stamford (on the faire day in Lent) at Lincolne, and at Yorke, in which citie after

Iohn Textor.

after a number of them had béene besieged certeine daies within a towre of the kings (whither they fled for succour) one of their learned gouernours caused foure hundred of their companie to consent to haue their throts cut one at an others hands, he himselfe cutting his wiues throt first, whose name was Anna, then his childrens, one after another, and last of all slue himselfe onelie rather than he would fall into the hands of the christians, that had thus long besieged them. The rest perceiuing what their great Rabbi had doone, set fire vpon all their goods and substance, which they had gotten into the tower with them, and so consuming the same, would haue burnt also the residue of their fellowes which would not agrée to the Rabbies counsell, in the cruell murthering of themselues, if they had not taken a strong turret hard by within that tower, and defended themselues both from the fire and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaie themselues in such manner as I haue said: and that to the number of foure hundred, or (as some write) fiue hundred at the least. Fiue hundred saith *Houeden* and *Textor*.

On the morow, those that were saued, called out to the people, and not onelie shewed how and after what sort their fellowes were dispatched, but also offered to be baptised, and forsake their Judaisme, if they might haue their liues saued from the imminent & present danger wherein they saw themselues to be wrapped, through the furie of the people. To be short, this thing was granted, and they came foorth, howbeit they were no sooner entred into the prease, but they were all slaine, and not one man of them preserued.

After this also, the people ran to the cathedrall church, and broke into those places where their bonds and obligations laie, by the which they had diuerse of the kings subiects bound vnto them in most vnconscionable sort, and for such detestable vsurie as (if the authors that write thereof were not of credit) would hardlie be beleeued. All which euidences or bonds they solemnelie burned in the middest of the church. After which, ech went his waie, the souldiers to the king, and the commons to their houses, and so was the citie quieted. This happened at Yorke on Palmesundaie eeue, being the 17. of March: and vpon the 15. of that moneth, those that inhabited in the towne of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, were set vpon, and manie of them slaine. The residue that escaped, through the procurement of the abbat then named Samson, were expelled, so that they neuer had anie dwellings there since that time.

Thus were the Jewes vnmercifullie dealt with in all places in maner through this realme, the first beginning whereof chanced at London (as before ye haue heard) and the next at Lin, of which I thinke it good to note some part of the maner therof, although breeflie, and so to returne to my purpose. The occasion therefore of the tumult at Lin chanced by this meanes: it fortuned that one of the Jewes there was become a christian, wherewith those of his nation were so mooued, that they determined to kill him where soeuer they might find him. And herevpon they set vpon him one daie as he came by, through the streets: he to escape their hands fled to the next church; but his countriemen were so desirous to execute their malicious purpose, that they followed him still, and inforced themselues to breake into the church vpon him. Herewith the noise being raised by the christians that sought to saue the conuerted Jew, a number of mariners being forreners, that were arriued there with their vessells out of sundrie parts, and diuerse also of the townesmen came to the rescue, and setting vpon the Jewes, caused them to flee into their houses.

The townesmen were not verie earnest in pursuing of them, bicause of the kings proclamation and ordinance before time made in fauour of the Jewes: but the mariners followed them to their houses, slue diuerse of them, robbed and sacked their goods, and finallie set their dwellings on fire, and so burnt them vp altogither. These mariners being inriched with the spoile of the Jewes goods, and fearing to be called to accompt for their vnlawfull act by the kings officers, got them foorthwith to shipboord, and hoising vp sailes, departed with their ships to the sea, and so escaped the danger of that which The slaughter made of the Jewes at Lin.

which might haue béene otherwise laid to their charge. The townesmen being called to an accompt excused themselues by the mariners, burdening them with all the fault. But although they of Lin were thus excused, yet they of Yorke escaped not so easilie. For the king being aduertised of such outrage, doone contrarie to the order of his lawes and expresse commandement, wrote ouer to the bishop of Elie his chancellour, charging him to take cruell punishment of the offendors.

The bishop with an armie went to Yorke, but the cheefe authors of the riot hearing of his comming, fled into Scotland: yet the bishop at his comming to the citie, caused earnest inquirie to be made of the whole matter. The citizens excused themselues, & offered to proue that they were not of counsel with them that had committed the riot, neither had they aided nor comforted them therein an anie maner of wise. And in déed the most part of them that were the offendors, were of the countries and townes néere to the citie, with such as were crossed into the holie land, and now gone ouer to the king, so that verie few or none of the substantiall men of the citie were found to haue ioined with them. Howbeit this would not excuse the citizens, but that they were put to their fine by the stout bishop, euerie of them paieng his portion according to his power and abilitie in substance, the common sort of the poore people being pardoned, and not called into iudgement, sith the ringleaders were fled and gone out of the waie: and thus much by waie of digression touching the Jews.

The citizens of Yorke put to their fine for slaughter of the Jewes.

Now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane time was verie busie to prouide all things necessarie to set forward on his iournie; his ships which laie in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, being readie to put off, he tooke order in manie points concerning the state of the common-wealth on that side, and chéefelie he called to mind, that it should be a thing necessarie for him, to name who should succeed him in the kingdome of England, if his chance should not be to returne againe from so long and dangerous a iournie. He therefore named (as some suppose) his nephue Arthur, the sonne of his brother Geffrey duke of Britaine, to be his successour in the kingdome, a yoong man of a likelie proofe and princelie towardnesse, but not ordeined by God to succéed ouer this kingdome.

Matt. West.

About the same time the bishop of Elie, lord chancellour and cheefe iustice of England, tooke vp to the kings vse, of euerie citie in England two palfries and two sumpter horsses, & of euerie abbeie one palfrie and one sumpter horsse, & euerie manour within the realme found also one palfrie and one sumpter horsse. Moreouer, the said bishop of Elie, deliuered the gouernement of Yorkeshire to his brother Osbert de Longchampe: and all those knights of the said shire, the which would not come to make answer to the law vpon summons giuen them, he commanded to be apprehended and by and by cast in prison. Also when the bishop of Durham was returned from the king and come ouer into England to go vnto his charge, at his meeting with the lord chancellour at Elie (notwithstanding that he shewed him his letters patents of the grant made to him to be iustice from Trent northward) the said lord chancellour taking his iournie to Southwell with him, there deteined him as prisoner, till he had made surrender to him of the castell of Windsor, & further had deliuered to him his sonnes, Henrie de Putsey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he should keepe the peace against the king and all his subiects, vntill the said prince should returne from the holie land. And so he was deliuered for that time, though shortlie after, and whilest he remained at Houeden, there came to him Osbert de Longchampe the lord chancellours brother, and William de Stuteuille, the which caused the said bishop to find sufficient suretie that he should not thence depart without the kings licence, or the lord chancellors, so long as the king should be absent. Herevpon the bishop of Durham sent knowledge to the king how and in what sort he had béene handled by the chancellor.

The bishop of Durham restreined of libertie.

In the meane time the king was gone into Gascoigne, where he besieged a castell that belonged to one William de Chisi, and tooke both the castell and the owner, whome he caused

William de Chisi.

caused to be hanged for the spoiles and robberies which he had committed vpon pilgrims that passed by those parts toward Compostella, to visit the bodie of saint James. After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there tooke order for the setting foorth of his nauie by sea, ouer which he appointed chéefe gouernours Gerard archbishop of Aux, Bernard bishop of Baieux, Robert de Sablius, Richard be Camuille, and William de Fortz de Vlerun, commanding all those that should passe foorth with his said nauie, to be obedient vnto these persons as his deputies and lieutenants. Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to serue all those that should go by sea for the space of 60. daies. The kings nauie is set foorth. Baion. Sablius, or Sabuille.

The king also made the same time certeine ordinances to be obserued among the seafaring men which tended to this effect: *Polydor.*

1 First, that if any man chanced to slea an other on the shipboord, he should be bound to the dead bodie and so throwne into the sea. Sleiers of men.

2 Secondlie, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quicke togither.

3 Thirdlie, if any man should be conuicted by lawfull witnesse, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw bloud of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand. Brallers. Punishment for blooddrawers.

4 Fourthlie, if he gaue but a blowe with his fist without bloudshedding, he should be plunged three seuerall times ouer head and eares in the water.

5 Fifthlie, if any man reuiled another, he should for euerie time so misusing himselfe, forfeit an ounce of siluer. Reuilers.

6 Sixtlie, that if anie man were taken with theft or pickerie, and thereof conuicted, he should haue his head polled, and hot pitch powred vpon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be knowne for a theefe, and at the next arriuall of the ships to any land, be put foorth of the companie to seeke his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes. Theft and pickerie.

These were the statutes which this famous prince did enact at the first for his nauie, which sithens that time haue been verie much inlarged. About the same time John Bishop of Whiterne in Scotland, suffragane to the church of Yorke, ordeined Geffrey archbishop of Yorke, préest. At the same season also the election of the same Geffrey was confirmed by pope Clement, who among other things that he wrote to the chapiter of Yorke on his behalfe, in the end he addeth these words: "We do therefore admonish you all, and by the apostolicall bulles command you, that you exhibit both reuerence and honour vnto him as vnto your prelat, that thereby you may appeare commendable both before God and man. Giuen at Lateran in the nones of March and third yeare of our gouernment." *Wil. Parua.*

Whilest these things were in dooing, there came into France legats from the said Clement, to mooue the two kings to make all the spéed possible towards their iourneie, bicause of the great danger wherein things stood in Palestine, requiring present helpe. Hereupon king Richard (his men and prouision being readie) commanded that his ships should set forward, & to coast about by the streicts of Giberalterre to come vnto Marseilles, where he appointed to méet them, and so with a chosen companie of men he also set foorth thitherwards by land, and comming to Towrs, receiued the scrip and staffe as a pilgrime should, at the hands of the archbishop there. *Polydor.* King Richard set forward on his iourneie. *Rog. Houed.*

After this, both the kings of England and France met at Vizeley in the octaues of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, and when they had remained there two daies they passed foorth to the citie of Lion; where the two kings departed in sunder, and each one kept his iournie, the one toward Guenés, where his nauie was appointed to come to him, and the other to Marseilles, there to méet with his fléet, according to his appointment. But the English ships being let and staied by the way by contrarie winds and rigorous tempests, which tossed them them to and fro vpon the coasts of Spaine, could not come in any An. Reg. 2. The English fléet staied by contrarie winds.

Twentie gallies & twelue other vessels saith *Houed.* Vpon the seauenth day of August saith *Houeden.* *Rog. Houed.*

any conuenient time vnto Marseilles, so that king Richard thinking long to tarrie for them, & perceiuing they could not kéepe their appointed time, he hired ships from all places thereabouts, and embarking himselfe and his men in the same, vpon saint Laurence euen, sailed foorth towards Sicile, where he was appointed to méet with king Philip.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourneie from Marseilles to Messina by sea, but sundrie times comming on land, hired horsses, and rode foorth alongst the coast, appointing with his ships and gallies where to meet him, and sometimes he rested certeine daies togither in one place or other as at Portdelphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Ranulfe de Glanuille, the which taking vpon them to go before, with prosperous wind and weather in short space landed at Acon, which was then besieged, as you shall heare hereafter.

King Richard blameth the court of Rome for couetousnesse.

At Rome the king came not, but being within the streame of the riuer of Tiber, there came to him a cardinall named Octauianus, bishop of Hostia, to whome he spake manie reprochfull words of the couetousnesse vsed in the court of Rome (a vice reputed the common nurse of all mischéefes, as one verie well noteth,

Vbi auaritia est, habitant fermè omnia ibidem
Flagitia, impietas, periuria, furta, rapinæ,
Fraudes atq; doli, insidiæq; & proditiones,
Iurgia & infandæ cædes, &c.)

Bicause they had receiued seauen hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Mauns, and 1500. marks for the confirming of the bishop of Elie the popes legat. And againe no small summe of monie they had receiued of the archbishop of Burdeaux, when vpon an accusation brought against him by the cleargie of his prouince he should haue béene deposed. In the meane time whiles king Richard thus passed forward towards Messina, the nauie that was appointed to coast about Spaine and to méet him at Marseilles, was tossed (as before is said) with wind and tempests, and a part thereof, that is, to wit, ten ships driuen here and there on the coasts of Spaine, of which number nine arriued at Lisbone and the tenth being a ship of London arriued at the citie of Sylua, which was then the vttermost citie of Spaine, that was inhabited with christians.

The Saracens at that time made warres against the king of Portingale, so that the Portingales stood in néed of aid, in so much that they of Sylua did not onelie intreat the Englishmen to staie with them for a time, but also got grant of them to breake their ship, with the timber whereof they might the better fortifie their towne, promising that their king should recompense them with an other as good as theirs, and also further satisfie them for their seruice, during the time of their abode there in defense of that citie. Likewise of those that arriued at Lisbone there went to the number of fiue hundred vnto saint Iranes, where the king of Portingale then was, looking to be assaulted by his enimies: but by the counterfet death of the great K. of the Saracens named Boiac Almiramumoli (who feared these new succours, and doubted the sequele of his dooings, to the end he might depart with honour, he fained himselfe dead) the king of Portingale was for that time presentlie deliuered out of danger.

The king of Portingale. Almiramumoli king of the Saracens.

Herevpon he returned to Lisbone, where he found three score and three other ships of king Richards nauie there newlie arriued, ouer the which were chéefe capteins Robert de Sabuuille, and Richard de Camuille: which at their comming to land could not so gouerne their people, but that some naughtie fellowes amongst them fell to breaking and robbing of orchards: some also entring into the citie, behaued themselues verie disorderlie. But yet by the comming of the king, their lewdnesse was staied, so that he séemed not to séeke reuenge of the pilgrims, but rather with courteous meanes to bridle their vnlawfull attempts: whereunto the diligence of the English capteines not a little preuailed

Robert de Sabuuille. Richard de Camuille.

for

for a while, but yet for all that could be done on both sides, within three daies after, a new tumult was raised betwixt the English pilgrims and the townesmen, and diuerse hurt and killed on either part.

A tumult betwixt the Englishmen and the townsmen of Lisbone.

Wherevpon the king caused the gates of the citie to be shut, and all those that were come from the ships into the citie to eat and drinke (being in number about seauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to ward: and before they could be released, sir Robert Sabuuille and sir Richard Camuille were glad to agree with the king, so as all former offenses being remitted, and things taken by either part restored, the Englishmen promised to obserue the peace against the king of Portingale and his people; and he likewise couenanted for him and his subiects, that they should keepe the peace against all pilgrims that went foorth in this voiage, and vse them like his freends, and thus the quarell ceased.

Englishmen committed to prison.

The English ships meet together.

Soone after, the English nauie departed from Lisbone, and came into the mouth of the riuer of Taie, betweene Caperico and Belem, where the same daie on saint James eeue the lord William de Forzdulerun arriued also with three and thirtie other ships, and so then they were in all about an hundred and six sailes verie well furnished and manned, and so from thence taking their course towards Marseilles, finallie they arriued there in the octaues of the assumption of our ladie; and staieng there an eight daies (till they had repaired such things about their ships as were needfull) they set forward againe, and came to Messina in Sicile in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse. On the sunday following also came the French king thither, hauing lost no small part of his nauie by tempests of weather.

They arriue at Messina.

King Richard as then remained at Salern, and hearing that his nauie was gone towards Messina, he departed thence on the thirteenth day of September, and hasted forth towards Messina, passing by Melphi and Cocenza, and so at length comming to Faro de Messina, he passed the same, and on the 23. day of September arriued at Messina with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, to the woonder of the French king and others that beheld his great puissance and roiall behauiour now at this comming. The same time he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their businesse: and immediatlie the French king tooke the sea, in purpose to haue passed forward on his iournie but by contrarie wind he was staied and kept backe within the hauen, wherevpon both the kings determined to winter there, and in the meane time to prouide themselues of all things necessarie for their iournie, against the beginning of the next spring. On the 30. of September he receiued his sister the quéene of Sicile, the widow of William late king of that Ile, whome he placed in a strong fortresse, which he tooke the same day, and left therein a conuenient garison of men of armes and demilances for the safegard of the place and of his said sister.

K. Richard arriueth at Messina.

¶ But now for the better vnderstanding of the cause of such quarelling as fell out betwixt the Englishmen and the Sicilians, yée shall vnderstand that a little before the arriuall of the kings of England and France in those parts, king William of Sicile was departed this life, leauing no issue behind him. Wherevpon the lords of the Ile elected one Tancred to their king, a bastard sonne of Roger sometime king of that land, and grandfather to this last deceased king William. This Tancred though he receiued king Richard verie courteouslie: yet he greatlie trusted him not, bicause he demanded the dowrie of his sister quéene Joane, wife to the late king William to be restored, whereas he had not readie monie to discharge it.

Achaire of gold.

K. Richards demands for the dowrie of his sister wife to K. William.

Furthermore to depart with the citie of Mount saint Angelo, with all the countrie therevnto belonging, which was indéed assigned to him for his dowrie, he thought in no wise profitable: but king Richard did not onelie require that citie and countie with a chaire of gold, according to the custome of that kingdome in right of his sister, as due to hir by way of hir dowrie, but also he required to his owne vse a table of gold conteining twelue foot in length, and one foot and a halfe in breadth, & two tressels of gold to

beare vp the same table, with 24. siluer cups, and as manie dishes of siluer, with a tent of silke of such largenesse that two hundred knights might sit at meat within it: also fortie thousand measures of wheat, with as manie of barlie, and as manie of wine, beside one hundred armed gallies, with all furniture and vittels sufficient to serue the gallie-men in the same for the terme of two yeares. These things he demanded as due to him being heire to his father king Henrie, accordinglie as was deuised by king William in his last will and testament, which demands seemed intollerable to the said Tancred: so that if he could haue shifted the matter, he was loth to haue heard thereof.

Moreouer, bicause pope Clement in right of the church pretended a title to the realme of Sicile, now that king William was dead without heires, he doubted of some practise that might be made against him betwixt king Richard and the pope. Wherevpon he thought to prouide against all attempts that might be made, fortifieng his townes & castels with strong garisons, and tooke counsell with the citizens of Messina, by what meanes he might soonest dispatch his countrie of that present danger, and procure K. Richard to get him forward on his iournie.

Whilest these things were in hand, there was ministred to the English men occasion of displeasure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an armie is) certeine of the vnrulie souldiers within Messina vsed themselues somewhat riotouslie, wherevpon the citizens offended therewith, got them to armour, and chased all the souldiers out of the citie. King Richard who laie in campe without the walles néere to the citie, was so highlie displeased herewith, that he caused his men to arme themselues, and to prepare ladders and other necessarie things to assault the citie: but by the mediation of the French king & curteous excuse of king Tancred (alledging the fault to rest onelie in a sort of rude citizens, whome he promised to punish) the matter was taken vp, and staied for a time, till at length it was perceiued, that the Sicilians subtilie went about to feed king Richard with faire words, till he should be readie to set forwards on his iournie, and so should the matter passe without further punishment.

K. Richard assalteth and entreth the citie by force.

Herevpon king Richard, not minding to be so mocked at their hands, approched one daie to the wals and gates with his armie in good araie of battell to giue the assault, which was doone so earnestlie, and so well mainteined, that finallie the citie was entred by force, and manie of the citizens slaine, but the slaughter had béene much greater, if king Richard had not commanded his men to spare the sword, mooued with the lamentable noise of poore people crieng to him for mercie and grace. The Englishmen hauing got possession of the citie pight vp the banners with the armes of the king of England round about the wals, wherewith the French king was sore displeased, and required that the same might be taken downe, and his set vp: but the king of England would not so agrée. Neuerthelesse to pacifie the French kings mood, he deliuered the citie of Messina into the custodie of the knights Templers and Hospitalers, till he might be satisfied of such things as he demanded of king Tancred.

The two kings of England and France receiue a solemne oth.

After this on the 8. daie of October, the two kings of England and France, before a great number of earles, barons, and others, both of the cleargie and temporaltie, tooke their solemne othes, that the one should defend the other, and also either others armie in this iournie, both comming and going, without fraud or deceipt: and the like oth was receiued by the earles and barons on both parties. Then the two kings by aduise and consent of both their armies deuised these ordinances.

Ordinances deuised.

1 That all pilgrims which chanced to die in this iournie might dispose at their pleasure all their armour, horsses, and apparell, and halfe of those things which they had with them, so that they sent nothing home into their countries, and the other halfe should be at the discretion of Walter archbishop of Rouen, Manser bishop of Langres, of the maister of the temple, and of the maister of the Hospitall, of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucie, of Drogo de Marlow, of Robert Sabuill, Andrew de Chauennie, and of

of Gilbert Wascoile, which should imploie the same towards the support of the wars in the holie land against the infidels as they thought most expedient.

2 That no man should plaie at anie game within the armie for monie, except knights and chapleins, the which should not loose in one daie and night aboue 20 shillings, they to forfeit an 100 shillings so oft as they lost aboue that summe: the persons aforenamed to haue the same to be distributed as afore is said. The two kings might plaie, and command their seruants in their presence likewise to plaie, so that they exceeded not the summe of 20 shillings. And also the seruants of archbishops, bishops, earles and barons, by their maisters commandement might play, not exceeding that summe: but if anie seruants or mariners, or other of like degrée, were found to play without licence, the seruants should be whipped naked three daies round about the campe, except they ransomed foorth themselues, at the pleasure of the persons aboue named: and the mariners should be plunged ouer head and eares in the sea three mornings togither, after the vse of seamen, except they redeem that punishment, at the discretion likewise of the said persons: and those of other like meane degrées being neither knights nor chapleins should be punished as seruants. Plaie forbidden.

3 That if anie pilgrime borrowed anie thing of an other whilest he was on his iournie, he should be bound to paie it: but if he borrowed it before his setting foorth, he was not bound to answer it till his returne home. Borrowing.

4 That if anie mariner or seruant, reteined in wages with anie man in this iournie, departed from his master without licence, no other person might receiue him, and if he did, he should be punished at the discretion of the forenamed persons. Souldiers or mariners departing from their masters.

5 That no vitteler or other should buy any bread to sell againe, nor any meale within the compasse of the campe, except the same were brought by a stranger, neither might they buy any paast or other thing to sell againe in the campe, or within a league of it. Vittelers.

6 That if anie man bought corne wherof to make bread, it was appointed how much he should gaine in one measure beside the bran.

7 That other occupiers, which vsed buieng and selling of wares, should gaine one penie in 10 pence, neither should anie man refuse anie of the kings coine, except it were broken within the circle.

8 That no man should buy anie flesh to sell it againe, except a liuing beast, which he should kill within the campe.

9 That no man should make bread to sell, but after the rate of penie loaues. Wherin the penie English was appointed to go for foure pence Aniouine. All these ordinances with other were decreed and ordeined to be obserued and kept by the counsell, consent, and agreement of the kings of England, France, and Sicile.

But to returne now to the dissention betwixt the Englishmen and them of Messina: ye shall vnderstand that the tumult being once ceassed, and diuerse of the chéefe offendors in the late commotion put to death, king Tancred shortlie after came thither, and sought to auoid all suspicion out of king Richards head, that he might conceiue of him for béeing in anie wise culpable in that which his subiects of Messina had attempted against him, and therefore hauing recouered monie of his freends, he restored vnto king Richard the dowrie of his sister quéene Joane, and further offered vnto him to ioine in new alliance with him, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur duke of Britaine, the kings nephue, with a great summe of monie for hir dowrie, if it so should please him. Polydor.

King Richard accepted the offer, and so ioined in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicile, receiuing of him twentie thousand ounces of gold for the same mariage to be had, and an honorable dowrie assigned foorth of the lands that belonged to the said Arthur for the said ladie to inioy during hir life, in case she suruiued hir husband. And if it so chanced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then

should king Richard restore the same twentie thousand ounces of gold againe. But beside these twentie thousand ounces of gold thus giuen by king Tancred for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thousand ounces to king Richard for an acquitance and quite claime of all manner of duties, rights, and demands, which either he or his sister might pretend, either by reason of anie bequest, dowrie, or anie other manner of waie.

Here is to be noted, that before this conclusion of peace was had, king Richard prouided for his owne defense, in case that king Tancred and his people would haue attempted force against him, in so much that he fortified certeine places, and built a strong castell aloft vpon the top of an hill fast by Messina, which castell he called Mategriffon. Also whereas the admirall of Sicile called Margaret, and one Jordane del Poine, men of great authoritie vnder king Tancred, fled out of Messina with all their families and riches, which they had either in gold or siluer, king Richard seized vpon their houses, their gallies, and possessions, so that he made himselfe as strong as he could, to resist all attempts that might be made against him by his enimies. But now to procéed.

The variance being thus appeased betwixt them, great discord chanced to arise betwixt king Richard and king Philip, who was much offended with king Richard, for that he had thus vsed violence against them of Messina, and compelled king Tancred to agrée with him for monie, to the great offense and breach of the lawes of Herberrough, sith the Sicilians verie liberallie aided and furnished the christians armie with vittels and necessarie prouisions. The Frenchmen also had much enuie thereat, that shorthe after vpon a small occasion they picked a quarell against the Englishmen, and from words fell to strokes on both sides, so that there had beene much hurt & slaughter committed, if the two kings had not doone their best to appease the fraie begun.

The lawes of Herberrough.

Englishmen and Frenchmen fought.

Discord in an armie the hinderer of all profitable enterprises.

But this businesse though it was quietlie as then taken vp and staied, yet bred it such displeasure betwixt the princes and their people, that it turned to the great hurt and hinderance of their good proceedings in their whole enterprise, so that the occasion of a full and perfect victorie easilie slipped out of their hands, as you shall heare hereafter.

An other also of the chéefest causes of grudge betwixt the two kings was, for that king Richard in familiar talke confessed vnto king Philip, that he would marie the king of Nauarres daughter, and cléerelie forsake his sister Adela: which gréeued king Philip not a little, though he dissembled the matter for a time, and rather alledged other causes of displeasure, wherewith to defame king Richard to the world, as one that sought his owne commoditie in spoiling those whom he ought rather to haue defended. But to proceed.

Whilest the English and French armies thus soiourned all the winter time in Sicile, notwithstanding the troubles aforesaid, to the hinderance of king Richards purposes, for the making of his prouisions readie for his iournie, he yet caused engins to be framed, his ships to be newlie calked, rigged and repaired of such hurts as they had receiued both in their long voiage which they had made, and also by certeine wormes, the which during their lieng there, had in diuerse places gnawne and eaten them through to the great danger of their losse, and vtter decaie. Moreouer at the same time he pardoned all wrecks by sea through all his dominions, releasing for euer all his right to the same, in such wise that euerie person making wrecke by sea, and comming aliue to land, should haue all his goods frée and cleare to himselfe. Furthermore he decréed, that if he chanced to perish in the ship, then his sons and daughters, brethren or sisters, that could proone themselues to be next heires to him, should haue the same goods; but if he had neither sonne nor daughter, brother nor sister, then should the king haue those goods by waie of his prerogatiue.

Wreckes pardoned.

This resignation made by king Richard, was confirmed by his charter giuen at Messina in the moneth of October and second yeare of his reigne. Also vpon a godlie repentance

repentance wherewith it did please the mercifull God to touch his hart, he called all those prelats togither which were then with him at Messina into the chappell of Reginald de Moiac, & there in presence of them all falling downe vpon his knees he confessed the filthie life which he had in lecherous lust before that time led, and humblie receiued penance inioined him by the same bishops, and so became a new man, fearing God, and delighting to liue after his lawes. K. Richards confession.

Furthermore hearing of the great fame of abbat Joachim, he sent for him ouer into Calabria, who came to Messina, and being asked sundrie questions by king Richard, he made woonderfull answer thereto: as in Houeden and other writers it may appéere, which for breefenesse I passe ouer. About the same time he gaue vnto his nephue Otho, the sonne of his sister Maud, sometime duchesse of Saxonie, the countie of Yorke. But although some were contented to receiue him as their lord, and to doo homage to him, yet other refused him, alledging that they would not renounce their fealties due to the king, till they might sée him againe, & talke with him face to face. Wherevpon the king changing his purpose, gaue vnto the said Otho the countie of Poictou in steed of the said countie of Yorke, as after shall appeere. Abbat Joachim.

The two kings of England and France held their Christmasse this yeare at Messina, and still the king of England vsed great liberalitie in bestowing his treasure freelie amongst knights and other men of warre, so that it was thought he spent more in a moneth than anie of his predecessours euer spent in a whole yeare. In the moneth of Februarie he sent his gallies to Naples, there to receiue his mother and his wife that should be, to wit the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, and Philip earle of Flanders that came with them. But his mother quéene Elianor and the ladie Berengaria went to Brindize in Puglia, where they were honorablie receiued of Margaret king Tancreds admirall. Moreouer the earle of Flanders comming to Naples, and finding there the gallies of king Richard, went aboord the same, and so came to Messina, at the first following the king of England in all things, till the French king hauing enuie thereat, allured him awaie, and then he hoong altogither on his sléeue. The first daie of March the king of England departed from Messina, to go to the citie of Cathina, there to common with king Tancred, who came thither to meet him. 1191. The large expenses of K. Richard. The earle of Flanders.

Here king Richard vnderstood, that the French king had sollicited king Tancred to set vpon the king of England and his armie, to chase them out of his realme: and for the more easie accomplishment thereof, he had promised him his aid, whensoeuer he would giue the aduenture. King Tancred deliuered also to king Richard such letters as the French king had written to him concerning this matter. Wherevpon at his returne to Messina, king Richard shewed by his frowning countenance, that he was nothing pleased with the French king, but sought occasions to get him out of his companie. K. Richard talketh with king Tancred.

The French king perceiuing it, required to vnderstand the cause of this sudden mutation: wherevpon king Richard nothing fearing his power, declared the truth plainelie vnto him by the mouth of the earle of Flanders: and when the other denied the practise, he for proofe of the thing, shewed him the same letters which king Tancred had deliuered vnto him. The French king was not a little abashed hereat, and wist not well what to saie, nor what excuse to make, the matter was so plaine. But yet at length he said: "Well now I perceiue the king of England seeketh to haue some quarell whie he may refuse to marrie with my sister. For these are but forged matters, and no truth resteth in them."

When the king of England vnderstood this maner of answer, he replied in this wise; "That as for the French kings sister, he might not marrie, for as much as he was able to produce good witnesse to proone that his father had lien with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priuie procéeding and practise with Tancred, he néeded no further testimonie than his owne hand and his seale, the partie himselfe being present

who

who receiued them, the messenger also being not far off that carried them betwéene both the parties."

When the French king was throughlie informed of the first point, through counsell of the earle of Flanders and others, he pacified himselfe, and was contented to release the king of England of his faith giuen by oth for the contract made with his sister Alice: in consideration of which releasement and deliuerance, the king of England couenanted to giue yearelie to the French king two thousand marks of starling coine for the terme of fiue yeares togither: and at his returne home, it was agreed, that he shuld also deliuer vnto the French king his sister the said ladie Alice, with the towne of Gisors, and all other things which the French king had granted to him with his said sister. On the other part, the French king granted, that the dutchie of Britaine should apperteine to the dominion of the dutchie of Normandie, so as the duke of Britaine should be accompted the liege man of the duke of Normandie, and that the duke of Normandie should answer the French king for both the dutchies, as well of Britaine as Normandie. These agréements were ratified and confirmed with solemne oths receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and seales, vpon the 30. of March.

The French king setteth foorth from Messina towards the holie land.

About this time the French king (now that the season of the yeare was come) set forward toward the holie land, leauing king Richard behind him in Sicile: and the two and twentith day after his setting foorth from Messina, he arriued at the siege of Acres or Acon. The same day also that the French king departed from Messina, queene Elianor the mother of king Richard arriued there, bringing with hir the ladie Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius the king of Nauarre, and the fourth day after quéene Elianor tooke leaue of hir sonne king Richard, and departed homeward towards England, taking hir iournie by Rome about the businesse of Geffrey the elect of Yorke, as to entreat the pope that he would confirme and consecrate him archbishop, or to authorise some other to doo it in his name. The ladie Berengaria remained behind with the kings sister Joane quéene of Sicile.

Quéene Elianor returneth by Rome.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the wednesday in the passion weeke, king Richard (after he had finished and made an end of all conclusions with king Tancred) did also set forward with his sister Joane, who tooke with hir the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, affianced to him long before, as aboue is partlie mentioned. His nauie consisted in thirteene mightie great ships with triple sailes, an hundred earikes or rather hulkes, and fiftie gallies. He was no sooner abroad in the maine sea, but a great tempest arose, wherewith his whole nauie was sore tossed and turmoiled vp and downe the seas, and at length driuen on the coast of Cypres, where séeking to take harbour, & to come on land, the Cypriots would not suffer him, but shewed countenance to driue him backe, and to resist his landing. Also whereas six of his ships were so driuen by force of tempest from the residue, that thrée of them perished, and three being cast vpon the shoare of Cypres before the kings arriuall there, the souldiers and other people in the same were compelled to come on land for sauing their liues, where otherwise they stood in danger of drowning, the people of the Ile assailing them in right cruell sort, slue diuerse, and tooke the residue prisoners, and so deteined them for a certeine season.

Matth. Paris. 150. ships and 53. galies saith *Rog. Houed.*

King Richard then vnderstanding this iniurie to him doone by the Cypriots, & perceiuing they would resist his landing, prepared himselfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cypres Isakius or Cursach (whome Houeden nameth emperour of Cypres) had assembled the most part of all the power of men that he might make (though few of them were armed, or had any great skill in feats of warre) and caused them to set boords, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great chests afore them, as a defense, and as it were in steed of a wall, that by succour thereof they might the better kéepe off their enimie from landing.

But K. Richard so incouraged his men by his presence, & hartened them with such comfortable

comfortable words as he vttered vnto them, that rowing to the shoare with their galies and small botes, hauing the archers afore them, they easilie got to land, droue their enimies backe, and so farre pursued them (being but footmen, weatherbeaten, wearie, and weat) as conuenientlie they might, for the shortnes of time. King Richard hauing thus got foot on land, approched the towne of Limezun, which he with his souldiers entred, and finding it emptie of people (which were fled awaie) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as corne, wine, oile, and flesh, he seized therevpon.

The English-men take land & chase their enimies.

The same day also the kings sisters and the ladie Berengaria with the residue of the kings nauie entred the hauen of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cypres (hauing escaped from the battell) got togither his men which were fled and dispersed sundrie waies, and incamped within six miles of king Richard, threatning that the next day he would eftsoones giue battell: which when king Richard vnderstood, he caused his people to be armed the next morning long before day, and so comming by guides vnto the place where the Cypriots with their king were lodged, suddenlie they assailed them yer they had anie warning of his marching towards them, by reason whereof they were slaine like beasts in great numbers. Howbeit, their king and a few other escaped and fled away naked, hauing no time to put on their apparell, his treasure, horsse, armour and standard were taken, which standard king Richard straitwaies determined to send vnto saint Edmunds shrine, and so did.

King Richard with a camisado vanquisheth the Cypriots, & chaseth them out of their campe. *Iohn Textor.*

Having thus vanquished his aduersaries, he came backe to Limezun: and the third day after, Guie king of Jerusalem and his brother Geffrey de Lucignan with the prince of Antioch Raimond and his sonne named also Raimond earle of Tripoli, with other noble men, arriued at Limezun aforesaid, to visit king Richard, and to offer him their seruices, and so became his men, in swearing fealtie to him against all other persons whatsoeuer.

The K. of Jerusalem and other noble men doo fealtie vnto king Richard.

The same day the king of Cypres perceiuing himselfe vnable to resist the great puissance of king Richards armie, sent ambassadours, and offered to king Richard the summe of twentie thousand marks of gold, in recompense of the monie which his men that were drowned had about them, and also to restore those to libertie which he had taken prisoners, and to make deliuerie to their hands of all their goods. Furthermore he offered to go with him into the holie land personallie, and to serue him with an hundred knights. 400 light horssemen, and 500 well armed footmen, & also to deliuer to king Richard his daughter and heire in hostage, and to acknowledge him his souereigne lord, by swearing to him fealtie for his kingdome, as for that which he should confesse to hold of him.

The offers of the king of Cypres.

The king of Cypres submitteth himselfe.

King Richard accepted these offers, and so the king of Cypres came in and sware fealtie to king Richard, in presence of the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, and other barons, and promised vpon his oth then receiued, not to depart till all things couenanted on his part were performed. Then king Richard assigned tents for him and his to lodge in, and appointed certeine knights and other men of warre to haue the custodie of him. But the same day after dinner vpon repentance of that which he had doone, he deceiued his keepers and stale awaie, sending knowledge backe to the king that he would not stand to the couenants, which were concluded vpon betwixt them.

King Richard seemed to like the matter well inough, and foorthwith deliuered a part of his armie vnto the king of Jerusalem and to the prince of Antioch, appointing them to persue the king of Cypres by land, whilest he with one part of his gallies and Robert de Turneham with the other might search about the coast by sea, to prohibit his passage by water. In euerie place where they came, such ships and gallies as they found they seized into their hands, and no resistance was made against them, by reason the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, townes and castels void in all steeds, where the king or the said sir Robert de Turneham with their vessels began to appeere.

Robert de Turnehara

When

When they had taken their pleasure thus alongst the coasts, they returned againe vnto Limezun. The king of Jerusalem and the other that went foorth by land, when they could not speed of their purpose, returned also, in which meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and submitting themselues to king Richard, were receiued as his subiects.

The king of England mari-eth the ladie Berengaria. She is crowned quéene.

On the 12. daie of Maie, the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre was maried according to a precontract vnto king Richard at Limezun aforesaid in the Ile of Cypres, one of the kings chaplins executing the order of the marriage. The same daie also she was crowned by the bishop of Eureux, the archbishops of Apamea and Aux, with the bishop of Baion ministring vnto him. After the solemnitie of this marriage and coronation ended, king Richard set forward with his armie into the countrie of Cypres, and first wan (by surrender) the citie of Nichosia, and after the strong castell of Cherin, within the which was the daughter of the king of Cypres, which ladie humblie yeelded hir selfe vnto K. Richard, (who counting it reproach to be extreme with such as submit themselues, and speciallie the female sex, according to the old saieng,

Pacere subiectis nobilis scit ira leonis)

had pitie of hir case, and sent hir to his wife the new quéene, willing that she might be honorablie vsed. From thence passing forward, these castels were deliuered into his hands, Baffes and Buffeuent, Den, Amur, Candace, and afterwards all the other castels and cities, townes and places of strength within that Ile one after an other. Finallie, hearing that the king of Cypres was inclosed in an abbie called Cap S. Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cypres heard of his approch, he came foorth and submitted himselfe wholie into his hands. The king first appointed him to the keeping of his chamberlaine Rafe Fitz Geffrey, and after sent him into the citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in close prison. Who when he heard he should be committed to close prison, and remaine in fetters, said, "that if he laie in irons, he should shortlie end his life." Wherevnto king Richard when he heard of it, answered: "He saith well, and therefore bicause he is a noble man, and our mind is not to haue him dead, but onelie to be kept safe from starting anie more awaie, and doing new hurt, let him be chained in giues and fetters made of siluer," and so he was.

Castels deliuered to the king of England.

The king of Cypres again submitteth himselfe to the king of England.

Rafe Fitz Geffrey.

But to procéed. After the king had set the countrie of Cypres in good staie, he deliuered the keeping thereof vnto Richard de Camuille and Robert de Turneham. This doone vpon the wednesdaie in the Whitsunwéeke he tooke the sea againe, and passed ouer to the citie of Acres, which as then was besieged by the christian armie, as ye may read in the description of the holie land, onelie giuing you to vnderstand, that such was the valiancie of king Richard shewed in manfull constreining of the citie, that his praise was greatlie bruted both amongst the christians and also the Saracens.

He arriued there on the saturdaie in Whitsunwéeke, being the saturdaie also next before the feast of S. Barnabie. *Galfridus. Vinsauf.*

Howbeit the secret enimitie betwixt him and the French king eftsoones reuiued, by occasion of such discord as chanced betwixt Guido king of Jerusalem, and Conrade the marques of Tire, so that parties were taken, and whereas both the Pisans and Geneuois did offer their seruice vnto king Richard, yet bicause the Geneuois were confederat with the French king, who tooke part with the marques, he refused them, and receiued the Pisans, ioining himselfe with king Guido to support him against his enimies.

Pisans and Geneuois. *Matt. Paris. Nic. Trivet.*

Here is to be remembred, that before king Richard arriued at the siege, he incountred on the sea a mightie great ship called a Drommond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Saladine a prince of the Saracens had sent, to refresh them with vittels. This ship king Richard caused fiercelie to be assailed with his gallies, and at length bowged hir with all the vittels and prouision within the same, as wild-fire, barels of firie serpents, armour and weapons of sundrie sorts, besides all the mariners and men of warre, except such as were taken to mercie and saued aliue, being about 200 in the whole, whereas there were aboord the same ship 500 men of warre, as some write, though other haue but 800.

Saphaldine the brother of Saladine.

Matth. Paris. N. Trivet.

¶ But now to other accidents that chanced this yere. On Midsummer eeue there was such an eclipse of the sunne, the moone being the same time 27. daies old, that for the space of thrée houres (for so long it lasted) such darkness came ouer the face of theearth, that euen in the daie time (for this eclipse began about nine of the clocke in the morning) the stars appeared plainelie in the element. An eclipse of the sunne. The seuenth houre of the daie saith *Matth. Paris.*

In the same moneth of June, Richard de Camuille, whome the king had left (as ye haue heard) gouernour in Cyprés, chanced to fall sicke, and comming without licence to the siege of Acres, there died. After whose death the Cypriots and those called Grifsones and Ermians reuolted from the English obedience, and chose to them a king, one that was a moonke of the familie of Isachus their former king: but Robert de Turneham, who after the deceasse of Richard Camuille remained sole gouernour of the Ile, gathered a power of men togither, and giuing battell to the new king (whom Houeden nameth also emperour) vanquished him with his complices, tooke him prisoner, and hanged him on a paire of galowes. The same moneth also died Rafe Fitz Geffrey, who had the other king Isac in custodie, and then king Richard deliuered him to the knights of the hospitall, who sent him to the castell of Margant, there safelie to be kept as prisoner to the vse of the king of England. Richard de Camuille de ceasseth.

Now will we returne vnto the affaires of England and make some mention of the dooings there. Yee shall vnderstand, that after king Richard was set forward on his iournie, William Longchampe lord chancellour and bishop of Elie, appointed (as ye haue heard) gouernour of the realme, began to exercise his authoritie to the vttermost, taking vpon him the state of a prince, rather than of a subiect. He had of late (as before ye haue heard) procured such fauor at the hands of pope Clement, that he was instituted by him legat of the apostolike see here in England, so that pretending a rule both ouer the clergie and temporaltie, and by reason that he had both the authoritie of pope and king in his hands, he vsed the same to his most aduantage, as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall, whereby he wrought manie oppressions both against them of the clergie and temporaltie. He mainteined such a port and countenance in his dooings, that he would ride with a thousand horsses, by meanes whereof when he came to lie at abbeis and other places (bringing with him such a traine) he was verie burdenous vnto them, speciallie when he laie at their houses any space of time. *Polydor.* The Lord chancellor called the popes legat in England. The statelie port of the lord chancellor. *Ran. Higd.*

This man called a conuocation at Westminster, wherein at the suit of Hugh Nonant bishop of Chester, it was decreed, that the moonks of Couentrie should be displaced, and secular canons brought into that house to supplie their roomes. Which was doone by the authoritie of the said lord chancellour, being bribed by the foresaid bishop of Chester (as some writers haue recorded) for displeasure which he bare to the moonks, by reason of a fraie which they had made vpon the said bishop in their church at Couentrie, and drawne bloud of him before the alter there, as he aliedged. A conuocation. Moonks of Couentrie displaced. *Polydor. Ran. Higd. & il. Parnas.* The occasion. *Ran. Higd.*

But some haue written, that the bishop of Chester procured a licence of the pope, to alter the state of that church in sort aboue mentioned, which is most likelie, surmising against the moonks, that they were most manifest and stubborne disturbers of that peace and quietnesse which ought to remaine amongst churchmen: and yet he himselfe sowed the strife and dissention amongst them, and namelie betwéene the prior and his couent. Moreouer, the said lord chancellour depriued such rulers of their administrations and gouernements, as the king had appointed to beare any high authoritie within the realme, pretending not onelie the kings commandement, but also alleadging a reason which mooued him so to doo, as thus, that he might thereby take awaie all occasions of grudges from the people, which otherwise might thinke, and would not sticke to saie, that they were oppressed by the rule of manie kings in stéed of one king. He did also depriue Hugh the bishop of Durham of all his honour and dignitie, and put the bishop of Winchester to great trouble. Moreouer, doubting least the Nobles of the realme would rise against him, and put him out of his place; he sought to kéepe them lowe, and spoiled them: *Wil. Tarnan.* *Ran. Higd.* *Polydor.* The L. chancellors reason. The bishop of Durham. The bishop of Winchester.

The lord chancellors meaning to keepe earle John lowe.

them of their monie and substance. Likewise pretending a colour of doubt, least earle John the kings brother should attempt any thing against his brother the king now in his absence, he sought also to keepe him vnder. To be breefe, he plaied in all points the right part of a tyrant, and shewed himselfe such a one in all respects as mainteined his title,

Pal. in suo cap.

Non disceptando aut subtilibus argumentis
Vincere, sed ferro mauult sua iura tueri,
Pontifices nunc bella iuuant, sunt cætera nuga,
Nec præcepta patrum nec Christi dogmata curant,
Iactant se dominos rerum & sibi cuncta licere.

At length the king receiued aduertisement from his mother queene Elianor of his demeanor, and that there was great likelihood of some commotion to insue, if speedie remedie were not in time prouided. Wherevpon being then in Sicile, he sent Walter the archbishop of Rouen into England with commission, to ioine in administration of the kingdome with his chancellor the said bishop of Elie. But the archbishop comming into England was so slenderlie interteined of the chancellour, and in effect so litle regarded, that notwithstanding his commission and instructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beare any rule. But the chancellour deteining the same wholie in his hands, ordered all things at his pleasure, without making the archbish. of Rouen, or any other of counsell with him, except such as it pleased him to admit for the seruing of his owne turne.

Walter the archbishop of Rouen sent into England.

He is little regarded of the lord chancellor.

¶ He certeinelie beleeued (as manie other did) that king Richard would neuer returne with life into England againe, which caused him to attempt so manie vnlawfull enterprises, and therefore he got into his hands all the castels and fortresses belonging to the crowne, and furnished them with garisons of souldiers, as he thought necessarie, depriuing such capteins of their roomes as he suspected not to fauour his proceedings.

One Gerard de Camuille had bought of the king the keeping of the castell of Lincolne, vnto whome also the sheriffewike of the shire was committed for a time, but the lord chancellour, perceiuing that he bare more good will vnto earle John the kings brother than to him (which John he most suspected) he tooke from him the shiriffewike, & demanded also to haue the castell of Lincolne deliuered into his hands, which Gerard refused to deliuer, and perceiuing that the chancellor would practise to haue it by force, he fled vnto earle John, requiring him of competent aid and succour.

The chancellor on the other part, perceiuing what hatred diuerse of the Nobles bare him, thought good to prouide for his owne suertie the best that he could, and therefore sent for a power of men from beyond the sea: but bicause he thought it too long to staie till they arriued, he came to Lincolne with such power as he could make, and besieged the castell. Erle John the kings brother aduertised hereof, raised such numbers of men as he might make of his freends, seruants and tenants, and with small a doo wan the castels of Notingham and Tickhill within two daies space. This doone, he sent to the lord chancellour, commanding him either to breake vp his siege, or else to prepare for battell. The chancellour considering with himselfe that there was small trust to be put in diuerse of those lords that were with him, bearing good will to earle John, and but hollow harts towards him, raised his siege and departed with dishonour.

The lord chancellor besieged the castell of Lincolne.

Earle John winneth the caste's of Notingham and Tickhill.

The chancellor raiseth his siege with dishonour.

Not long after, one of his hornes was broken off by the death of pope Clement, whereby his power legantine ceased: wherewith being somewhat abashed, he came to a communication with earle John, and vpon certeine conditions made peace with him. Shortlie after the souldiers which he had sent for, arriued in England, and then he began to go from the agreement made with earle John, affirming that he would either driue the same earle out of England, or else should earle John doo the like to him: for it was not of sufficient largenesse to hold them both. Howbeit, shortlie after, a peace was eftsoones concluded betwixt them with condition, that if it chanced king Richard to depart this

The lord chancellor and earle John are agreed.

The chancellor breaketh the agreement.

this life before his returne into England, not leauing any issue of his bodie begotten, that then the chancellour renouncing the ordinance made by king Richard (who had instituted his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine to be his heire and successour) should consent to admit earle John for king of England, contrarie to the said ordinance. The lord chancellor and earle John make another agréement.

But in the meane time it was agréed, that earle John should deliuer vp the castels of Notingham and Tickhill, Notingham to the hands of William Marshall, and Tickhill to the hands of William Wendenall, they to kéepe the same vnto the vse and behoofe of king Richard, that vpon his returne he might doo with them as should please him: prouided that if it so chanced, that he should die before he could returne from his voiage, or that the chancellour went from the agréement now taken, then immediatlie should the foresaid castels of Notingham and Tickhill be restored vnto earle John.

Moreouer, the other castels of such honours as were assigned to earle John by the king his brother, were committed vnto the custodie of certeine persons of great trust and loialtie, as the castell of Wallingford to the archbishop of Rouen, the castell of Bristow to the bishop of Lincolne, the castell of the Peake to the bishop of Couentrie, the castell of Bolesofres vnto Richard de Peake (or if he refused, then should the bishop of Couentrie haue it in kéeping) the castell Eie was committed to Walter Fitz Robert, the castell of Herford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Reuell the castell of Excester and Launston. These persons to whom these castels were thus committed to be kept, receiued also an oth, that they should faithfullie kéepe them to the kings behoofe, and if he chanced to die, before he should returne, then the same should be deliuered vnto earle Johns hands. Also there were three castels that perteined to the crowne, deliuered likewise in trust, as the castell of Windsor vnto the earle of Arundell, the castell of Winchester vnto Gilbert de Lacie, and the castell of Northampton vnto Simon de Pateshull. Castels deliuered in trust to the keeping of certeine persons.

It was also agréed, that bishops, abbats, earles, and barons, valuasors, and freeholders should not be disseised of their lands, goods or chattels, otherwise than by order of the iustices or officers of the king, so that they should be iudged in the kings courts according to the lawfull customes and ordinances of the realme, and likewise that earle John should cause the same orders to be obserued through all his lands. Prouided that if any man attempted to doo otherwise vpon support or maintenance of earle John, he should stand to be reformed by the archbishop of Rouen if he chanced then to be in England, and by the kings iustices, and by those that had sworne to obserue this peace: and also earle John himselfe at their request should see such reformation to be had.

Moreouer, it was agréed that all those castels that had bin built or begun to be builded since the kings passage ouer towards his iournie, should be razed, and no new made or fortified till his returne, except in manours perteining to the kings demaine, if need required, or by his speciall commandement, either by letters, or sufficient messengerrs. That the shiriffewike of Lincolne, which the lord chancellour had assigned vnto William de Stuteuille should be restored to Gerard de Camuille, who had a daie appointed him to appéere in the kings court, to héare what might be laid against him: and if such matter could be prooued, for the which he ought to loose the said shiriffewike and the castell of Lincolne, then he should depart from them by the iudgement of the court, or else not. Neither should earle John mainteine him against the iudgement of that court, nor should receiue any outlawes, or such as were notoriouslie knowen for enimies to the king, and so named, nor should suffer them to be receiued within the precinct of his liberties.

To hold, mainteine and obserue this peace, the said earle and chancellour sware in the hand of the archbishop of Rouen with seuen barons on either part. On the part of earle John these were the names of them that receiued the oth: Stephan Ridell his chancellour, William de la Mare, Robert de la Mare, Philip de Turechester, William de Kahennes, Gilbert Basset & William de Montacute. On the chancellours part, the earles of Arundell and Salisburie, earle Roger Bigot, and the earle of Clare, with Walter Fitz

Robert, William de Breuse, and Roger Fitz Ramfrey. These things were concluded in this sort, the authoritie and commandement of the king yet in all things saued and reserued: but so, that if before his returne he should signifie his pleasure to the contrarie of the ordinances aboue mentioned, then should the castels of Notingham and Tickhill be restored vnto earle John, notwithstanding what soeuer the king should command touching the same. Thus was the peace concluded eftsoones betwixt earle John and the chancellour.

An. Reg. 3. *Matth. West. Polydor.*

In this meane while, Geffrey the elect archbishop of Yorke, after long suit and manie delaies contriued, speciallie by the chancellour, obteined his pall, being consecrated by the archbishop of Towrs, by virtue of his buls obteined from pope Celestine. The chancellour aduertised herof, and vnderstanding that he meant to come shortlie into England to be installed, was in a great chafe, bicause that during the time of the vacation, he had vsed the reuenues of that see at his pleasure, and therefore now to forego them he was nothing contented. Herevpon he wrote his letters vnto Matthew de Clare shiriffe of Kent in this forme.

Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke. *Rog. Houed.*

Matth. Paris.

The lord chancellours letters to the shiriffe of Kent.

PRÆCIPIMUS tibi quòd si Eboracen. Electus ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum nostrum indè receperis. Et similiter præcipimus, quòd omnes literas papæ aut magni alicuius viri quæ illic venerint, facias retineri. The English whereof is thus.

" We command you that if the elect of Yorke shall arriue at any port or hauen within your bailiwicke, or any messenger of his, that you cause them to be arested and kept, till you haue commandement from vs therein. And we command you likewise, to stay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the pope, or any other great man."

Polydor. The death of the archbishop of Canturburie. *Io. Textor.*

Likewise, whereas Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, hauing taken his iournie into the holie land, and arriuing there before the king, chanced to depart this life at Tyrus, the last yeere, vpon the feast daie of S. Edmund, the chancellour found meanes to keepe that sée also vacant, that he might receiue the profits thereof, during the vacation, and find meanes to be prepared to it in the end. But as touching the sée of Yorke, although he had (as before is said) made his hand of the reuenues belonging to the same from time to time at his pleasure, yet now after that he heard how Geffrey had receiued the pall, he made hauocke, wasting & spoiling all that would yeeld him anie monie, without respect of right or wrong. Moreouer, he caused the hauens to be watched, with commandement giuen to the townes on the sea coast, that they should not suffer the archbishop Geffrey to take land. At length yet he arriued at Douer, where he was by the aforesaid Matthew de Clare first staied, and after taken out of the abbeie by the chancellours commandement, and committed to prison within the castell, where a Noble man that had maried the chancellors sister was capteine.

The archbishop arriued and is committed to ward.

The newes of whose imprisonment was anon bruted through the realme, wherewith the Nobles fretted, and the commons cursed: finallie all men detested such tyrannie in the chancellour. But namelie the kings brother earle John stormed at the matter, and with all spéed assembled an armie out of those places where he bare rule, increasing the number with a power of Welshmen. There came to him the bishop of Winchester, with manie earles and barons, also the bishop of Bath and Chester, which latelie before had béene chéefe fauourers of the chancellour in all his doings: but now that the world was changed,

changed, they shewed themselues the most earnest enimies he had, as well in words as déeds.

In an assemblie of all the bishops of England, all those were excommunicate in solemne wise, with candels light, and other such ceremonies, which had either giuen commandement, or were present as partakers, to pull out of the church the archbishop of Yorke, or his people by violence, and had imprisoned them in maner (as before yée haue heard:) but this was after the archbishop was set at libertie, as shuld appeare by Matthew Paris, for the chancellour repenting himselfe (though now too late) of his cruell dealing against the archbishop of Yorke, wherewith he had kindled such a brand against him, commanded the said archbishop (namelie at the instant sute of the bishop of London, or rather at the commandement of earle John, as Houeden saith) to be set at libertie. But the displeasure once kindled in the hearts of the Nobles, could not so easile be quenched with his deliuerie, as it was spéedilie set on fire by his imprisonment, so that they being now in armour, purposed to abate the pride of the chancellour, and to deliuer the common-wealth, of such an vglie tyrant. And to begin, they summoned, and assigned him a peremptorie day to appeare at Reading, to make answer vnto such iniuaries as he had doone against the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham, sithens the departure of his souereigne lord the king.

R. Houed. The chancellour summoned to appeare.

At which day there came to Reading earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, with manie other bishops, earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to sée if the chancellour would appeare or no; but he came not: wherevpon they prepared to march foorth towards London, and therewithall set forward in like maner. He on the other side being a man of a great courage, had gathered an armie of such strangers and other his frèends as he could make, and therewith went foorth, and encamped néere to Windsor, there to abide his aduersaries, and to giue them battell, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approched, and he perceiued also how diuerse of his freends shranke from him, and went to his enimies, he durst not attempt the hazard of a field, but fled backe to London, and there withdrew into the tower, with all his host, bicause he durst not commit himselfe to the doubtfull fellowship of the citizens. Through his great pride and statelie port which he mainteined, as partlie yée haue heard, he had procured to himselfe no small hatred amongst all degrees of men, and namelie such as by the kings appointment ought to haue béene parteners with him in gouernement of the realme sore repined at his presumptuous proceedings, for that he disdained (as it séemed) to vse their aduise, or to ioine them with him in the administration of things, so that now in time of his trouble he wist not in whome he might put his trust.

The chancellour retireth to London.

After he was thus retired into the tower of London, earle John the archbishop of Rouen, and the other bishops, earles, and barons associated togither against him, followed him at the héeles, entered the citie, and besieged the tower on ech side. On the morrow after, being the fourth day after the octaues of saint Michaell, they came togither into Paules church-yard, where they publikelie declared the iniurious wrongs doone and practised by the chancellour; namelie against the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham. Those also that had béene appointed as associats with him, accused him, in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne will, not vouchsafing to haue their aduise or councell in such sort as had béene conuenient.

A declaration made against the lord chancellour.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall earle of Pembroke shewed there before all the people the kings letters which he had sent from Messina, appointing that they should be associats with him in gouernment of the kingdome; and that without the counsell and aduice of them and others assigned thereto, he should not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if he should doo any thing to the hinderance of the common-wealth, or séeke to meddle with the affaires of the realme, without their good aduise, that then he should be deposed. Héerevpon it seemed good to earle John, and to all the bishops, earles and barons of the realme, and to the citizens of London there assembled, that the said

The tenor of this leter shall héereafter appeare.

said chancellour should be deposed, and so they proceeded, and deposed him in déed, appointing the archbishop of Rouen in his place, who would not take vpon him to doo anie thing touching the rule of the land, without consent of his associats assigned to him, and the barons or the eschecker.

The citizens of London.

The same day, earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, and other of the kings iustices, granted to the citizens of London the priuilege of their communaltie; and the said earle and archbishop, and in maner all the bishops, erls and barons of the realme sware to mainteine the said priuilege firme and stable, so long as should please their souereigne lord. And the citizens of London sware to be true, and to doo their faithfull seruice vnto king Richard and his heirs, and if he chanced to die without issue, then to receiue earle John the brother of king Richard for their king and souereigne lord, and therevpon sware fealtie to him against all men, sauing that which they owed vnto his brother king Richard.

The chancellour yéeldeth vp the tower.

The chancellour perceiuing the multitude to be such which he had with him in the tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long time, after he had remained within it one night, he came foorth vnto earle John, and to the other that were thus entred the citie, and now readie to besiege him, of whome he got licence for them that were inclosed within the tower, to depart without damage, and therewith deliuered vp the tower into the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, with the castell of Windsor, and certeine other castels, which he held within the realme, but not all: notwithstanding he couenanted to make deliuerie of the residue, which yet remained in the hands of them whome he had appointed to the kéeping of the same. And for assurance of that couenant to be performed before he departed the realme, he deliuered his brethren, and one that was his chamberleine, to remaine with the lords as hostages.

This doone, he hasted to Canturburie, where he promised to receiue the crosse of a pilgrime to go into the holie land, and to render vp the crosse of his legatship, which he had vsurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of pope Clement, to the preiudice of the church of Rome, and to the detriment and great hinderance of the English church. For there was not any church within the realme, which had not béene put to fine and ran-

The print of the legats crosse.

some by that crosse, nor any ecclesiasticall person went frée, but the print of the crosse appeared in him and his purse. From Canturburie he got him to Douer to his brother in law, and finallie séeking means to passe ouer into France, and doubting to be discouered, he apparelled himselfe in womans raiment, & got a web of cloth on his arme, as though he had beene some housewifelie woman of the countrie: but by the vntowardlie folding and vncunning handling of his cloth (or rather by a lewd fisherman that tooke him for an harlot) he was suspected and searched so narrowlie, that by his priuie members he was prooued to be a man, and at length knowne, attached, and committed to prison, after he had beene reprochfullie handled by them that found him, and by the wiues of the towne, in such vnséemlie apparell.

The bishop of Elie late lord chancellour disguiseth himselfe in womans apparell. He is bewraied.

Earle John would haue had him punished, and put to some open reproofe for his passed tyrannicall doings; but the bishops, and other of the barons, for reuerence of his order, procured his deliuerance, with licence to passe ouer into Normandie where he was borne. Thus was the bishop of Elie a man full of pride and couetousnesse ouerthrowne with shame, and receiued for his hie climing a reprochfull downefall: for none are more subiect to ruine and rebuke, than such as be aloft and supereminent ouer others, as the poet noteth well saieng:

Earle John not ye bishops frend.

Ouid. lib. 1. de. rem. am.

Summa petit liuor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iouis.

Matth. Paris.

In time he was deposed from his office of being chancellour, and not without warrant, for in verie déed, king Richard hauing receiued aduertisements from the lords and peéres of the realme, of the chancellours presumptuous and hautie demeanour, with wrongs offered to diuerse persons, wrote to them againe as followeth.

A letter of king Richard directed to the States of the land for the deposing of the bishop of Elie from his office of lord chancellour.

RICHARD king of England sendeth greeting to William Marshall, to Gilbert Fitz Peter, and Henrie Berdulfe, and to William Brewer, peeres. If it so chance that our chancellour hath not faithfullie handled the affaires and businesse of our realme (committed vnto him) by the aduise and counsell of you, and others to whome we haue also assigned the charge of gouernement of the same realme: we command you, that according to your disposition in all things to be doone concerning the gouernement thereof, you order and dispose as well for eschetes, as all other things, &c.

By force of this commission, the lords were the bolder to procéed against him as ye haue heard. Now after his comming into the parties beyond the seas, he ceassed not with letters and messengers to present his complaint to the pope of Rome, and to king Richard of the iniuries receiued at the hands of earle John and his complices. Herevpon pope Celestine wrote in déed to all the archbishops and bishops that were within the realme of England, in behalfe of the said bishop of Elie, declaring, that for so much as the king of England was gone into the holie land to warre against the enimies of our faith, leauing his kingdome vnder the protection of the apostolike see, he could not but haue speciall regard to see that the state, rights and honour thereof were preserued from all danger of decaie.

The bishop of Elie complaineth of his wrongs receiued.

The popes letters vnto the archbishop and bishops of England.

Wherefore, vnderstanding that there had beene certeine attempts made by John erle of Mortaigne and others, both against the king and the bishop of Elie, that was not onelie legat of the apostolike sée, but also gouernour of the land appointed by the king, which attempt sounded greatlie to the reproch of the church of Rome, and danger of damage to insue to king Richard, if remedie were not the sooner found: therefore he commanded them by the vertue of their obedience, to excõmunicat the earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowne to haue laid any violent hands vpon the said bishop of Elie, or deteined him as captiue, or inforced him to any oth, or else had changed the state of rule in the kingdome of England to other forme, than king Richard had ordeined at his setting forward towards the holie land: and that not onelie all the councellours, authors, aiders and complices of those that had committed such outrage, but also their lands should stand interdicted, so that no diuine seruice should be vsed within the precinct of the same, except penance and christning of infants. This to remaine till the said bishop & kingdome were restored into the former estate: and that the parties excommunicated should present themselues with letters from the bishops vnto the apostolike see to be absolued, etc.

Note how the pope defendeth his chaplins.

Herevpon also the bishop of Elie himselfe wrote vnto the bishop of Lincolne and other, touching this matter: but the bishops did neither any thing in accomplishment of the effect of the popes letters, nor at his owne supplication. And therefore perceiuing small helpe to come that waie, he sought to obteine the fauour and fréendship of earle John, and of his mother quéene Elianor. In the meane time, the lords, barons and prelates of the realme, after they had depriued him of all authoritie, and banished him out of the land, ordeined the archbishop of Rouen in fauour of the kings commission, to haue the chéefe rule and administration of things touching all the affaires of the commonwealth; but yet so as earle John had the dooings in manie points, so that he might séeme in manner an associat with him, whereof sprang much inconuenience. For this

The archbishop of Rouen chéefe gouernour of England.

John

John being a man (as he is noted by some writers) of an ambitious nature, was suspected to aspire vnto the kingdome: in somuch that he had ioined with the French king, after the same king was returned foorth of the holie land, against his brother king Richard, if his mother quéene Elianor had not persuaded him to the contrarie.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus. Fiftene saith *Functius*, but others agrée with *Houed.* as *Gerardus Mercator*, citing *Albericus* a moonke.

Whilest these things were a dooing, on the twelfth daie of Julie, the citie of Acres was surrendred into the christian mens hands, for the Soldan Saladine (being approched néere to the siege of the christians with a puissant armie, in hope to haue raised their siege) when he perceiued it laie not in his power to worke any feat to the succour of his people within the citie, and that they were so constreined that they must néeds yéeld, he holpe to make their composition, and promised to performe certeine couenants on their behalfe. Herevpon, the Saracens within Acres couenanted not onelie to deliuer the citie vnto the christians with fiue hundred prisoners of christians which they had within the same, but also to procure that the holie crosse should be to them deliuered, with a thousand other christian prisoners, such as the christian princes should appoint out of those numbers which Saladine had in his custodie, and further, to giue them two hundred thousand Besans. And till these couenants were performed, it was agréed, that the Saracens, which were at that present left within the citie, should remaine as pledges, vnder condition, that if the same couenants were not performed within fortie daies, then should they stand at the mercie of the christian princes as touching life and lim.

The citie of Acres.

The French K. returneth home.

These things thus concluded, and the citie yéelded vp into the christian mens hands, the French king vpon enuie and malice conceiued against king Richard (although he pretended sicknesse for excuse) departed homewards, setting from Acres the last day of Julie. Now then, after the departure of king Philip, when the day approched, in the which the Saracens should performe the couenants; or else stand to the iudgement of life and death at the pleasure of the christian princes: it was perceiued that the couenants would not be fulfilled according to the agréement. For Saladine, as it well appeared, ment not to performe that which for the safegard of his men he had vndertaken, and did but dallie with the christians to prolong the time: wherevpon sentence was giuen foorth, that for default in such behalfe, the Saracens remaining as pledges should loose their heads.

Saladine hauing knowledge thereof, sent word to king Richard and to the whole christian armie, that if his people that were in the christian mens hands lost their heads, he would not faile but cause the heads of all those christians which he had in captiuitie to be cut off also. Notwithstanding which answer, on the fourteenth day of August king Richard issued foorth of the citie, passing the vttermost ditches, and incamped himselfe neere the armie of Saladine, who the same daie sent rich presents vnto king Richard, requiring of him a longer day for performance of the couenants, but that would not be granted. Wherefore vpon the said deniall, Saladine caused all those christian prisoners which he had in his hands to be beheaded on the eightéenth day of August, on which day king Richard aduanced foorth towards the lodgings of the Saracens, and skirmished with them verie hotlie, so that manie were wounded and slaine on both parts: and amongst other one of king Richards companions at all exercises named Peter Mignot lost his life there. Furthermore, although king Richard knew that Saladine had put the christian prisoners to death in such wise as you haue heard, yet would not he preuent his terme appointed for the execution of the Saracens that were in his custodie, but abiding vnto the twentith day of August, he then caused those Saracens which fell to his lot, at the time of the surrender of Acres, being in number about 2600. to be brought foorth of the citie, and néere to the walles in the sight of Saladine and all his host they had their heads chopped off. The duke of Burgoigne caused execution to be doone within the citie vpon those which fell to the French kings share, the number of the which rose to two thousand and foure hundred, or thereabouts: for the whole number was reckoned to be about fiue thousand that thus lost their liues through the inconstancie of their prince: yet diuerse of the

Saladine causeth the christian prisoners to be beheaded.

the principall had their liues saued. The Saracens themselues also spake much euill of Saladine for this matter, bicause that refusing to performe the articles of couenants, he had occasioned the enimie to slea those that had so valiantlie serued in defense of the citie, to the vttermost ieopardie of their liues. And heere is verified that knowne verse, *R. Houed.*

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiui.

But now to leaue forren matters, and to returne home into England: we find, that on the second of December, the monks of Canturburie chose to their archbishop Reignold bishop of Bath, who within fifteene daies after his election, departed this life, and lieth buried at Bath. Also this yeare, or (as Ger. Dor. saith) in the yeare following, the bishop of Durham sought meanes to withdraw his subiection from the archbishop of Yorke, for which attempt the archbishop of Yorke, vpon trust of the popes grant, did not excommunicate the said bishop, notwithstanding that he appealed to the popes consistorie three seuerall times, putting his owne matter and his churches to be examined and tried by the pope, where vpon he obeied not the excommunication: and signifieng the cause vnto Rome, obteined such fauour, that the pope and his cardinals reuersed the sentence, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the archbishop of Yorke had broken the altars and chalices, as information was giuen, in which the bishop of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the court of Rome, that then should the said bishop of Durham be acquited from owing any subiection to the said archbishop for so long as they two should liue togither. *Ger. Dor.* Strife betwixt ye archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham.

True it is, that the archbishop had not onelie broken the altars and chalices which the bishop had vsed in déed for the celebration of masse, but also held his owne brother, John earle of Mortaigne for excommunicate, bicause he had eat and dronke in companie of the said bishop, and would not communicate with him, till he came to receiue absolution, and to make satisfaction for his fault. In the end the bishops of Lincolne and Rochester, with the abbat of Peterburrow, were appointed by the pope to haue the hearing of this matter, as iudges authorised by his buls, who sat therevpon at Northampton, vpon S. Calixt his day, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in either of their cases, they gaue a longer day, to wit, vntill the feast of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist next after, to see if by anie good means there might some agréement haue beene had betwixt them, or (if that could not be) that then the popes leters should stand in force as before, & the helpes of either part saued, as though no delaie had béene vsed. And to this, both parties were agreeable, speciallie at the motion of the bishop of Lincolne.

This yeare also, Roger de Lacie conestable of Chester tooke Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencort, and vpon despite hanged them, for that being put in trust amongst other with the kéeping of the castels of Notingham and Tickhill, which he had receiued into his custodie of the bishop of Elie quondam lord chancellour, they had consented to the treason of Robert de Crokeston, & Eudo de Duuille, which deliuered the same castels vnto John earle of Mortaigne. The same earle of Mortaigne was highlie offended for the death of those two persons, and therefore wasted the lands of the said Roger which lay within the compasse of his iurisdiction. Roger Lacie conestable of Chester.

But now touching the departure of the French king from Acres, diuerse occasions are remembred by writers of the emulation and secret spite which he should beare towards king Richard, and beside other alreadie touched, one was for enterteining and relééuing the earle of Champaigne in such bountifull wise in his necessitie, that he was readie to forsake the French kings seruice, and cleaue to king Richard. But howsoeuer it came to passe, partlie through enuie (as hath béene thought) conceiued at the great déeds of king Richard, whose mightie power and valiantnesse he could not well abide, and partlie for other respects him mooued, he tooke the sea with three gallies of the Geneuois, and returned into Italie, and so home into France, hauing promised first vnto king Richard at his departure out of the holie land, and after to pope Celestine at Rome, that he would not

not attempt any hurtfull enterprise against the English dominions, till king Richard should be returned foorth of the holie land. But this promise was not kept, for after that he was returned into France, he first sought to procure the foresaid erle John, king Richards brother, to rebell against him, promising him not onelie aid to reduce all his brothers dominions into his hands, but also to giue his sister Adela in marriage, whom king Richard vpon suspicion of vnchast liuing, had forsaken, as before ye haue heard. But when earle John was dissuaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwise as it is said he would willinglie haue receiued) king Philip still reteined a malicious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of old displeasures, would haue attempted the warre against the subiects of king Richard, if his lords would haue ioined with him: but they considering what slander would redound hereby both to him and them for the iniurie doone to the christian common-welth, in making warre against him that was occupied in defense of the faith against the common enimies of christendome, would not giue their consent thereto, and so the matter rested, till king Richard was taken prisoner in Almaigne, and then what followed, it shall after appeare.

The cuill dealing & breach of promise of the French king.

Wil. Parua. Enuious discord among the christians.

In the meane while, the christian armie atchiued some worthie enterprises in the holie land, though not manie, by reason of such enuious discord as reigned amongst the chéefe gouernours. It chanced yet on the éeue of the Natiuitie of our ladie next after the departure of king Philip, as king Richard marched foorth towards Japh ancientlie called Joppa, that the Soldan Saladine taking aduantage of the place, did set vpon the rereward of the christians: but his Saracens (after they had fought right fiercelie from noone till sunne setting) were so beaten backe at length, and repelled with such losse and disaduantage, that in 40. yeares before they had not susteined at one time greater damage. Amongst other of the christians slaine at that encounter, was one James Dauenes, a man of high prowesse and valiancie.

K. Richard discomfiteth the Saracens néere to Port Japh.

Reg. Houed.

Moreouer, king Richard wan diuerse townes and castels out of the enimies hands, as Ascalon, Darus, and diuerse other, and some he fortified, as Ascalon aforesaid, and Port Japh, otherwise called Joppa. There were sundrie encounters also betwixt the Saracens and christians, wherein king Richard and his people bare themselues so manfullie, that the victorie for the most part continuallie rested on their side. At one time also, hearing of a great conueie of vittels, munitions, and other things which came from Babylon towards Jerusalem to furnish Saladine and his armie (which conueies they call carauannes) king Richard with a competent power of men met them on the waie, and distressed those that were attendant vpon the safegard of that carriage, being in number about two thousand horssemen, besides a great multitude of footmen, and therewith tooke the carriages with foure thousand and six hundred camels and dromedaries, besides an innumerable sort of mules, asses, and other beasts of burthen.

1192.

¶ But to speake of all the worthie exploits atchiued by king Richard and his valiant capteins there in the holie land against the infidels, it would require a long treatise, and therefore here we passe them ouer. This is to be noted, that amongst other of whom we find honorable mention made by writers for their high valiancie shewed in those exploits, these are named as cheefe, Robert earle of Leicester, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, with the earles of S. Paule and Dreux, beside diuerse other, as Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Toonie, James de Auenes, the bishop of Beauuois, William de Barres, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Nealle, Henrie Fitz Nicholas, Robert de Newburg, Rafe de S. Marie, Arnold de Bois, Henrie de Mailoc, William & Saule de Bruil, Andrew de Chauignie, Henrie de Graie, Peter de Pratellis, Stephan de Turneham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbald de Mount Chablon, Manser de Lisle, Richard de Orques and Theodorike Philip, Ferrike de Vienne, Gilbert Malcmaine, Alexander d'Arsie, Stephan de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanuille, Raimond Fitz Prince, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Gerard Furniuall, Rafe de Malleon, Roger de Sacie, William de Poole, Hugh de Neuill, Henrie Teutch or (if ye will) Teutonicus

The names of such noble men as were famous for their valiant doings in this voiage.

De Poole alias de Stagno.

tonicus the kings standardbearer, with diuerse others, as well Englishmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poictouins, Aniouines, Britans, Gascoignes, as other nations, of whome partlie mention is alreadie made before in this booke, and partlie for breefenesse diuerse are omitted.

But now to returne, sure it is, that king Richard meant to haue recouered the citie of Jerusalem, and all the holie land out of the Saracens hands, by the assistance of almightie God: if the doubt which he had of his brother the earle of Mortaigns practises, & the French kings doings, which were brought to him with a greeuous report, had not reuoked him home. For diuerse messengers were sent dailie into the holie land, to aduertise him of such dangers as were like to insue, if by his speedie returne the same were not preuented. *Galf. Vinsaf.* And first after Easter, there came to him the prior of Hereford with letters from the bishop of Elie, conteining a sore information against his brother earle John, for hauing expelled those whom he had appointed rulers ouer the realme of England, and altered the state of things there contrarie to the ordinances by him deuised afore his setting forward vpon his iournie (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Vpon receipt of which letters, he meant immediatlie at the first to haue returned, and to haue left behind him a conuenient power of men, to wit, three hundred knights or men of armes, and two thousand chosen footmen, to abide vpon the defense of the holie land, with other christians at his costs and charges. But yet at length he was persuaded to tarrie, speciallie till things were set in some better staie, which were out of order by the death of the marques of Montferrato, lord of Tire, whom two traitorous Saracens of the kind which they name Assassini had murthered. After whose death Henrie earle of Champaigne nephue to king Richard married his wife, and was made king of Jerusalem, Guido resigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompense king Richard gaue the Ile of Cypres: although some write, that the knights Templers had bought it of him before. Thus king Richard remaining still in the holie land, shortlie after Whitsuntide, there came an other messenger to him, one John de Alanzon a clearke, bringing worsse newes out of England than the prior of Hereford had brought before, which in effect conteined, that his brother earle John was alied as a confederat with the French king, and meant through his setting on, to seize into his possession the whole realme of England, notwithstanding the persuasion of his mother quéene Elianor and other his frends to the contrarie.

The marques of Montferrato murthred by the Assassini.

Earle John purposed to seize vpon the kingdom in his brothers absence.

Herevpon king Richard was fullie persuaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certeine persons, and namelie of one William de Poicters, a chapleine of his, he eftsoones altered his purpose, and so remained there, till at length through enuie and malice still increasing amongst the christians, he perceiued how no good purpose could go forward, since that which séemed good to some, was misliked of other; and speciallie our writers put great blame in the French men, who either vpon disdaine or other displeasure would not be persuaded to follow their aduise, which were knowne best to vnderstand the state of things in those parties. And herevpon, when the armie was aduanced to Betenoble, a place not past foure leagues distant from Jerusalem, bicause their mind might not be fulfilled for the besieging of Jerusalem, which they had intended to take in hand (whereas the residue would rather that they shuld haue gone to besiege Babylon in Aegypt, and that vpon sundrie great respects) the Frenchmen raised their field, and returned againe to Acres in great despite, putting the rest of the armie also (so much as in them laie) in danger of vtter ruine and distresse.

William de Poicters K. Richards chapleine.

Then king Richard and the other christian capteins perceiuing how the matter inclined, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good successe, followed them. So that after they were thus returned to Acres, king Richard still doubting least his long absence from home might put him in danger of more losse here, than he saw hope of present gaine to be had there, in such diuersitie of humours and priuie malice which reigned among them, he determined fullie to depart homewards, with no lesse purpose to returne thither againe after he had setled things at home in such sure stay as was expedient for the suertie of *An. Reg.* 4.

his owne estate and quietnesse of his people. Herevpon being readie to enter into his
Wil. Paruus. ships at Acres [or as some haue, being on his iournie homewards in Cypres] he was aduertised that the Souldane Saladine had taken the town of Japh, slaine a great number of the christians within it, and besieged the residue within the castell, the which (constreined through feare) had compounded to yéeld, if within thrée daies there came no succour.

King Richard being hereof aduertised, and turning gréef into valiancie, with all spéed sailed backe vnto Japh, and landing there with his people, caused his enimies to forsake the towne: but anon assembling themselues againe togither, they turned once more to
K. Richard rescueth Port Japh. besiege it, wherevpon he issued foorth into the fields, and fought with them sundrie daies togither, till finallie they were content to forsake their enterprise, and to depart thence for altogither. In these conflicts the valiant courage of King Richard, and the worthie
Ra'd. Niger. Matth. Paris. manhood of his souldiers right well appeared: for he brought not with him at that time vnto Japh aboue 80 men of armes, and foure hundred other souldiers with crossebowes, and yet with that small handfull of men, and some aid of them that he found there in the castell, he did not onelie bid battell to the enimies, which were numbered to 62 thousand, but also put them to the woorsse, and caused them to flee backe, to their great shame and confusion.

Cephas. Thus Japh being deliuered out of the enimies hands, king Richard fell sicke at a
K. Richard fell sicke. castell called Cephas, and so remained there certeine daies, till he had recouered his health. In which meane time the Soldane Saladine seeming to lament his case, sent vnto him certeine of his councellors to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderstood that king Richard ment shortlie to returne into his countrie, and that after his departure out of the east parts, he could with small adoo recouer all that the christians yet held within the holie land, he would neuerthelesse in respect of king Richards high prowes, and noble valliancie, grant a peace for a certeine time, so that not onelie Ascalon, but also all other such townes and places as the christians had fortified or woone since the conquest of Acres should be raced, as touching their walles, bulworks, gates, and other fortifications.

King Richard (though he perceiued that this offer of peace tended vnto this point cheefelie, that Saladine would thereby adnihilate whatsoeuer the christian armie had doone in the holie land since his & the French kings arriuall, so that by the said peace he should gaine more than by the edge of his sword) did somewhat staie at this offer and demand, as a thing greatlie dishonourable to the christians, to lose by treatie of peace so much or rather more than they got by force of warres (a meere token of faint and féeble courage) yet considering that in such necessitie both of his departure from thence, and also of lacke of other succors to resist the puissance of the enimies, after his comming awaie, he iudged it best to take the offer at the enimies hands in auoiding of some greater euill.
A peace concluded betwixt the Christians & Saracens. Herevpon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for thrée yeares, thrée moneths, thrée wéeks, thrée daies, and three houres, to begin at Easter next insuing. And among other articles, it was couenanted, that the christians should haue frée passage to come and go vnto the citie of Jerusalem, to visit the holie sepulchre there, which was granted; so that amongst a great number of christians that presentlie vpon this conclusion went
Hubert bishop of Salisburie. thither, Hubert bishop of Salisburie was one, who had continued about the king during the time of all his iournie till this time.

King Richard hauing thus concluded with Saladine, tooke the sea, and comming againe
K. Richard taketh his iournie homewards. into Cypres, sent his wife queene Berengaria with his sister Joane (late quéene of Sicile) into England by the long seas, but he himselfe not minding to lie long on the seas, determined to take his course into Grecia, and so by land to passe homewards with all speed possible. Howbeit yer he could atteine his purpose, his chance was to be driuen by tempest into the coast of Istria, not farre from Aquilia, where he stood in some doubt of his life. For if he had beene knowne and taken, they would surelie haue killed him,

bicause

bicause of the slander that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the marquesse of Montferrato, who indéed was slaine by two of the Assassins in the citie of Tyrus, whilest king Richard was in the holie land (as before yée haue heard.) K. Richard slandered for the death of ye marques of Montferrate.

He therefore hauing here made shipwracke, and doubting to fall into the hands of any person in those parts that bare good will vnto the marquesse (against whome he had indéed shewed himselfe not freendlie in a quarrell betwixt the said marquesse and Guido king of Jerusalem) made the best shift he could to get away, yet knowledge being had of him, and serch made after him by one Meinard of Gorezein, he lost eight of his seruants, and so came to a towne within the bishoprike of Saltzburge called Frisake, where he was eftsoones in danger to haue beene taken againe by one Frederike de saint Soome, who notwithstanding tooke six of his men, but yet he himselfe with three other of his companie made shift to get away. Finallie comming to Vienna in Austrich, and there causing his seruants to prouide meat for him, more sumptuous and fine than was thought requisit for so meane a person as he counterfeited then to beare out in countenance, it was streightwaies suspected that he was some other maner of man than he pretended, and in fine, those that marked more diligentlie the maner of him, perceiued what he was, and gaue knowledge to the duke of Austrich named Leopold, being then in the citie of Vienna, what they had seene. His page that had the Dutch toong, going about the towne to change gold, and buy vittels, bewraied him, hauing by chance the kings gloues vnder his girdle: wherevpon comming to be examined for feare of tortures confessed the truth. *W. Paruus.* Erle of Gorze Saltzburge. K. Richard commeth to Vienna. *Polydor.*

The duke streightwaies caused the house where he was lodged, to be set about with armed men, and sent other into the house to apprehend him. He being warie that he was descried, got him to his weapon: but they aduising him to be contented, and alledging the dukes commandement, he boldlie answered, "that sith he must be taken, he being a king, would yéeld himselfe to none of the companie but to the duke alone, and therefore if it would please him to come, he would yéeld himselfe into his hands." The duke hearing of this, spéedilie came vnto him, whom he meeting, deliuered vp his sword, and committed him vnto his custodie. The duke reioising of such a preie, brought him vnto his palace, and with gentle words enterteined him, though he meant no great good towards him, as well inough appeared in that he committed him to the keeping of certeine gentlemen, which without much courtesie looked streightlie inough to him for starting awaie, in somuch that they kept him in cold irons (as some authours doo write.) He was taken after the maner aforesaid in December vpon S. Thomas éeue, in the yéere of our Lord 1192. and in the fourth yeare of his reigne. *Ra. Niger.* K. Richard submitteth himselfe to the duke of Austrich. *N. Triuet.*

The duke of Austrich owght the king no good will, bicause he had cast downe his ensignes, pitcht vp in a turret at Acres, which he had woone at the verie time when that citie was deliuered by the Saracens: for while they were in tretie on the one side, the duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof, gaue the assault vnto that part of the towne which was appointed vnto him to besiege. And so being entred the towne, and perceiuing that by treatie it was to be deliuered, he retired into the turret which he had first woone and entred, and there set vp his standard and ensignes, which king Richard (as the Dutch writers affirme) comming thither, threw downe and trode vnder his féet. *Polychron.* The cause of the displeasure betwixt the duke of Austrich & king Richard.

But Geruasius Dorobornensis declareth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus. After that the said citie of Acres was rendred into the christian mens hands (saith he) diuerse lords tooke their lodgings as they thought good, and hanged foorth their ensignes. And as it chanced, the duke of Austrich placing himselfe in one of the fairest palaces of all the citie, put foorth his ensigne, whereof king Richard being warie, came thither with a companie of hardie souldiers about him, and threw downe the dukes ensigne, so displacing him out of that so pleasant and beautifull a lodging. For this cause, and also surmizing that king Richard should be guiltie of the death of the marques Conrade, the duke of Austrich shewed such discourtesie towards him. But concerning the murther of *Ger. Dor.* *Rog. Houed.*

the marques, the chéefe gouernour of those Saracens called Assassini cleared king Richard by a letter written and directed vnto the duke of Austrich in manner as followeth.

A letter directed to the duke of Austrich, wherein king Richard is cleared of the death of the marquesse of Mountferrat, whereof he was vehementlie suspected.

LVPOLDO duci Austriæ, Vetus de Monte salutem. Cùm plurimi reges & principes vltra mare Richardum regem Angliæ & dominum de morte marchisi inculpent, iuro per dominum qui regnat in æternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quòd in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit. Est siquidem causa mortis ipsius marchisi talis. Vnus ex fratribus nostris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes nostras veniebat, & tempestas illum fortè ad Tyrum appulit, & marchisus fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos verò marchiso nuncios nostros misimus, mandantes vt pecuniam fratris nostri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris nostri nobiscum se concordaret, & noluit.

Nec non & nuncios nostros spreuit, & mortem fratris nostri super Reginaldum dominum de Sidonis posuit, & nos tantùm fecimus per amicos nostros, quod in veritate scimus, quòd ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium nostrum nomine Edrisum misimus ad eum, quem in mare mergere voluit, sed amici nostri illum à Tyro festinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & ista nobis nunciauit. Nos quoque ex illa hora marchisum desideraumus occidere. Túncque duos fratres misimus ad Tyrum, qui eum apertè & ferè coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt.

Hæc ergò fuit causa mortis marchisi, & benè dicimus vobis in veritate, quòd dominus Richardus rex Angliæ in hac marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt, iniustè fecerunt, & sine causa. Sciatis pro certo, quòd nullum hominem huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, nisi priùs nobis malum fecerit. Et sciatis quòd has literas fecimus in domo nostra ad castellum nostrum Messiat in dimidio Septembri, anno ab Alexandro 1505.

The same in English.

VETUS de Monte to Lupold duke of Austrich sendeth greeting. Where manie kings and princes beyond the seas blame Richard king of England of the marques his death, I sweare by the lord that reigneth euerlastinglie, and by the law which we hold, that he was not in fault for his death. For the verie cause of the marques his death was such as followeth. One of our brethren in a ship of Satalie came towards our parties, and chanced by tempest to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the marques caused him to be taken and slaine, and tooke a great portion of monie that he had in the ship with him. Whervpon we sent our messengers to the marques, commanding him to restore vnto vs the monie of our brother, and to compound with vs for our said brothers death, and he would not.

Moreouer, he also contemned our messengers, & laid the fault of our brothers death vpon Reginald lord of Sidon, and we did so much through our freends, that we got full vnderstanding that the marques himselfe caused him to be slaine, and tooke his monie. And therefore we sent vnto him againe an other messenger named Edrisus, whome he would haue drowned in the sea, but our freends made such shift, that they procured him to depart with speed from Tyre, who returned to vs, and signified these things to vs for certeine. And from that houre euer after we had a desire to slea the marques: and so

then

then we sent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openlie, & in a manner in presence of all the people of Tyre slue him.

This therefore was the verie cause of the death of the marques: & we say to you in good sooth, that the lord Richard king of England, in this death of the marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue doone anie displeasure vnto the king of England for this cause, they haue doone it wrongfullie, and without anie iust occasion. Know ye for certeine, that we do not vse to kill anie man of this world for anie bribe, or for monie, except he haue doone to vs some harme afore time. And know ye that we haue made these letters in our house at our castell of Messuat, in the midst of September, in the yeare from Alexander the great, 1505.

¶ Thus we see how king Richard was cleared of that crime concerning the marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verelie it is most like that king Richard would haue béene loth to haue communicated his purpose vnto such a wicked kind of pagans as the Assassini were, if he had pretended any such matter, but rather would haue sought his reuenge by some other meanes. Now therefore to our purpose.

The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer all Germanie, wherevpon the emperour Henrie the sixt, the sonne of Frederike the first, sent in all hast vnto the duke, persuading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to susteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and deteining of him prisoner, as the pope and others. The emperour well vnderstood the wealth and riches of England, and therefore hoped to make some good purchase by ransoming the king, if he might get him out of the dukes hands. The duke perceiuing also the emperours meaning, durst not well denie his request, and therefore he deliuered the king vnto them that were sent from the emperour, who couenanted to giue vnto the said duke the summe of 6000. pounds of Cullen weight for the hauing of the said king. The emperour thus receiuing the king at the hands of the duke of Austrich, commanded that he should be committed to close prison, and would not doo so much as once speake with him. This he did, to cause the king vpon an indignation and wearinesse of that maner of life, to make speed in offering some large masse of monie for his libertie & deliuerance. ¶ Thus we sée how couetousnesse infected the hearts of the mightie, and what occasion the emperour and duke did take, to inrich themselues by the meanes of the king, whome they forced not to impouerish, so their owne greedie worme were serued. But this hath béene a disease not so generall as ancient, according to his words that said,

1193.

The king is deliuered to the emperor. *Matth. Paris.*

Vix ego Saturno quenquam regnante videbam,
Cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.

Ouid. lib. Fast. 1.

Here is to be remembred by the waie, that about the same time, or somewhat before, in the yeare of our Lord 1192. the pope sent two legats (namelie, Octauian bishop of Hostia, and Jordane de Fossa noua) into Normandie, to reconcile the bishop of Elie and the archbishop of Rouen: but comming vnto Gisors, they were staied from entring any further into the countrie, wherevpon they did interdict the whole duchie of Normandie, togither with William Fitz Radulfe lord steward of that countrie, bicause he was the man that had so staied them. Immediatlie herevpon, queene Elianor, and the archbishop of Rouen sent vnto those legats Hugh bishop of Durham, requiring them to release that sentence of interdiction so pronounced against the steward and countrie of Normandie in the kings absence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normandie: howbeit, the pope being sent vnto, released it, and caused the legats to release it also, and yet they entred not into Normandie at all.

Rog. Houed.

Two legats from ye pope.

Normandie interdicted.

This yeare, whilest the seneschall of Gascoigne laie sicke, the earle of Picregort, and the vicount of March, and almost all the lords and barons of Gascoigne, began to waste and destroie the lands of king Richard. And though the seneschall manie times by messengers required a peace, or at the least some truce, yet could he not haue any grant thereof:

The earle of Picregort & others wast the K: of Englands lands.

thereof: wherfore vpon his recouerie of health he inuaded the lands of the said earle, tooke the castels and fortresses and some of them he fortified, and kept to the kings vse, and some of them he raced downe to the ground. He also inuaded the vicounts countrie, and subdued it to the kings gouernement. Shortlie after came the brother of the king of Nauarre, with eight hundred knights or men of armes to the seneschals aid, and so they two togither entring into the lands of the earle of Tholouse, tooke diuerse castels and fortresses within the same, of the which some they fortified, and some they raced, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouse, and lodged in maner vnder the walles of the citie.

The seneschal of Gascoigne reuengeth iniuries.

The king of Nauars brother.

A little before Christmas also, diuerse of those that had béene in the holie land with king Richard, came home into England, not knowing but that king Richard had beene at home before them, and being asked where they thought he was become, they could say no more but that they had seene the ship wherein he first went aboord, arriuing at Brendize in Puglia. At length, when newes came that he was taken and staied as prisoner, the archbishop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realme of England, sent the abbat of Boxeley and the abbat of Roberts-bridge with all spéed into Almaine to speake with him, and to vnderstand his state, and what his pleasure was in all things. Who comming to Germanie, passed through the countrie into Baierland, where at a place called Oxefer they found the king as then on his iournie towards the emperour, to whom (as yée haue heard) the duke of Austrich did send him. The said abbats attended him to the emperours court, and remained there with him till the emperour and he were accorded, in manner as after shall be shewed: and then after Easter they returned with the newes into England.

The abbats of Boxley and Roberts-bridge.

Ger. Dor. Vpon report hereof order was taken for manie things, but cheefelie for the state: in which dealings, forsomuch as those which had the rule of the land stood in great doubt of things (for the inconstant nature of earle John was of them much suspected) first they caused a new oth of allegiance to be made to king Richard, and receiued of the people. They fortified also such townes and castels as were of importance, both with repairing the walles and other defenses about the same, and furnishing them with men, munition and vittels. Thus was the land brought into some order.

The French king counselleth K. John to vsurpe against his brother.

In the meane while, the French king being aduertised that king Richard was deteined as prisoner, reioised not a little thereat, and with all speed by secret messages did send for his brother earle John, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, he exhorted him not to suffer so conuenient an occasion to passe, but to take the gouernement of the realme of England now into his hands, promising him all such aid as he could of him reasonablie require: with other like talke still tending to the prouocation of the earle to forsake his allegiance vnto his brother. And to say the truth, earle John was easilie persuaded so to doo, and therefore vpon his immediat returne into England, assembled an armie, and with the same (and such strangers as he brought with him) began to proone maisteries, first winning the castels of Windsore, Wallingford, Notingham, and diuerse other, and fortifieng the same to his owne vse and defense.

The barons of the land, iudging such vnlawfull doings not to be anie longer suffered, first besieged the castell of Windsore, and after preparing to leuie a greater force, did put them within in such feare, that they yéelded vp the same, séeking to escape by flight, some into one place, and some into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthie execution. But this was not doone without continuance of time, & without great trouble & charges to the realme: for whereas there was a practise betwixt the French king and earle John, that a great power of strangers, & namelie Flemings should haue come into the realme (for whose transporting a great number of ships were brought togither at Witsand) yet the high prouidence and goodnesse of God disappointed their purpose. For their messengers being taken which were sent hither into England, the treason was reuealed, and by the queene mothers appointment (who cheefelie then ruled the land) a great companie of knights, men of armes, and commons of the countrie, watched

Ger. Dor.

watched the sea coasts ouer against Flanders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the passion weeke, and so continued till a certeine time after Easter. Howbeit earle John came secretlie ouer, in hope to haue not onelie the assistance of the Welshmen and of manie other his freends in England, but also of the Scots, howbeit, the king of Scots would not meddle. He therefore with such Welshmen and other as he had brought ouer, and such Englishmen as he could get to take his part, began such attempts (as before ye haue heard) to the disquieting of the whole realme, and great displeasure of the king.

Moreouer, beside that power of the barons which laid siege to Windsor castell, there were Noble men also in other parts of the realme that were readie to resist him. And amongst other, Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the kings iustices, and William de Stuteuille, assembled an armie, and comming to Doncaster, fortified the towne: but when the archbishop would haue gone forward to besiege the castell of Tickhill, which earle John had in possession, the other two his associats would not consent to go with him, bicause they were seruants, and reteined with earle John. Herewith the archbishop being sore offended, departed from them, calling them traitors to their king, and enimies to the realme.

The archbishop of Yorke. Hugh Bardolfe. William de Stuteuille.

About the same time did the French king enter into Normandie with an armie, & comming to the towne of Gisors, besieged it, the which one Gilbert de Vascoll or Guascoill capteine thereof (to his high reproch) yéelded vp vnto him, with an other castell also called Nesle, which he had likewise in keeping. After this, the French king entring into the countrie of Veuxine or Veulquessine, wan diuers towns and fortresses in the same, and passing forward, tooke Val de Rueil, and Neusburge, and finallie comming before the citie of Rouen he laid siege thereto: but the earle of Leicester being gotten into the citie before the French kings comming thither, so incouraged the citizens, that they stoutlie standing to their defense, caused the French king to his great dishonour to raise his field, hauing lost there more than he wan. Yet to saue other townes and castels from taking, and the countrie from destruction, the rulers of the same procured a truce for a great summe of monie, which they couenanted to giue, deliuering vp foure notable castels by waie of engagement, till the summe agreed vpon should be to him contented and dulie paid.

Wil. Paruus.

Rouen besieged. The earle of Leicester.

Polydor.

In the meane time, earle John as head of all the conspiratours, perceiuing himselfe not able to atchieue his purpose as then, nor to resist the lords and barons of the realme, being vp in armour against him, and now growen to greater stomach, bicause they vnderstood by the bishop of Salisburie latelie arriued, of the kings welfare, and hope of deliuerance; and furthermore, considering that he was disappointed both of Scots and Flemings as he had well hoped should haue come to his aid: he tooke a truce with the lords of the kings side, by the earnest trauell of the bishop of Salisburie, till the feast of All saincts, so as the castels of Windsore, Wallingford, and the Peake, should remaine in the hands of his mother queene Elianor; but the castels of Notingham and Tickhill remained still in his owne possession, the which with such other castels as he held within the land, he furnished with garrisons of his owne men and freends, and then went againe ouer into France to the French king, to purchase some new aid at his hands according to his promise.

Michaelmas, saith *Ger. Dorob.*

Here will we leaue earle John conferring with the French king, and returne to the king of England. Vpon Palmesundaie after that he was deliuered (or rather betraied) into the emperours hands, he was brought before the princes and lords of the empire, in whose presence the emperour charged him with diuerse vnlawfull doings: and mainelie picked a quarell at him for the wrongs and hurts doone to the Sicilians in time of his soiourning in their Ile, as he went towards the holie land. For albeit the said emperour had nothing as then to doo in the countrie, yet for somuch as he had latelie recouered the Ile of Sicile out of king Tancreds hands, and was now intituled king thereof by the pope, in right of his

Wil. Paruus.

The emperour chargeth king Richard with iniuries doone to the Sicilians.

his wife Constance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicile, and so by reason therof seemed to be greeuouslie offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the monie from Tancred, which neuerthelesse was iustlie due vnto his sister for her dowrie, as in the processe afore I haue alreadie declared. King Richard notwithstanding these vaine and other friuolous obiections laid to his charge, made his answears alwaies so pithilie and directlie to all that could be laid against him, and excused himselfe in euerie point so throughlie, that the emperour much maruelled at his high wisedome and prudence, and not onelie greatlie commended him for the same, but from thencefoorth vsed him more courteouslie, and suffered that his freends might haue accesse to him more freelie than before they could be permitted.

W. Paruus. Matth. West. The kings wisedome in making his answere.

Polydor.

The pope also being aduertised of the taking of king Richard, was much offended, that anie christian prince, hauing taken vpon him the defense of the christian faith against the infidels, should be so vsed in his returne from so godlie an enterprise: and therefore sent both to the duke of Austrich, and to the emperour, requiring them to set him at libertie. But the emperour declared plainlie that he would be answered for such summes of monie as king Richard had taken out of Sicile before he would release him or set him at libertie.

The bishop of Salisburie sent into England.

When king Richard perceiued that no excuses would serue, though neuer so iust, but that he must needs paie to his couetous host some great summe of monie for his hard interteinment, he sent the bishop of Salisburie into England, to take order with the barons of the realme to prouide for the paiment of his ransome, which bishop (as yee haue heard) after the peace concluded with Saladine, went vnto Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and now comming into Sicile, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken prisoner in Austrich, and remained in the emperours hands: wherevpon he turned that waie foorth, and comming to him, was now sent into England with commission (as I haue said) to leauie monie for the kings ransome. He landed here the twentith day of April, by whose comming the land was the sooner brought in quiet: for the agreement which earle John tooke (as before yee haue heard) was cheefelie procured by his meanes. For till his comming, the castell of Windsore was not woone, the siege being but slackelie followed by the archbishop of Rouen, who had diuerse of his freends within it, and therefore was not verie earnest against them.

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. The bishop of Elie commeth to the king.

The emperor agreeth with king Richard for his ransome. *N. Triuet. Matt. Paris.*

When the bishop of Salisburie was departed towards England, the bishop of Elie came to the king and trauelled so earnestlie betwixt the emperour and him, that finallie the emperour (partlie through his suit, & partlie for that he had beene verie much called vpon by the pope and other for his deliuerie) tooke order with him for the redeeming of his libertie, and appointed what summe he should pay for his ransome, which (as some write) was two hundred thousand markes: other saie that it was but 140 thousand marks of the poise of Cullen weight. But William Paruus, who liued in those daies, affirmeth it was one hundred thousand pounds, and Roger Houeden saith an hundred thousand marks of Cullen poise, to be paid presentlie at the kings first comming into England, and fiftie thousand marks afterwards, that is to say, thirtie thousand to the emperour, and twentie thousand to the duke of Austrich, as it were in recompense of the iniurie done to him in the holie land; where king Richard ouerthrew his ensignes: and for the same to deliuer sufficient suerties.

R. Houed. Lands assigned to king Richard.

Moreouer, we find in Roger Houeden that the emperour amongst other the articles of this agreement thus concluded betwixt him and king Richard, gaue and granted, and by his letters patents confirmed vnto him these lands hereafter mentioned, that is to saie: Prouance with the citie of Vienne, and Viennois, the citie of Marseils, Narbon, Arles and Lion vpon the Rhone, with the countrie vp to the Alps, and all those possessions which belonged to the empire in Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon and of the earle of S. Giles: wherein is to be noted, that with the precinct of the premisses thus granted to king Richard, fiue archbishops sees, and thirtie three bishops sees are included. Howbeit the truth is, that the emperour neuer had possession of these countries, cities, and

and towns himselfe, neither would the inhabitants receiue any person so by him appointed to their lord and gouernour, wherefore the king made small account of that his so large grant. But after he once vnderstood the certeintie of the summe that he should paie for his ransome (which businesse he most attended) he sent one with letters by and by and in great hast into England to his treasurers, requiring them with all conuenient spéed to prouide monie, and to send it to him by a day, that he might be set at libertie with spéed. *Polydor.*

These letters being come to the quéene mother, and other that had charge in gouernance of the realme, tooke order that all maner of persons as well spirituall as temporall, should giue the fourth part of their whole réuenues to them for that yeare accrewing, and as much more of their mooueable goods, and that of euerie knights fée there should be leuied the sum of twentie shillings. Also that the religious houses of the orders of the Cisteaux and Sempringham should giue all their wools for that yeare towards the kings ransome. *Rog. Houed.* Order taken for leuieng monie to paie the kings ransome.

Now those that had commission to leuie this monie, being poisoned with couetousnesse, and incensed with a gréedie desire (than the which as the poet saith, The hard dealing of officers in the collecton.

———nulla est hac maior Erinnys,
Hanc memorant Acheronte satam, per tristia Ditis
Regna truces agitare faces, &c.)

vsed much streightnesse in exacting it, not onelie leuieng it to the vttermost value and extent of mens lands, goods, and possessions, but after their owne willes and pleasures: so that vnder colour of the kings commission, and letters to them directed, there séemed not a tribute or subsidie to be raised, but by some publike proclamation all the goods and substance of the people to be appointed as a prey to the kings officers, whereby it came to passe, that not onelie priuate mens goods, but also the chalices, iewels, and vessels belonging to the church were turned into monie, and a farre greater summe made than was at the first commanded, a great part of the ouerplus being conuerted to the vse of those, through whose hands the receipt passed. There was no priuilege nor freedome allowed to exempt any person or place for being contributorie towards the paiment of this monie. The order of Cisteaux that were neuer charged with any paiment before, were now assessed more déepelie than the rest. Church iewels.

The bishop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious dealings of the pettie officers, and pittieng the people of the church, collected halfe the value of all the chalices within his diocesse himselfe, and to make vp the other halfe of the whole summe, he spared not to giue a great portion of his owne treasure. The abbat of S. Albons acquitted all those churches within the compasse of his iurisdiction, by the gift of an hundred marks. But the bishop of Chester had verie ill lucke with his collections; for hauing gathered a great summe of monie to the kings vse, he was spoiled thereof in one night, as he lodged neere vnto Canturburie, being vpon his iournie towards the king. And bicause Matthew de Cléere that laie in the castell of Douer was knowne to aid those that robbed the said bishop, the archbishop of Canturburie pronounced him accurssed. The bishop of Norwich. The abbat of saint Albons. The bishop of Chester. Matthew de Cécre.

About this time, and on the morrow after the natiuitie of saint John Baptist, the bishop of Elie lord chancellour arriued in England, not shewing himselfe in any statelie port (for he tooke vpon him neither the dignitie of chancellour nor legat, nor yet of iustice) but onelie as a simple bishop and messenger sent from the king. The quéene mother, the archbishop of Rouen, and such other as had gouernment of the land, hearing of his comming, met him at saint Albons, where he shewed to them the emperours letters, conteining the agreement made betwixt him and king Richard, and withall appointed certeine lords & barons to go with him at his returne backe to the king, as Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Sifrid bishop of Chichester, Bennet abbat of Peterborow, Richard earle of Clare, Roger Bigot earle of Norfolke, Geffrey de Saie, and diuerse other. It was also ordeined at this same time, that the monie gathered towards the paiment of the kings ransome should remaine in custodie of Hubert bishop of Salisburie, Richard bishop of *R. Houed.* The bishop of Elie.

London, William earle of Arundell, Hameline earle of Warren, and of the Maior of London, vnder the seales of the quéene mother, and of the archbishop of Rouen.

An. Reg. 5. *Wil. Paruus.* ¶ But sée the hap of things, whilest ech one was thus occupied about the aforesaid monie; it chanced that king Richard was at the point to haue béene deliuered into the hands of his deadlie aduersarie the French king, as hereafter you shall heare, noting by the waie the dangerous estate of princes, the manifold distresses whereinto by sinister fate (as well as the inferior & rascall rout of common drudges) they be driuen. For what greater calamitie, what gréeuouser hartach, what more miserable casualtie could haue happened vnto a bondman, than to be deliuered to and fro from the hand of one enimie to another, to be bought and sold for monie, to stand to the courtesies of forren foes, of a king to become a captiue? whervnto the poet did right well allude, when he said,

Hor. lib. car. 1. ode 10.

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, & celsæ grauiore casu
Decidunt turres, feriúntq; summos
Fulmina montes.

The bishop of Liege murthered. The emperour vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of Liege, which latelie had atteined to that benefice contrarie to the emperours pleasure, who wished the same rather to an other person, hired certeine naughtie fellowes to go into France, where the bishop remained for feare of the emperours malice, and there to find meanes traitorouslie to slea him, which they accordinglie did, by reason whereof the duke of Louaigne that was brother to the bishop, and other of his kinsmen, vpon knowledge had thereof, meant to haue made the emperour warre, in reuenge of that murther: insomuch that the emperour, to haue the French kings aid against them, was minded to haue deliuered K. Richard vnto him.

Howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concord made betwixt the emperour and his nobles, he changed his purpose also touching the deliuering ouer of king Richard, who perceiuing that till his ransome were paid (which would amount to the summe of an hundred & fiftie thousand marks) he should not get libertie: and putting great confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert bishop of Salisburie (whome he sent as ye haue heard into England to deale for the leuieng of the same) he thought good to aduance the same bishop to the metropolitane sée of Canturburie, which had beene vacant euer sithence the decease of archbishop Baldwine, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holie land.

Wil. Paruus. Herevpon writing to the bishops of the realme, and to the moonks of Canturburie, he required them to procéed to the election of an archbishop for that see, and withall commended vnto them the foresaid Hubert, as a man most sufficient and méet for that roome.

Hubert bishop of Salisburie elected archbishop of Canturburie. He wrote likewise to the queene to further that matter, and easilie hereby obteined his desire. For shortlie after, the same Hubert was elected by the bishops and moonks, which assembled togither for that purpose. He was the 41 archbishop that gouerned that see: for although Reginold bishop of Bath was elected before him, yet bicause he died yer he was installed, he is not put in the number.

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, lord cheefe iustice. The king being now put in good hope of his spéedie deliuerance, sent into England, willing his mother quéene Elianor, the archbishop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almaine, and in the meane time he ordeined Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie to remaine at home as lord cheefe iustice. After this, the emperour with the aduice of the princes of the empire, assigned a day to king Richard, in which he should be deliuered out of captiuitie, which was the mondaie next after the twentith day of Christmasse. Wherevpon king Richard wrote vnto Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in forme as followeth.

The

The tenour of king Richards letters to the said archbishop.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andigauiæ, venerabili patri nostro in Christo, & amico charissimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem & sinceræ dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores sumus, quòd liberationem nostram plurimùm desideratis, & quòd liberatio nostra admodum vos lætificat, scripto volumus quòd lætitiæ nostræ participes sitis. Inde est quòd dilectioni vestræ dignum duximus significare, dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis nostræ nobis præfixisse, in die lunæ proxima post vicessimum diem natiuitatis Domini, & die dominica proxima sequenti coronabimur de regno prouinciæ, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliam literas domini imperatoris super hijs patentes, vobis & cæteris amicis nostris beneuolis. Vos autem interim pro omni posse vestro quos scitis nos diligere, consolari velitis, & quos scitis promotionem nostram desiderare. Teste meipso apud Spiram 22. die Septembris.

The emperour also signified by his letters to the lords of England his resolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenour of the emperours letters to the States of England touching king Richard, and the day of his deliuerance, &c.

HENRICUS Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilectis suis archiep. episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, & vniuersis alijs fidelibus Richardi illustris regis Anglorum gratiam suam & omne bonum. Vniuersitati vestræ duximus intimandum, quòd dilecto amico nostro Richardo illustri regi Anglorum domino vestro certum diem liberationis suæ statuimus, à secunda feria post diem natiuitatis domini in tres septimanas apud Spiram siue apud Berenatiam, & inde in septem dies posuimus ei diem coronationis suæ de regno Prouinciæ, quod ei promisimus: & hoc certum habeatis, & indubitatum, nostri siquidem propositi est, & voluntatis, præfatum dominum vestrum specialem promouere sicut amicum nostrum, & magnificentiùs honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thomæ Apostoli.

Before this king Richard had sent the bishop of Elie into France vnto his brother earle John, who preuailed so much with him, that he returned into Normandie, and there sware fealtie vnto his brother king Richard, and so was contented to forsake the French king. But whereas king Richard commanded that all such castels and honours as he had giuen to him afore time, should now be restored to him againe, as well those in England, as the other on the further side the sea: such as had the same castels in keeping would not obeie the kings commandement herein, refusing to make restitution of those places, according to the tenour & purport of the kings writ, vnto the said earle of Mortaigne, by reason of which refusall, he returned againe to the French king, and stucke to him. Herevpon the French king gaue vnto him the castels of Dreincourt, and Arques, the which ought to haue béene deliuered vnto the archbishop of Reimes as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt the French king to whom he was vncle, and the king of England to whom he was cousine, procuring a meeting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certeine place betwixt Vaucolur and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithstanding all that he could doo, matters were so farre out of frame, and such mistrust

The kings commandement not obeied.

mistrust was entred into the minds of the parties, that no conclusion held. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by paiment of his ransome to redéeme his libertie, and then to shift with things as he might. And so finallie when the monie was once readie, or rather a sufficient portion thereof, the same was conueied ouer into Germanie, and paiment made to the emperour of the more part of the kings ransome, and sufficient pledges left with him for the rest, as the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Bath [Baldwin Wac] and other which were of late come out of England to see and salute the king.

1194.

Rog. Houed. King Richard released out of captiuitie.

Herevpon king Richard, after he had beene prisoner one yeare, six weekes, and thrée daies, was set at libertie on Candlemasse day (as most writers agrée) and then with long and hastie iournies, not kéeping the high waies, he hasted foorth towards England. It is reported that if he had lingred by the way, he had béene eftsoones apprehended. For the emperour being incensed against him by ambassadors that came from the French king, immediatlie after he was set forward, began to repent himselfe in that he had suffered him so soon to depart from him, and herevpon sent men after him with all speed to bring him backe if they could by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall prison.

R. Houed. The offers of the French K. and erle John to haue the K. of England kept still in prison.

Some write that those ambassadours sent from the French king, with other from earle John, came to the emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offering in the French kings name fiftie thousand marks of siluer, and in the name of earle John thirtie thousand, vpon condition that K. Richard might remaine still in captiuitie vntill the feast of S. Michaell next insuing; or else if it might so please him, he should receiue a thousand pounds of siluer for euerie moneth, whilest king Richard should be deteined in his prison, or otherwise fiftie thousand marks of siluer more than the first offer, at one entire paiment, if he would deliuer him into their hands, or at the leastwise to kéepe him prisoner by the terme of one whole yeare.

The emperour hearing of such large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promise and letters patents therefore granted, proroged the day in which king Richard should haue béene set at libertie, till Candlemasse after, at which daie he was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the emperour had called a councell to intreat further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the emperour shewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and earle John vnto king Richard, who vpon sight and perusing of the same, was maruellouslie amazed, and began to despaire of all speedie deliuerance.

The princes that had vndertaken for the emperor to performe the couenants.

Indéed the emperour sought delaies vpon a couetous desire of the monie offered by the French king and earle John, but yet such princes and great lords as had vndertaken for the emperour, that the couenants and articles on his part agréed vpon in the accord passed betwixt him and king Richard, should be in ech behalfe performed [that is to saie, the archbishops of Ments, Cullen, and Saltzburge, the bishops of Wormes, Spiers, and Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Austrich, & Louain, the Palsgraue of the Rhine, and others] came to the emperour, and reprooning him for his couetous mind, in that he deferred the restoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrarie to the composition, did so much preuaile, that the emperour receiuing pledges for the paiment of the monie yet behind (as before ye haue heard) released king Richard out of captiuitie on the second or (as Roger Houeden saith) the fourth day of Februarie, being a dismall day and an infortunate (as they note them in kalendars.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Nouant the bishop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongst the other, he refused to be one of the number, alledging that he was seruant to earle John. King Richard greeuouslie offended herewith, commanded that he should be apprehended, and committed to prison, & so he was. This Robert was one of those that came with the letters from the French king and earle John to the emperour, about the staieng of king Richards deliuerance.

Robert de Nouant.

Furthermore,

Furthermore, king Richard the same day in which he was restored to libertie, summoned by his letters Hugh Nouant bishop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court, to answer such things as were to be obiected against him, both before spirituall iudges in that he was a bishop, and also before temporall in that he had holden and exercised a temporall office. On the verie same day also the emperour and the princes of the empire, sent letters vnder their hands and seales to the French king, and to John erle of Mortaigne, commanding them immediatlie vpon sight of the same letters, to restore vnto king Richard all those castels, cities, townes, lands, and other things, which they had taken from him during the time of his remaining in captiuitie, and if they refused thus to doo, then they gaue them to vnderstand by the same letters, that they would aid king Richard to recouer that by force, which had beene wrongfullie taken from him.

Yerelie pensions giuen by the king to certeine princes of the empire. Memburge.

Moreouer king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto sundrie princes of the empire for their homage and fealtie, certeine yearelie pensions, as to the archbishop of Ments and Cullen, to the bishop of Liege, to the dukes of Austrich and Louaine, to the marquesse of Mountferrat, to the duke of Meglenburge, to the duke of Suaben the emperors brother, to the earle of Bins, to the earle of Holland, and to the sonne of the earle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receiued homage, or rather had their promise by oth to aid him against the French king, which French king, now that he sawe no hope nor likelihood remaining to bring the emperour to the bent of his bowe for the detein- *Will. Parum.*
ing of K. Richard still in captiuitie, raised a power foorthwith, & entring into Normandie The French king inuadeth Normandie.
(the truce notwithstanding) tooke the towne of Eureux, with diuerse other fortresses thereabouts, and after he had doone mischéefe inough, as it were wearie dwith euill dooing, he granted eftsoones to stand to the truce, and so returned home.

Finallie after king Richard had dispatched his businesse with the emperour, and the princes of Almaigne, he set forward on his iournie towards England, and hauing the emperours passeport, came to Cullen, where he was ioifullie receiued of the archbishop, the which archbishop attended on him till he came to Antwerpe, where king Richard tooke the water in a gallie that belonged to Alane de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a ship of Rie, being a verie faire vessell, and so laie aboord in hir all the night, *Rog. Houed.*
and in the morning returned to the gallie, and so sailed about the coast, till he came to
the hauen of Swin in Flanders, and there staieng fiue daies, on the six day he set foorth He landed the 20. of March being sunne
againe, and at length in good safetie landed at Sandwich the twelfe daie of March, and daie as *R. Houden* and *Rafe de Diceto* write.
the morrow after came to Canturburie where he was receiued with procession, as Ger. Dor. saith. From thence he went to Rochester, and on the wednesday being the sixteenth of March, he came vnto London, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of the people, giuing heartie thanks to almightie GOD for his safe returne and deliuerance.

¶ It is recorded by writers, that when such lords of Almaine as came ouer with him, saw the great riches which the Londoners shewed in that triumphant receiuing of their souereigne lord and king, they maruelled greatlie thereat, insomuch that one of them said vnto him; "Surelie oh king, your people are wise and subtile, which do nothing doubt to shew the beautifull shine of their riches now that they haue receiued you home, whereas before they seemed to bewaile their need and pouertie, whilest you remained in captiuitie. For verelie if the emperour had vnderstood that the riches of the realme had bin such, neither would he haue beene persuaded that England could haue béene made bare of wealth, neither yet should you so lightlie haue escaped his hands without the paiment of a more huge and intollerable ransome."

The same yeare that king Richard was taken (as before is mentioned) by the duke of Austrich, one night in the moneth of Januarie about the first watch of the same night, the northwest side of the element appeared of such a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clouds or other darknesse to couer it, so that the stars shined through that rednesse, and might be verie well discerned. Diuerse bright strakes appeared to

flash vpwards now and then, diuiding the rednesse, thorough the which the stars séemed to be of a bright sanguine colour. In Februarie next insuing, one night after midnight the like woonder was séene, and shortlie after newes came that the king was taken in Almaigne.

On the second daie of Nouember also a little before the breake of the daie, the like thing appeared againe with lesse feare and woonder to the people (than before) being now better accustomed to the like sight againe. And now the same daie and selfe houre that the king arriued at Sandwich, being the second houre of that daie, whilest the sunne shone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a most brightsome and vnaccustomed clearnesse, not farre distant from the sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans personage, hauing a red shining brightnesse withall, like to the rainbow, which strange sight when manie beheld, there were that prognosticated the king alreadie to be arriued.

R. Houed. Diuerse sieges held at one time.

In this meane while the bishop of Durham with a great armie besieged the castell of Tickhill; and earle Dauid brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe earle of Chester, and earle Ferrers, besieged the castell of Notingham, whilest at the same present the archbishop of Canturburie with a great power besieged Marleburgh castell, the which within a few daies was rendred into his hands, the liues and lims of them within saued. Also the castell of Lancaster was deliuered to him, the which the same archbishops brother had in kéeping vnder earle John, and likewise the abbeie of S. Michaels mount in Cornwall, the which abbeie Henrie de la Pomerey chasing out the moonks, had fortified against the king, and hearing newes of the kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for méere gréefe and feare. These three places were surrendered to the archbishop before the kings returne, but Tickhill & Notingham held out.

S. Michaels mount.

King Richard being returned into England, and vnderstanding both how the French king made warre against him in Normandie, and that the state of England was not a little disquieted, by the practise of his brother earle John and his complices, speciallie by reason that diuerse castels were defended by such as he had placed in them, he thought good with all speed to cut off such occasions a might bréed as further mischéefe. Wherevpon he first went to Notingham, and within thrée daies after his comming thither (which was on the daie of the Annunciation of our ladie) he constreined them that kept the castell there in his brothers name, to yeeld themselues simplie vnto his mercie, after they had abidden diuerse assaults, by the which euen the first daie the vtter gates were burnt, and certeine defenses destroied, which they had made before the same.

The king goeth to Notingham and winneth the castel. *Rog. Houed.*

The cheefe of them that were within this castell to defend it were these, William de Vendeuall conestable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Rafe Murdach, Philip de Worceter and Ranulfe de Worceter, brethren. The morow after the surrender was made, the king went to Clipstone, and rode into the forrest of Shirewood, where he had neuer béene before, the view whereof pleased him greatlie. The castell of Tickhill was likewise at the same time yéelded vnto the bishop of Durham, who receiued it to the kings vse, and them that kept it as prisoners, without anie composition, but standing simplie to the K. mercie. For although those that had these castels in keeping, were sufficientlie prouided of all necessarie things for defense, yet the sudden comming of the king (whom they thought verelie would neuer haue returned) put them in such feare, that they wist not what to make of the matter, and so (as men amazed) they yéelded without anie further exception. The bishop of Durham bringing those prisoners with him which had yéelded vp this castell of Tickhill, came to the king the 27 daie of March, the verie daie before that Notingham castell was giuen ouer.

The forest of Shirewood.

The castell of Tickhill yéelded. *Rog. Houed.*

Moreouer, this is to be remembred, that during the siege of Notingham, contention arose betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, about the carriage of their crosses. For Hubert archbishop of Canturburie comming thither, had his crosse borne before him; the archbishop of Yorke (hauing no crosse there at all) was verie sore offended, that anie other should go with crosse borne before him in his diocesse, and therfore complained

Strife betwixt ye archbishops for carieng of their crosses.

plained hereof to the king. But the archbishop of Canturburie maintained that he had not doone anie thing but that which was lawfull for him to doo, and therevpon made his appeale to Rome, that the pope might haue the hearing and iudging of that controuersie betwixt them.

In the meane time, after the king had got the castells of Notingham and Tickhill into his hands (as ye haue heard) he called a parlement at Notingham, where the quéene mother sat on the right hand of him, and the archbishops of Canturburie & Yorke on the left, with other bishops, earles and barons according to their places. On the first daie of their session was Gerard de Camuille discharged of the office which he had borne of shiriffe of Lincolne, and dispossessed both of the castell & countie. And so likewise was Hugh Bardolfe of the castell and countie of Yorke, and of the castell of Scarbourgh, and of the custodie and kéeping of the countrie of Westmerland, the which offices being now in the kings hands, he set them on sale to him that would giue most. Hereof it came to passe, that where the lord chancellour offered to giue fiftéene hundred markes before hand, for the counties of Yorke, Lincolne and Northampton, and an hundred markes of increase of rent for euerie of the same counties, Geffrey archbishop of Yorke offered to the king thrée thousand markes aforehand, onelie for the countie of Yorke, and an hundred markes yearelie of increase, and so had the same committed to his regiment.

Officers discharged.

Lieutenantships set on sale.

The archbishop of Yorks offer.

Moreouer in this parlement, the king demanded iudgement against his brother John, and Hugh Nouant the bishop of Couentrie and Chester, for such traitorous and most disloiall attempts as they had made against him and his countries, and iudgement was giuen that both the said earle and bishop should haue summons giuen them peremptorilie to appeare, and if within fortie daies after, they came not to answer such plaints as might be laid against them, then should earle John forfeit all that he had within the realme, and the bishop should stand to the iudgement of the bishops, in that he was a bishop, and to the temporall lords in that he had béene the kings shiriffe.

The bishop of Chester.

In this parlement also, in the kalends of Aprill, the king procured a subsidie to be granted to him, to wit, two shillings of euerie plough land through England, which maner of subsidie by an old name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme toll. He also commanded that euerie man should make for him the third part of knights seruice, accordinglie as euerie fée might beare, to furnish him foorth into Normandie. He demanded of the moonks Cisteaux, all their wooles for the same yeare. But bicause that seemed an ouer greeuous burthen vnto them, they fined with him, as after shall appeare. The fourth day of this parlement, by the kings permission manie greeuous complaints were exhibited against the archbishop of Yorke, for extortion and other vniust vexations, which he had practised: but he passed so little thereof, that he made no answer vnto their billes.

A subsidie.

The archbishop of Yorke accused.

Moreouer through the procurement of the lord chancellour, Gerard de Camuille was arreigned for receiuing théeues, and robbers, which had robbed certeine merchants of their goods, that were going to the faire of Stamfort; also they appealed him of treason for refusing to stand to his triall by order of the kings lawes at commandement of the kings iustices, bearing himselfe to be earle Johns man, and aiding the same earle against the king. But all these accusations he flatlie denied, and so his aduersaries put in pledges to follow their suit, and he put in the like to defend himselfe by one of his fréeholders.

Gerard de Camuille charged with felonie and treason.

The same daie king Richard receiued the king of Scots at Clipstone, comming now to visit him, and to reioise with him for his safe returne home after so long a iournie, and so manie passed perils. After they had spent the time a certeine space in ioy and mirth, the fourth of Aprill at their being togither at Malton, the king of Scots required of king Richard to haue restored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, with the countie of Lancaster also, the which in right of his predecessors belonged to him (as he alledged.)

The king of Scots commeth to see the king of England.

King

A parlement.

King Richard assembling a parlement of the Nobles of his realme at Northampton, about sixtéene daies after that the Scotish king had made this request, gaue him answer that by no means he might as then satisfie his petition: for if he should so doo, his aduersaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie fréendship. But yet king Richard in the presence of his mother quéene Elianor, and the lords spirituall and temporall of his realme togither at that present assembled, granted and by his déed confirmed vnto the said king of Scots, and to his heires for euer, that whensoeuer he or any of them should come by summons of the king of England vnto his court, the bishop of Durham, and the shiriffe of Northumberland should receiue him at the water of Twéed, and safe conduct him vnto the water of These, and there should the archbishop of Yorke, and the shiriffe of Yorke be readie to receiue him of them, and from thence giue their attendance vpon him vnto the borders of the next shire.

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he should haue when he came to England.

It was also granted to the said king, that he should be attended from shire to shire by prelats and shiriffes, till he came to the kings court, also from the time that the king of Scotland should enter this realme of England, he should haue dailie out of the kings pursse for his liuerie an hundred shillings, and after he came to the court, he should haue an allowance dailie for his liuerie, so long as he there remained, thirtie shillings and twelue manchet wastels, twelue manchet simnels, foure gallons of the best wine, and eight gallons of houshold wine, two pound of pepper, foure pound of cumin, two stone of wax, or else foure links, and fortie great and long colpons of such candels as are serued before the king, and foure and twentie colpons of other candels that serue for the houshold. And when he should returne into his countrie againe, then should he be conueied with the bishops and shiriffes from countie to countie, till he come to the water of Twéed, hauing an hundred shillings a day of liuerie, &c: as is before appointed. The charter of this grant was deliuered vnto William king of Scots in the towne of Northampton, in Easter wéeke, by the hands of William bishop of Elie lord chancellour, in the yeare of our lord 1194, and in the fift yeare of king Richard his reigne.

A councell holden at Winchester.

After this, on the fiftéenth day of Aprill, king Richard hauing the said king of Scots in his companie came to Winchester, where he called a councell, and there in open assemblie he highlie commended all those of the Nobilitie, that in his absence had shewed themselues faithfull, and resisted his brother, and such other his complices, which had as disloiall persons rebelled against him. Here he also proclaimed his said brother, and all those that tooke his part, traitours to the crowne, and tooke order for the punishment of them, that (being of their faction) could by any means be apprehended.

Furthermore, to put awaie as it were the reproofe of his captiuitie and imprisonment (by the reuiuing of his noblenesse, which he had in high estimation.

———pretio nam dignior omni est
Nobilitas, hæc non emitur nec venditur auro)

he caused himselfe to be eftsoones crowned by the archbishop Hubert, on the 18 of Aprill, at Winchester, and so shewed himselfe as a new crowned king (in hope of good successe and better lucke to follow) in the presence of the said king of Scots, who bare one of the thrée swords before him, going in the middle betwixt two earles, that is to saie, Hamelin earle of Warren going on his right hand, and Ranulfe earle of Chester on his left. The canapie vnder the which he went was borne vp also by foure earles, Norffolke, Lislewight, Salisburie, and Ferrers. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour went on the right hand of the king, and the bishop of London on the left. At dinner also the citizens of London serued him in the butterie by reason of two hundred marks which they had giuen the king that they might so doo, notwithstanding the claime and challenge made by the citizens of Winchester, the which serued him in the kitchin.

The king crowned an w.

R. Hoved.

The king of Scots beareth one of the swords before the king of England.

The citizens of London.

The archbishop of Yorke was commanded that he should not be present at the coronation, least some tumult might arise about the hauing of his crosse borne afore him, to the

the displeasure of the archbishop of Canturburie, who stood in it, that no prelat within his prouince ought to haue any crosse borne before him, himselfe excepted.

After this, he called a parlement, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and resumed into his hands all patents, annuities, fées, and other grants (before his voiage into the holie land) by him made, or otherwise granted or alienated. And bicause it should not seeme that he vsed a méere violent extortion herein, he treated with euerie one of them in most courteous wise, bearing them in hand, that he knew well they ment not to let foorth their monie to him vpon vsurie, but would be contented with such reasonable gaine and profit, as had béene raised to their vse in time of his absence of those things which they held of him by assignation in way of lone, so that now the same might be restored to him againe, sith he ment not to sell them, but to let them foorth as it were to farme for the time, as all men might well vnderstand, considering that he could not mainteine the port of a king without receipt of those profits which he had so let foorth. With these gentle words therefore mixed with some dreadfull allegations, he brought them all into such perplexitie, that not one of them durst withstand his request, nor alledge that he had wrong doone to him, except Hugh the bishop of Lincolne, who sticked not to saie, that the king in this demand did them and the rest open iniurie. The bishop of Durham lost his earledome, and was constreined to content himselfe with his old bishoprike, and to leaue the dignitie of an earle, or at the leastwise the possessions which he had bought of the king before his setting forward into the holie land.

A parlement called.

The bold courage of the bishop of Lincolne.

The bishop of Durham lost his earldome.

Thus the king recouered those things for the which he had receiued great summes of monie, without making any recompense, where the most part of the occupiers had not receiued scarselie a third part of the principall which they had laid foorth. For no sufficiencie of grant, patent, or other writing to any of them before made, did any thing auaile them. Moreouer, where he had borrowed a great summe of monie of the merchants of the staple, he wrought a feat with the moonks of the Cisteaux order to discharge that debt. He told these moonks that being constreined with vrgent necessitie, he had borowed that monie of the merchants beyond the sea, vpon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therefore he required them to extend their liberallitie so farre toward him, as to deliuer so much wooll in value, as should discharge that debt. To be short, the moonks being ouercome with the kings words, threatning kindnesse vpon them, fulfilled his request. Moreouer not satisfied herewith, he leuied a taske throughout the realme, exacting of euerie hide of land two shillings, according to the grant made to him at Notingham: and the same was generallie gathered, as well of the spirituall mens lands as of the temporall.

K. Richards practises. The moonks Cisteaux.

The king of Scots vnderstanding that the bishop of Durham had giuen ouer and resigned the earledome of Northumberland into the kings hands, thought good once againe to assaie if he might compasse his desire, and herewith he began his former suit afresh, offering to king Richard fiftéene thousand markes of siluer for the whole earledome of Northumberland with the appurtenances, as his father earle Henrie did hold the same before. The king taking counsell in the matter, agreed that he should haue it for that monie, excepting the castels: but the king of Scots would haue castels and all, or else he would not bargaine.

Rog. Houed. The king of Scots maketh suit for Northumberland.

Finallie, after he had sundrie times mooued this suit for the hauing of the lands vnto which he pretended a title, and could get nothing of king Richard but faire words, putting him as it were in hope to obteine that he required at his next returne out of France, vpon the 22 daie of Aprill being fridaie, he tooke leaue of the king, and returned towards his countrie, not verie ioifull, in that he could not obteine his suit. King Richard in this meane while caused all those prisoners that were taken in the castels of Notingham, Tickhill, Marleburgh, Lancastsr, and S. Michaels mount, which were of any wealth to be put in prison, that they might fine for their ransoms. The residue he suffered to de-

Mainprise.

part vpon suerties, that were bound for them in an hundredth marks a peece, to be forth comming when they should be called.

Rog. Houed.

Now the king (after he had gathered a great portion of monie, and ordeined diuerse things for the behoofe of the common-wealth, thereby to satisfie the harts of the people) prepared himselfe to saile into Normandie. But first he reconciled the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Elie lord chancellour, aswell for the apprehension & imprisoning of the archbishop at Douer, as for the dishonourable expulsion of the chancellour out of England, in such wise that the chancellour should vpon reasonable summons giuen to him by the archbishop, sware with the hands of an hundred préests with him, that he neither commanded nor willed that the archbishop should be apprehended. The controuersie betwixt the two archbishops about the bearing of their crosses, the king would not meddle withall, for (as he said) that perteined to the pope. Yet the archbishop of Canturburie complained to king Richard of the iniurie doone to him at that present by the archbishop of Yorke, presuming within his prouince to haue his crosse borne before him. At length when the kings prouision was once readie for his voiage into Normandie, he came to Douer, and hearing that the French king had besieged the towne of Vernueil, and that the same was in danger to be taken, he tooke the sea togither with his mother quéene Elianor on the ninth daie of Maie, and transporting ouer into Normandie, arriued at Harfléet with an hundred great ships fraught with men, horsses and armour.

The king transporteth ouer into France.

The French king hearing of king Richards arriuall, and that he was comming with a great power to the succour of them within Vernueil, and was alreadie incamped néere to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp his tents in the night before Witsundaie, and leauing the siege, departed from thence, and tooke a certeine small fortresse by the waie as he marched, wherein he left a few souldiers to keepe it to his vse. King Richard herewith entring into the French dominions, sent three bands of souldiers towards Vale de Ruell, and went himselfe vnto Loches, and besieging that castell wan it within a short time. The Normans also recouered the citie of Eureux out of the French mens hands, but those that were sent vnto Ruell, and had besieged the castell there an eight daies without any gaine, hearing that the French king was comming towards them, departed thence, & came backe to the kings campe, wherevpon the French king comming to Ruell raced it to the ground, bicause his enimie should not at anie time in winning it nestle there to the further damage of the countrie.

The French king raiseth his siege from Vernueil.

N. Trivet.

Rog. Houed.

About the same time, Robert earle of Leicester issuing foorth of Rouen in hope to worke some feat to the damage of the Frenchmen, as he rode somewhat vnaduisedlie in the lands of Hugh Gourney, fell within danger of his enimies, who tooke him prisoner, and a few other that were in his companie. The French king after this came with his armie into the coasts of Touraine, and marched neere Vandosme, and there incamped, whereof king Richard being aduertised, drew néere to Vandosme, meaning to assaile the French king in his campe, who hauing knowledge thereof dislodged with his armie earlie in the morning, and fled awaie (to his great dishonour) in all hast possible. The king of England with his people following in chase of the Frenchmen slue manie, and tooke a great number of prisoners, amongst whome was the French kings chéefe treasurer. Also the Englishmen tooke manie wagons and sumpters laden with crossebowes, armour, plate, apparell, and the furniture of the French kings chapell. This chanced about 37 daies after his fléeing in the night from Vernueil, of which two flights of the French king (in manner as ye haue heard) we find these verses written:

The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.

Gallia fugisti bis, & hoc sub rege Philippo,
Nec sunt sub modio facta pudenda tuo.
Vernolium sumit testem fuga prima, secunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, secunda diem.

Nocte

Nocte fugam primam rapuisti, manè secundam,
Prima metus vitio, viq; secunda fuit.

France, twice thou fledst, while Philip reign'd,
the world dooth know thy shame,
For Vernueil witnesse beares of th' one,
next Vandosme knowes the same.
The first by night, the next by day,
thy heart and force doo showe,
That first through feare, and next by force,
was wrought thine ouerthrowe.

In this meane while certeine rebels in Guien, as the lord Geffrey de Rancin or Rancon, and the earle of Engolesme with their complices, vpon confidence of the French kings assistance, sore disquieted the countrie. Howbeit, the sonne of the king of Nauarre, and brother to Berengaria the quéene of England, entring into Guien with an armie, wasted the lands of both those rebels, till he was called home by reason of his fathers death which chanced about the same time. Shortlie after Geffrey Rancin died, and king Richard comming into his countrie, wan the strong castell of Tailleburge by surrender, which apperteined to the same Geffrey with others, and then going against the other rebels, he wan the citie of Engolesme from him by force of assault. All which time the French king stirred not, by reason that there was some communication in hand for a truce to be taken betwixt him and king Richard, which by mediation of certeine bishops was shortlie after concluded, to endure for twelue moneths. The bishop of Elie was chéefe commissioner for the king of England, and this truce was accorded about Lammas, and serued to little purpose, except to giue libertie to either prince to breath a little, and in the meane time to prouide themselues of men, munition, ships & monie, that immediatlie after the terme was expired, they might with greater force returne to the field againe, for they had not onelie a like desire to follow the warres, but also vsed a like meane and practise to leuie monie.

Geffrey de Rancon. The earle of Engolesme. The king of Nauars brother. An. Reg. 6. Engolesme woone. *Polydor.* *Wil. Paruus.* *Polydor.*

For whereas they had alreadie made the temporaltie bare with often paiments, and calling them foorth to serue personallie in the warres, they thought best now to fetch a fleece from the spiritualtie and churchmen, considering also that they had béene by reason of their immunitie more gentlie dealt with, and not appointed to serue themselues in anie maner of wise. To colour this exaction which they knew would be euill taken of manie, they bruted abroad, that they leuied this monie vpon purpose, to send it into the holie land, towards the paiment of the christian souldiers, which remained there vpon defense of those townes, which yet the Saracens had not conquered. King Richard therfore comming to Towrs in Touraine, required a great summe of monie of the clergie in those parts, and the like request he made throughout all those his dominions, on that further side of the sea. King Philip for his part demanded likewise intollerable tithes and duties of all the churchmen in his territories, and those that had the gathering of that monie serued their owne turne, in dealing most streightlie with sillie préests, making them to paie what they thought good, though sometime beyond the bounds of equitie and reason.

Great exactions. The colour pretended in leuieng of monie.

In September, the iustices itinerants made their circuits thorough euerie shire and countie of this realme, causing inquisitions to be taken by substantiall iuries of plées of the crowne both old and new, of recognisances, of escheats, of wards, of mariages, of all maner of offendors against the lawes and ordinances of the relme, and of all other transgressors, falsifiers, and murtherers of Jewes; of the pledges, goods, lands, debts, and writings of Jewes that were slaine, and of other circumstances touching that matter. Likewise of the accompts of shiriffes, as to vnderstand what had béene giuen towards the kings

Rog. Houed. Inquisitions taken by a iurie of sundrie matters.

kings ransome, how much had béene receiued, and what remained behind to receiue. Also of the lands that belonged to erle John, and what goods he had, and what he held in demaine, in wards, escheats, and in gifts, and for what cause they were giuen. Furthermore, of his fautors and partakers, which had made fines with the king, and which not, with manie other articles touching the same earle. Also of vsurers, and of their goods being seized, of wines sold contrarie to the assise, of false measures, and of such as hauing receiued the crosse to go into the holie land, died before they set forward. Also of grand assises that were of an hundred shillings land or vnder, and of defaults, and of diuerse other things, the iurats were charged to inquire, and present the same.

Vsurers.

The iustices also were appointed to cause the manours, farmes and lands which the king held in demaine, or by wards and escheats, to be surueied by a substantiall iurie, and to take order for the conuerting of them to such vse, as the king might be answered of the gaines rising by the same at the farmers hands. Also, the Iewes were appointed to inroll all their debts, pledges, lands, houses, rents and possessions. Moreouer, inquisition was taken of iustices, shiriffes, bailiffes, conestables, foresters and other officers belonging to the king, to vnderstand in what maner they had behaued themselues in taking and seizing of things into their hands, and of all such goods, gifts and promises had and receiued by occasion of leasure made of the lands of earle John and his fautors, and who receiued the same, and what delaie was granted by commandement of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, then lord chéefe iustice.

Iewes.

Iustices, shiriffes and other officers.

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie lord chéefe iustice.

In this meane time, whilest these inquisitions were thus taken in England, king Richard comming foorth of Poictou into Aniou, caused all the bailiffes and officers of that countrie, and also of Maine, to fine with him for their offices. After this, when he came downe into Normandie, he séemed in shew to be offended with his chancellour the bishop of Elie, about concluding of the truce with the French king (where as ye haue heard he was cheefe commissioner) misliking greatlie all that was doone therein, and therefore he tooke the seale from him, and caused a new seale to be made, commanding to be proclaimed thorough all his dominions, that whatsoeuer had béene sealed with the old seale, should stand in no force, both for that his chancellor had wrought more vndiscreetlie than was conuenient; and againe, bicause the same seale was lost, when Roger Malus Catulus his vicechancellour was drowned, who perished among other by shipracke, néere to the Ile of Cypres, before the king arriued there, being as then on his iournie into the holie land. Therefore all men had commandement to come to this new seale, that they might haue their charters and writings confirmed.

Officers driuen to fine for their offices.

The king offended with the lord chancellor.

A new seale.

Matth. Par. The king returneth into England.

Furthermore, whilest the truce yet lasted, king Richard sailed ouer into England, where he caused turnies to be exercised in diuerse places, for the better training vp of souldiers in feats of warre, that they might growe more skilfull and perfect in the same, when they should come to the triall of their forces, whereby he raised no small summes of monie for granting license to his subiects so to tournie. Euerie earle that would tournie, paid to him for his licence twentie marks, euerie baron ten marks, and euerie knight hauing lands, did giue foure marks, and those that had no lands two marks, to the great damnifieng of the people; hauing learned the common lesson, and receiued the ordinarie rule followed of all, and neglected of none; namelie,

He granteth the English men licence to tournie.

Rog. Houed. Fines paid for licence to exercise turnements.

Mat. Pal. in suo cap.

———opus est nummis vel morte relictis,
Vel sorte inuentis, vel quauis arte paratis,
Quippe inopem mala multa pati contingit vbiq;
Nec sine diuitijs fas cuiquam ducere vitam
Fœlicem, &c.

The charter of this grant was deliuered by the king vnto William earle of Salisburie, to haue the kéeping thereof: but Hubert Walter the archbishop of Canturburie, and lord chéefe

chéefe iustice, bade his brother Theobald Walter collector of the monie, for the scraping and raking togither whereof, in huge sums, he put the former shifts of extortion and exaction in practise.

The tenour of the charter concerning the turnements before remembred.

RICHARD by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Anion, to the reuerend father in Christ, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, sendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue granted turnaments to be kept in England in fiue steeds, to wit, betwixt Sarisburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmeford, betwixt Brackley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie & Tickhill, so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our iustices authoritie diminished, nor any damage doone to our forrests. Prouided that what earle soeuer will turney there, shall giue to vs twentie markes, a baron ten marks, a knight that hath lands foure marks and he that hath no lands shall giue two marks.

Moreouer, no stranger shall be admitted to turney there, wherevpon we command you, that at the daie of the turnieng, ye haue there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receiue the oth of the earles and barons, which shall satisfie vs of the said summes of monie, before the turnieng begin, and that they suffer none to turnie, till (before) they haue made paiment, and haue caused to be entred how much & of whom they haue receiued: and ye shall take ten marks for this charter to our vse, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges. Witnesse myselfe, at Ville Leuesche, the two and twentith of August. Bishops-towne.

Furthermore, ordinances were made and set foorth for the safe keeping of the peace, so that such as would turney, neither by the waie in comming or going, or whilest the turnieng lasted, should violentlie take any thing to serue their necessarie vses, without paieng therefore to the owner according to the woorth, nor should doo iniurie to any man in any manner of wise. But now to the other dooings of king Richard, who made no long abode in England at this time, but shortlie returned into Normandie, bicause he heard that king Philip had an armie readie leuied. Wherefore meaning to buckle with him vpon occasion offered, he made the more hast, and being landed there, approched vnto the borders of the French dominions, incamping himselfe with his armie in the field, to wait for the time that the truce should be expired, least the enimie should in any exploit preuent him. In like manner king Philip hauing with him earle John king Richards brother, kept his souldiers and men of warre in a readines with him, to worke any feat that should be thought expedient assoone as the truce should end. I thinke he came not ouer at all into England at this time, but rather sent his mind vnto the archbishop.

Whilest both these kings were thus bent to powre out their malice, and to ease their stomachs with dint of sword, there came messengers from the pope, exhorting him vnto peace and quietnesse, but his exhortation little auailed. For they regarding it little or nothing, immediatlie as the truce was expired, got them abroad into the field, & king Richard drew towards Isoldune, a towne situat in the confines of Berrie, whither it was reported that the French king meant to come: and there staid for him a whole day togither. But the French king hearing that king Richard was there to looke for him, thought it best not to come there at all. Wherefore king Richard went the next daie vnto a castell called Brison, and tooke it vpon his first approch. Then went he to a towne called Nouencourt, and perceiuing the same to be strong and well manned, tooke not in hand to assaile it till the third daie after his comming thither, at what time he so 1195. Messengers from the pope. Isoldune.

Nouencourt yéeldeth to K. Richard. Albemarle besieged. *Matt. West. Polydor.*

inclosed the same round about with diligent watch and ward, that a cat could not haue escaped out of the place, neither by daie nor night, but that she should haue béene espied. They within being put in feare herewith, yeelded vp the towne the daie next following, in which meane time the French king besieged Albemarle.

Herevpon king Richard, hauing left a garrison of souldiers in Nouencourt, came to raise the enimie from his siege, & setting vpon the Frenchmen, there began a sharpe fight: but the Englishmen being wearie with trauell of their passed iournie, and hauing rashlie entred into the battell, were not able to indure the Frenchmens violence, so that (not without great losse) they were constreined to retire with swift flight, or (to saie the truth) to run awaie a maine pase. The French king hauing thus chased his enimies, returned to assault Albemarle, woone the castell by force, and the towne by composition, permitting the garrison there to depart with all their armour. This doone, he ruinated the castell flat to the ground. Robert earle of Leicester offered to the French king a thousand marks sterling for his ransome, and to quite claime to him and his heires for euer all the right which he had to the castell of Pascie, with the appurtenances, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the pope, and of the king of England: but for that the warre still lasted, the French king tooke a respite in answering this offer, neuerthelesse afterwards in the yeare next insuing, he tooke it, and so the earle was set at libertie.

Rog. Houed. The earle of Leicesters offer for his ransome.

Not long after this foresaid repulse, the king of England hauing refreshed his souldiers with some rest after their great trauell, went to Million, and giuing assault to the towne wan it at the first brunt, and made it plaine with the earth. Then was a motion made for peace betwixt the two kings, being now wearied with long wars: whereof when earle John was aduertised, who (as it should séeme by some writers) hauing tarried with the French king till this present, began now to doubt least if any agréement were made, he might happilie be betraied of the French king by couenants that should passe betwixt them: he determined therefore with himselfe to commit his whole safetie to his naturall brother, and to no man else, perceiuing that the French king made not so great accompt of him after the losse of his castels in England, as he had doone before.

Million won and rased.

A motion for peace.

Herevpon comming to his brother king Richard, "he besought him to pardon his offense, and though he had not dealt brotherlie towards him, yet that he would brotherlie forgiue him his rebellious trespasse, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore beene thankefull for his manifold benefits which he had receiued at his hands, yet he was now most sorie therefore, and was willing to make amends: wherewith he acknowledged the safegard of his life to rest in him, for the which he was bound to giue him thanks, if he would grant thereto." The king moued with his words, made this answer (as it is said) that he pardoned him indéed, but yet wished that he might forget such iniuries as he had receiued at his hands, which he doubted least he should not easilie doo. Herewith erle John being yet put in good hope of forgiuenesse, sware to be true euer after vnto him, and that he would endeuour himselfe to make amends for his misdeeds past, and so was shortlie after restored vnto his former degree, honour and estimation in allrespects.

Earle John returneth to the king his brother, and is pardoned.

Wil. Parvus. R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

But by some writers it should appeare, that earle John, immediatlie vpon conclusion of the first truce, came from the French king, and submitted himselfe to his brother, and by mediation of the quéene their mother was pardoned, receiued againe into fauour, and serued euer after against the French king verie dutifullie, séeking by new atchiued enterprises brought about (to the contentation of his brother) to make a recompense for his former misdemeanor, reputing it meere madnesse to make means to further mischeefe; for

Rog. Houed.

——stultum est hostem iritare potentem,
Atq; malum maius tumidis sibi quærere verbis.

But at what time soeuer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden saith)

R. Houed.

saith) he was restored to the earledoms of Mortaigne in Normandie, and Glocester in England, with the honour of Eie (the castels onelie excepted) and in recompense of the residue of the earledoms which he had before inioied, togither with certeine other lands, his brother king Richard gaue vnto him a yeerelie pension amounting to the summe of eight thousand pound of Aniouin monie. ¶ Now here to staie a while at matters chancing here about home, I will speake somewhat of the doings of Leopold duke of Austrich, who as one nothing mooued with the pestilence and famine that oppressed his countrie in this season, but rather hauing his hart hardened, began to threaten the English hostages that they shuld loose their liues, if king Richard kept not the couenants which he had vndertaken to performe by a day appointed. Wherevpon Baldwin Betun one of the hostages was sent by common agréement of the residue vnto king Richard, to signifie to him their estate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further danger, sent with the same Baldwin his coosen, the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine, and the daughter of the emperour of Cypres, to be conueied vnto the said duke of Austrich, the one, namelie the sister of Arthur to be ioined in marriage with the dukes sonne, and the other to continue in the dukes hands to bestow at his pleasure.

Rog. Houed. Wil. Parvus. Matth. Paris. Polychron.

Baldwin de Betun.

But in the meane time, on saint Stephans day, duke Leopold chanced to haue a fall beside his horsse, and hurt his leg in such wise, that all the surgions in the countrie could not helpe him, wherevpon in extreame anguish he ended his life. And whereas before his death he required to be absolued of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the pope (for apprehending of king Richard in his returning from his iournie made into the holie land) he was answered by the cleargie, that except he would receiue an oth to stand to the iudgement of the church for the iniurie doone to king Richard, and that vnlesse other of the Nobilitie would receiue the like oth with him if he chanced to die (whereby he might not fulfill that which the church héerein should decrée) that yet they should see the same performed, he might not otherwise be absolued.

Duke Leopold catcheth a fall beside his horsse and dieth of the hurt.

Wherefore he tooke the oth, and the Nobles of his countrie with him, and therewithall released the English pledges, remitted the monie that yet remained behind of his portion aforesaid, and immediatlie therewith died. After his deceasse, bicause certeine péeres of the countrie withstood the performance of the premisses, his bodie laie eight daies longer aboue ground than otherwise it should haue doone, for till such time as all the pledges were perfectlie released, it might not be buried. Also Baldwin de Betun approching neere to the confines of Austrich, when he heard that the duke was dead, returned with the two ladies vnto his souereigne lord king Richard. Thus (as ye haue heard) for feare of the censures of the church were the pledges restored, and the residue of the monie behind released.

¶ All this was both pleasant and profitable for king Richards soules helth (as may be thought) bicause he tooke occasion therof to amend his owne former life, by considering how much he might be reprehended for his sundrie faults committed both against God and man. A maruellous matter to heare, how much frō that time forward he reformed his former trade of liuing into a better forme & order. Moreouer, the emperour gaue to the Cisteaux moonks 3000 marks of siluer, parcell of king Richards ransome, to make siluer censers in euerie church throughout where they had any houses: but the abbats of the same order refused the gift, being a portion of so wrongfull and vngodlie a gaine. At which thing, when it came to the knowledge of K. Richard, he greatlie maruelled at the first, but after commended the abbats in their doings, and cheeflie for shewing that they were void of the accustomed gréedinesse of hauing, which most men supposed them to be much infected withall.

White monks.

King Richard this yeare pardoned Hugh Nouant bishop of Couentrie of all his wrath and displeasure conceiued toward him, and restored to him his bishoprike for fiue thousand marks of siluer. But Robert Nouant the same bishops brother died in the kings prison at Douer. Also whereas the archbishop of Yorke had offended king Richard, he pardoned

Rog. Hoved. Hugh Nouāt bishop of Couentrie restored to his sée.

The archbish. of Yorke.

pardoned him, and receiued him againe into fauour, with the kisse of peace. Whereupon the archbishop waxed so proud, that vsing the king reprochfullie, he lost his archbishoprike, the rule of Yorkeshire which he had in gouernment as shiriffe, the fauour of his souereigne, and (which was the greatest losse of all) the loue of God. For

M. Pal. in suo sag.

Nemo superbus amat superos, nec amatur ab illis,
Vult humiles Deus ac mites, habitatq; libenter
Mansuetos animos procul ambitione remotos,
Inflatos verò ac ventosos deprimit idem,
Nec patitur secum puro consistere olympo.

Pope Celestine. The archbish. of Canturburie is made ye popes legat.

Moreouer, through the kings request, pope Celestine this yeare made the archbishop of Canturburie legat of all England by his buls directed to him, bearing date at his palace in Rome called Lateran the fifteenth kalends of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of his papasie. Furthermore, the pope wrote to the English cleargie, giuing them to vnderstand that he had created the said archbishop of Canturburie his legat, commanding them so to accept him: by vertue of which letters, the archbishop Hubert being now both archbishop of Canturburie, legat of the apostolike sée, and lord chéefe iustice of England, appointed to hold a councell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the abbat of Binham in Northfolke, and one maister Geruise, vnto the canons of Yorke, and to the archbishops officials of his purposed intention.

A trinitie of offices in vnitie of person.

The said canons and officials well considering of the popes letters, which were deliuered vnto them by the messengers, signified for answer, that they would gladlie receiue him as legat of the apostolike sée, but not as archbishop of Canturburie, nor as their primat. Herewith he came to Yorke vpon saint Barnabies daie being sundaie, and was receiued with procession. On the morrow after, he held a court of plees of the crowne, of assises, and such other matters touching the king. On the next day being Tuesday, he entred into the monasterie of saint Maries in Yorke, and deposed the abbat, bicause of his infirmitie of bodie, at the request of the moonks, but the abbat appealed to the popes consistorie. Then he assembled the cleargie in the church of Saint Peter in Yorke, and there held a synod for reformation of things amisse in the church, and amendment of manners in the cleargie, so that diuerse decrées were made, the which for bréefenesse we omit to speake of in particular. This yeare also, the said archbishop Hubert caused all men throughout the realme of England to receiue an oth of obseruing the kings peace, and to sweare that they should not be robbers, nor abbettors of robbers, nor in any wise consenting vnto them, but should doo what in them might lie to apprehend all such offendors, and to discouer them to the kings officers to be apprehended, and to pursue them vpon hew and crie to the vttermost of their powers, and those that withdrew themselues from such pursuit, should be apprehended as partakers with the offendors.

A synod holden at Yorke.

The emperor sendeth to the king.

About this time the emperour sent to king Richard, requiring him in no wise to conclude any peace with the French king, but rather to inuade his dominions, promising to aid him all that he might. But king Richard, to vnderstand further of the emperours mind herein, sent ouer his chancellour the bishop of Elie vnto him in ambassage. In the meane time the warre was still continued betwixt him and the French, by the which they were commonlie put to the worse, and king Richard inuading their borders, did much hurt in wasting the countries on each side. The French king was at one time so narrowlie chased, that as he would haue passed a bridge that laie ouer the water of Saine, he was in danger of drowning by the fall of the same vnder him, but yet at the length he escaped, and got to the further side.

An. Reg. 7.

The bishop of Elie is sent to the emperour.

The 2 kings talke togither.

After this, the two kings came to a communication togither, in the which a motion was made, that Lewes the French king his sonne and heire should haue the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine in marriage, and that king Richard in consideration thereof should surrender vnto them and to their heires the townes of Gisors, Bademont, with the countrie of Veulquessine or Veuxine le Normant, Vernon, Iuerie and Pascie; and further should

giue

giue vnto them twentie thousand marks of siluer. On the other side it was mooued, that the French king should resigne vnto king Richard all that he could demand in the countie of Engeulesme, and should restore vnto him the counties of Albemarle and Augie, with the castell of Arkes, and all other castels which he had taken in Normandie, or in any partie during these last warres. But there was a respit taken for the full concluding and assuring of these conditions, till the octaues of All saints, that king Richard might vnderstand the emperours pleasure, without whose consent he might not conclude any thing concerning that matter, bicause he had sent such word vnto him by the lord chancellour, who at this time was attendant in his court.

In the meane time, the emperour being aduertised of the whole matter, and of the articles afore mentioned, gaue knowledge to king Richard by the bishop of Elie at his returning backe, that this forme of peace nothing liked him, but rather made directlie to his discontentment: the which least he might séeme to saie without sufficient ground of reason, he alledged, that it should sound to king Richards dishonour, if he surrendred and gaue vp anie thing that he had not in possession. And to encourage him to recouer those things which had beene taken from him, the emperour pardoned him of the seauentéene thousand marks of siluer, which yet remained behind due to him for the kings ransome. Howsoeuer the matter passed, the two kings met not in the octaues of All saints, according to the appointment, although they were come, and approched verie néere to the place where they should haue communed togither: but through the dissimulation of the Frenchmen, they departed, without seeing one an other, and immediatlie began the warre as fiercelie as at anie time before.

The emperor dissuadeth the king from agréeing to the peace.

The French king tooke the towne of Diep, which king Richard had latelie repared, and burned it, with the ships that harbored in the hauen: after this, comming to Isoldun, he wan the towne and besieged the castell. But king Richard aduertised thereof, came with quicke spéed (making of thrée daies iournie but one) and entred into the castell of Isoldun to defend the same against his aduersaries: and foorthwith there resorted such numbers of men vnto him, when they heard how he was besieged, that the French king doubting how to retire from thence in safetie, made suit first to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be granted, he required at the leastwise to talke with the king of England about some agréement.

The warre is begun afresh.

The hast which king Richard made.

Wherevnto king Richard condescended, and so comming togither, they concluded vpon a truce to indure from that daie, being saturdaie next after the feast of saint Nicholas, vnto the feast of saint Hilarie next insuing, and then to méet againe néere vnto Louiers with their councels, that they might grow by some reasonable way vnto a finall peace and concord. And according to this article, shortlie after the same feast of S. Hilarie, 1196. they met at Louiers, where finallie they were accorded to conclude a peace on these conditions, that the French king should release to the king of England Isoldun, with the countrie about, woon by him sith the beginning of these wars; likewise, all the right which he had in Berrie, Auuergine, and Gascoigne, and the countie of Albemarle. On the other part, the king of England should resigne Gisors, and certeine other places, and namelie Veuxine or Veulquesine vnto the king of France.

The 2 kings againe talke togither of peace.

The conditions of peace concluded betwixt the two kings. *Matth. Paris. Matth. West.*

Herevpon were suerties also bound for performance, and the forfeiture of fiftéene thousand marks assigned to be paid by the partie that first brake the peace. Shortlie after, the French king repenting him selfe of the agreement, began to make a warre anew, so that king Richard seized into his hands all the goods and possessions which belonged to the abbats of the order of the great monasterie of Clunie, and of saint Denise & la Charitie, which had become suertie for the French king in the summe of 1500 marks aforesaid. This yeare died William de Forz earle of Albemarle, in whose place succéeded Baldwine de Betun by the kings gift, and married the countesse of Albemarle.

Matth. West. Matth. Paris.

Reg. Howell. The earle of Albemarle departed this life.

There was a motion also made for a marriage betwixt the lord Otho, sonne to Henrie duke of Saxonie, king Richards nephue by his sister, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to

Otho sonne to the duke of Saxonie.

the king of Scots, so as they should haue inioied the countries of Lothian, Northumberland, and the countie of Caerleill with the castels. For the conclusion of which marriage, the archbishop of Canturburie was sent about Christmas to commune with the king of Scots: but bicause the Scotish quéene was then conceiued of child, hir husband (in hope that God would send him a sonne) refused to stand vnto the aboue mentioned couenants.

Lawnes.

Wil. Parus. Ran. Higd. The abbat of Caen sent into England.

At this time king Richard sent the abbat of Caen (who was also the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of those that had the receipts of the kings monie: for this abbat had informed the king, that his receiuers and officers here in the realme dealt not iustlie in making their accompts, but both deceiued the king, and oppressed his people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to stand accomptable for. The king supposing his words to be true, or at least likelie so to be, and that in reforming such vntruth in his officers, it should be both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, sent this abbat ouer with commission, to be as it were his generall auditour.

Fraudulent dealing in officers.

Howbeit, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, which was gouernour of the realme in causes both temporall and spirituall (by reason he had the kings authoritie as his vicegerent, & therefore sufficientlie countenanced, & also the popes as his legat authorised) did somewhat stomach the matter, in that it should be thought he did suffer such abuses in the kings officers, and not reforme them. But he held him content and said little, sith the abbat shewed him the kings commission to doo that which he went about, although he brought it not to passe. For whereas he came ouer in lent, and gaue out commandements, that all such as had any thing to doo in receipt of the kings monie, should appeare before him after Easter, he tarried not to see Easter himselfe, but was called into another world by the stroke of death, there to render accompts for his owne acts here in this life committed.

Fabian. Wil. Parus. Matt. Paris. Ran. Higd. William Fitz Osbert.

The foule disorder in the citizens of London.

At the same time there was another person in London called William with the long beard, (aliàs Fitz Osbert) which had likewise informed the king of certeine great oppressions and excessiue outrages vsed by rich men against the poore (namelie the worshipfull of the citie, the Maior and Aldermen) who in their hoistings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reason, to ease themselues; wherepon the said William being a seditious person, and of a busie nature, ceassed not to make complaints. Now bicause the king gaue eare vnto him at the first, he tooke a boldnesse thereof, & drawing vnto him great routs of the poorer sort of people, would take vpon him to defend the causes of those that found themselues greeued with the heauie yoke of richmen and gentlemen. He was somewhat learned, and verie eloquent: he had also a verie good wit, but he applied it rather to set dissention betwixt the high estates and the low, than to anie other good purpose. He accused also his owne brother of treason,

The vnnaturall ingratitude of Fitz Osbert.

who in his youth had kept him to schoole, & beene verie good and beneficiall brother vnto him, bicause now he would not still mainteine him with monie to beare out his riottous port. Moreouer, he declared to the king, that by extortion and briberie of certeine men of great wealth, he lost manie forfeits and escheats.

Manie gentlemen of honour sore hated him for his presumptuous attempts to the hindering of their purposes: but he had such comfort of the king, that he little passed for their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king being aduertised of the assemblies which he made, commanded him to ceasse from such doings, that the people might fall againe to their sciences and occupations, which they had for the more part left off, at the instigation of this William with the long beard, so named of the long heare of his beard, which he nourished of purpose to seeme the more graue and manlike, and also as it were in despite of them which counterfeited the Normans (that were for the most part shauen) and bicause he would resemble the ancient vsage of the English nation. The kings commandement in restraint of the peoples resort vnto him, was well kept a while, but it was not long yer they began to follow him againe as they had doone before.

Why he ware his long berd. *Matth. Paris.*

Fabian.

Then

Then he tooke vpon him to make vnto them certeine collations or sermons, taking for his theme, Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris, that is to saie: Ye shall draw in gladnesse waters out of the founteins of your sauiour. And hereto he added, "I am (said he) the sauiour of poore men; ye be the poore, and haue assaied the hard hands and heauie burdens of the rich: now draw ye therefore the healthfull waters of vnderstanding out of my wels and springs, and that with ioy. For the time of your visitation is come: I shall part waters from waters, by waters I vnderstand the people, and I shall part the people which are good and meeke, from the people that are wicked and proud, and I shall disseuer the good and euill, euen as light is diuided from darknesse." His oration to the people.

By these and such persuasions and means as he vsed, he had gotten two and fiftie thousand persons, readie to haue taken his part, as appeared after by a roll of their names found in his keeping, besides diuerse instruments of iron to breake vp houses, and other things seruing to such like purposes. So that he brought the commoners into a great liking of him: but the rich and wealthie citizens stood in much feare, so that they kept their houses, in armes, in doubt to be robbed and murthred by him in the night season. Ger. Dor.

The archbishop of Canturburie (vnto whome the rule of the realme chéefelie belonged) being aduertised hereof, sent for the greatest number of the citizens, and vsing them with gentle words, persuaded them to deliuer pledges, the better to assure him, that no such thing should chance, which was suspected of manie, though he was loth to conceiue any such opinion of them. They being ouercome with his courteous words, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the foresaid William ceased not to make congregations of the people, at length the archbishop sent a commandement vnto him, that he should appeare before him and other of the councell, at a certeine prefixed daie, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. To be short, he did so at the time appointed, but with such a rout of the common people about him, that the archbishop durst not pronounce against him, but licenced him to depart for that time, giuing him soft and gentle words. Howbeit, certeine persons were then appointed by the said archbishop and other of the councell to watch him sometime, when he should haue no great companie about him, and then to apprehend him. He is called before the archbishop of Canturburie lord chéefe iustice or president of the realme.

Amongst those that were thus commanded to attach him, were two burgesses of the citie, who hauing espied a conuenient time for the execution of their purpose, set vpon him to haue take him, but he getting an ax, defended himselfe manfullie: and in resisting slue one of them, and after that fled into the church of S. Marie Bow, keeping the same not as a place of sanctuarie, but as a fortresse: in somuch that by the help of such as resorted vnto him, he defended it against his aduersaries, till with fire and smoke they constreined him to come foorth, and all those that were there with him: amongst them also was his concubine, who neuer left him for any danger that might betide him. He fleeth into the church of S. Marie Bow. His concubine.

The people regarding the danger of their pledges, came not out to aid him, as it was much doubted they would haue doone. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought foorth, and comming out of the church, the sonne of that burgesse whome he had slaine (as you haue heard) strake him verie sore into the bellie with a knife, in reuenge of his fathers death. After this, he was had to his arraignment before the archbishop, sitting within the towre, and being condemned, was from thence drawne with horsses to the place of execution called the Elmes, and there hanged on a gibet, with nine of his adherents, which had defended the church against the kings power: and yet for all this, the grudge ceassed not, but the common people raised a great slander vpon the archbishop, both for causing him to be taken out of the church, where he claimed priuilege of sanctuarie, and also for putting him to death, who was innocent (as they alledged) and not giltie of those crimes that were laid against him: who sought onelie the defense of poore people against extortioners, and such as were wrong doers. He is executed. *Wil. Paruus. Matth. Paris.* The archbish. of Canturburie euill spoke of, for ye death of William Fitz Osbert.

This

An old whormonger, and a new saint.

This rumor rose so fast, that at length (by bruting abroad, that certeine miracles should be wrought by a chaine, wherein he was bound in time of his imprisonment) he was taken for a saint. The place also where he suffered, was visited by women, and other superstitious folks, as a plot of great holinesse, till at length the archbishop caused it to be watched, to the end that no such foolishnesse should be vsed there. In fine, the opinion which the people had thus fondlie conceiued of his vertue and innocencie, was by little and little remooued out of their heads, when his acts were more certeinelie published: as the sleaing of a man with his owne hands, and the vsing of his concubine within Bowe church, during the time of his being there. Also the archbishop accursed a preest, which had first brought vp the false report and fained fable of the miracle wrought by the chaine, whereby the occasion of idolatrie was first giuen, and might easilie haue béene continued, if the archbishop had not béene the wiser man, and by such means repressed the rumour. ¶ So that we are to note by this example the force of counterfeit holinesse and feigned harmelesnesse in hypocrits,

——qui pelle sub agni
Vipereum celant virus morésq; luporum,
Et stolidos ficta virtutis imagine fallunt.

But now to return vnto the dooings of king Richard in France. Ye haue heard how a peace was concluded (as some haue written) but the same continued not long: for the French king séeming to repent himselfe of that he had doone (as is aforesaid) brake the peace, and raising a power, besieged Albemarle, at length wan it, and raced it downe to the ground, then king Richard gaue vnto him thrée thousand marks of siluer for the ransome of his knights and yeomen, or demilances (as I may call them) that were taken in that fortresse. After this, the French king wan Nouencourt, and earle John tooke the castell of Gamages.

The erledome of Poictou.

John Bouchet his dout.

About the same time also king Richard gaue vnto his nephue Othe the earledome of Poictou. Which I haue thought good to note out of Roger Houeden, to remooue the doubt of Iohn Bouchet, who in the third part of his annales of Aquitaine, maruelleth at an old panchart or record which he had séene, by the tenour whereof it appeared, that this Otho intituled himselfe duke of Aquitaine and earle of Poictou, being in his castell of Monstereulbonin neere to Poictiers, in the yeare a thousand, one hundreth, ninetie nine, in presence of Geffrey de Lusignen, and others, and granted vnto a certeine person the office of cutting the monie in the mint of that towne, as by the same panchart it further appeareth.

The sight whereof brought the said Bouchet into a great perplexitie, considering that no chronicle which he had either seene, or heard of, made mention of any Otho that shuld be duke of Aquitaine, or erle of Poictou, either before that time, or after. Where againe it was euident to him, that queene Elianor the mother of king Richard, as then liuing, named hir selfe dutchesse of Aquitaine, and countesse of Poictou; & likewise king Richard intituled himselfe duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou, euer after he had fianced the earle of Barcelons daughter, as by diuerse records both of the mother and the sonne he had séene perfect notice. At length yet he gesseth (and that trulie) that it should be this Otho, to whom the mother and sonne had assigned the dutchie of Aquitaine and countie of Poictou, for the maintenance of his estate, he holding the same till the yeare 1199, in the which he was made emperour by king Richards good helpe, as after shall be shewed more at large.

Ranulph erle of Chester tooke his wife the dutchesse of Britaine prisoner.

About this time also as the countesse of Britaine, the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie, to haue spoken with king Richard, Ranulph earle of Chester hir husband meeting hir at Pountourson, tooke hir as prisoner, and shut hir vp within his castell at S. James de Beumeron: and when hir sonne Arthur could not find means to deliuer hir out of captiuitie, he ioined with the king of France, and made great hauocke in the lands

of

of his vncle king Richard, wherevpon the king gathered a mightie armie, and inuading Britaine with great force, cruellie wasted and destroied the countrie.

Here is also to be noted, that in this seuenth yeare of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this realme of England, and in the coasts about the same. Also about the same time died William earle of Salisburie, the sonne of earle Patrike, whose daughter and heire king Richard gaue in marriage, togither with the earledome of Salisburie, vnto his base brother, surnamed Long Espée.

A dearth.

The death of the earle of Salisburie.

It chanced moreouer about the same time, that earle John the kings brother, with certeine capteins of such hired souldiors as some call Brabanceni; others, the Routs; and the French histories name them Costereaux, or Coterels, went abroad to atchiue some enterprise against the bishop of Beauuois, and other Frenchmen, which had doone much hurt to king Richards subiects in those parties. The cheefe leaders of those Routs or Costereaux, which went foorth with earle John, and serued vnder him at that time, were two Prouancois, Marchades & Lupescaro. These riding foorth into the countrie about Beauuois, made hauocke in robbing and spoiling all afore them.

R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

Marchades & Lupescaro.

Anon as Philip the bishop of Beauuois, a man more giuen to the campe than to the church, had knowledge hereof, thinking them to be a méet preie for him, with sir William de Merlow and his sonne, and a great number of other valiant men of warre, came foorth into the fields, and encountring with the enimies, fought verie stoutlie. But yet in the end the bishop, the archdeacon, and all the chéefe capteins were taken: the residue slaine and chased. After this, earle John and the foresaid capteins passed foorth, and wan the towne of Millie, and so returned.

The bishop of Beauuois taken prisoner.

Earle John and Marchades presented the two prelats with great triumph vnto K. Richard earlie in the morning, lieng yet in his bed, as those that were knowne to be his great enimies, saieng to him in French; "Rise Richard, rise, we haue gotten the great chantour of Beauuois, and a good quier man (as we take it) to answer him in the same note, and here we deliuer them vnto you to vse at your discretion." The king séeing them, smiled, and was verie glad for the taking of this bishop, for that he had euer found him his great aduersarie: and therefore being thus taken fighting in the field with armour on his backe, thought he might be bold in temporall wise to chastise him; sith he (not regarding his calling) practised to molest him with temporall weapons: wherevpon he commited him to close prison all armed as he was.

It chanced soone after, that two of his chaplins came vnto the king to Rouen, where this bishop was deteined, beseeching the king of licence to attend vpon their maister now in captiuitie: vnto whome (as it is of some reported) the king made this answer; "I am content to make you iudges in the cause betwixt me and your maister, as for the euils which he hath either doone, either else gone about to doo vnto me, let the same be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iournie made into the holie land, and deliuered into the emperours hands, was in respect of my kinglie state, vsed according therevnto verie fréendlie and honourablie, till your maister comming thither (for what purpose he himselfe best knoweth) had long conference with the emperour. After which, I for my part in the next morning tasted the fruit of their euernights talke, being then loden with as manie irons as a good asse might not verie easilie haue borne. Iudge you therefore, what maner of imprisonment your maister deserued at my hands, that procured such ease for me at the emperours hands."

The two chaplins had their mouths stopped with these words thus by the king vttered, and so departed their waies. The bishop being still deteined in prison, procured suit to be made to the pope for his deliuerance: but the pope, being truelie informed of the matter, and wiselie considering that the king had not taken the bishop preaching, but fighting, and kept him prisoner rather as a rough enimie, than as a peaceable prelat, would not be earnest with the king for his deliuerance, but rather reprooued the bishop, in that he had preferred secular warfare before the spirituall, and had taken vpon him the

vse

vse of a speare in stéed of a crosier, an helmet in steed of a miter, an herbergeon in stéed of a white rochet, a target for a stoale, and an iron sword in lieu of the spirituall sword: and therefore he refused to vse any commandement to king Richard for the setting of him at libertie. But yet he promised to doo what he could by waie of intreating that he might be released.

It is reported by some writers, that the pope at first, not vnderstanding the truth of the whole circumstance, should send to king Richard, commanding him by force of the canons of the church to deliuer his sons the bishop and archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king sent their armour with this message written in Latine, "Vide an tunica filij tui sit an non," that is, "See whether these are the garments of thy sonnes or not:" alluding to the saieng of those that caried Josephs coate to Jacob. Which when the pope saw, he said: "Naie by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my sonnes, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the vestures of the children of Mars:" and so he left them still to be ransomed at the kings pleasure. The bishop thus séeing no hope to be deliuered without some agréement had betwixt the two kings, became now through irkesomenesse of his bonds, an earnest mediatour for peace, whereas before he had beene an extreme stirrer vp of war. Such a schoolemaister is imprisonment, & plucker downe of loftie courages. But to proceed.

Genes. 37.

An. Reg. 8. About the same time the archbishop of Rouen put all the countrie of Normandie vnder sentence of interdiction, bicause king Richard had begun to fortifie a castell at Lisle Dandelie, vpon a péece of ground which the archbishop claimed to apperteine vnto his sée. The matter was brought before the pope, who perceiuing the intent of king Richard was not otherwise grounded vpon any couetous purpose to defraud the church of hir right, but onelie to build a fortresse in such place as was most expedient for defense of the countrie about, to preserue it from inuasion of the enimies; he counselled the archbishop not to stand against the king in it, but to exchange with him for some other lands: which was doone, and the interdiction by the pope released. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour, being sent about this businesse towards Rome, departed this life by the way at Poictiers, in Januarie.

Normandie interdicted by ye archbishop of Rouen.

The bishop of Elie departed this life.

But the bishops of Durham & Lisieux that were sent with him, passed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the pope of the matter, who tooke order with the bishops (as before is mentioned.) The king gaue to the church in Rouen in recompense, his milles which he had in Rouen, so that the said church should paie the almes of old time appointed to be giuen for the same. He gaue to the said church likewise the towne of Diepe, and the towne of Bussels, so that the church should likewise paie the almes assigned foorth of the same, being the summe of 372 pounds of Aniouine monie: also the manour of Louers, and the forrest of Alermound with the deere and the appurtenances. But now to other dooings.

About the same time, or not long before, whereas there had beene long contention betwixt the kings of England, and the earles of S. Giles for the earldome of Tholouse, king Richard by way of aliance fell now at an appointment with the earle Raimond that held those lands; for whereas the countesse Constance wife to the said Raimond earle of Tholouse and aunt to king Philip was now departed this life, king Richard concluded a mariage betweene the said earle and his sister Joane quéene of Sicile, sometime wife to William king of Sicile, so that being thus ioined in aliance with the said earle of Tholouse on the one side, he procured a league also with Baldwine earle of Flanders on the other, vnto whom he gaue fiue thousand markes in reward, vpon condition, that he should couenant not to grow to any agréement with the French king without his consent. Likewise Reginold the earle of Bolongne, that was sonne to earle of Chateau Martine, aliéd himselfe with them against the French king, and so did Baldwine earle of Guines with diuerse other.

Rog. Houed. The king and the earle of Tholouse agréed.

Matt. Paris. The earle of Flanders alied with K. Richard.

Iacob Meir. Les annales de France.

Thus king Richard by such aliance hauing his part greatlie strengthened, prepared himselfe

himselfe to the warre more earnestlie than before, and tooke order with the earle of Flanders, that they should inuade the French dominions in two seuerall quarters both at one time, as the earle by Flanders, & he himselfe by Normandie, according to the appointment betwixt them deuised. The earle preparing an armie, first wan the towne of Dowaie, and then besieged saint Omers; and wan it after fiue weekes siege: whervpon they of Aire yeelded to him; shortlie after he entred into Artois, & besieged the citie of Arras. *Iacob. Meir. Wil. Parua.* Towns won by the earle of Flanders.

At the same time king Richard marching towards Gisors, wan in his waie the castell of Corselles, & destroied it; that doone, he came to Gisors, and besieged the towne, wasting all the countrie round about him where he came. The French king being thus troubled with the inuasion of his enimies in two seuerall places at one present time, sent certeine bands of his souldiors towards Arras to keepe the earle of Flanders plaie, whilest he himselfe went against king Richard: and comming vnto Gisors, found it streictlie besieged of the same king, so that he wist not well how to enter the towne. But yet at length faigning to giue battell to king Richard (who vpon desire to receiue it, came abroad into the field) the French king rushed foorth with all his whole force to make towards the towne, & so got into it, though not without great losse and damage of his people. Gisors besieged. The French king entreth into Gisors.

King Richard not meaning to breake vp his siege from before the towne, (notwithstanding the French king had entred it) staied a certeine time of purpose to win it, knowing the gaine to be the greater, and his name more famous, if he might atchiue his purpose, now that his aduersarie was within it, but when he saw it would not be, he raised his siege, and departed towards Cleremont, spoiling all the countrie by his forrais as he went, so that he wan great pillage, wherewith his souldiers were loden and made verie rich. K. Richard raiseth his siege.

It chanced, that in a skirmish Hugh de Chaumount was taken prisoner, one that was of the French kings priuie councell, and king Richard appointed him to the keeping of Robert Ros, who charged one of his seruants named William de Spinie with the custodie of him. But the said Hugh corrupting his keeper the foresaid William with rewards, (whereof it is said, Hugh de Cheaumount taken prisoner.

——acceptissima semper
Munera sunt, author quæ pretiosa facit) *Ouid. in 3. Art. am. ep.* 16.

escaped out of the castell of Bonneuille, where he was within ward, to the great displeasure of king Richard, who caused Robert Ros to paie for a fine, the summe of twelue hundred marks, which the prisoner should haue paied for his ransome: and further, commanded William de Spinie to be hanged for his disloiall dealing. Robert Rosse put to his fine for an escape.

King Philip, after that the king of England was remooued from Gisors (as before yee haue heard) assembled a great host, and with banner displaied, entred into Normandie, and wasted the countrie from Newburge to Beaumont le Rogier, and that doone, returned into France, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes. About the same time, he sent vnto king Richard, requiring him to appoint fiue champions, and he would appoint other fiue for his part, which might fight in lists, for triall of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, so to auoid the shedding of more giltlesse bloud. King Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that either king might be of the number, that is, the French king one of the fiue vpon the French part; & K. Richard one of the fiue vpon the English part. But this condition would not be granted. Herevpon when shortlie after it was signified to king Richard, that ships vsed to come out of England to saint Valerie with victuals, which were sold and conueied awaie vnto the French K. and other his enimies, he rode to saint Valeries, and set the towne on fire, and such ships of England as he found there he also burnt, and hanged the mariners by the necke, diuiding the graine and other victuals which were found in the same ships amongst his owne souldiors. *Matth. Paris. Nic. Treuet.* The French kings request for a combat. K. Richards answer. 1197. *Matth. Paris.* Ships burnt, and mariners hanged.

About

Les annales de France. About the same time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Britons, and William Crespine also was constreined to deliuer vnto him the castell of Auge, but the French king recouered it by siége, whilest king Richard entring into Aluergne wan diuerse castels there, to the number of ten out of king Philips hands. In the meane time the earle of Flanders made sore war against the French king for his part, and training the same king within streits, so that he was almost inclosed on ech side, he constreined him to agrée to such composition as pleased the same earle to appoint, but afterwards the French king refused to stand to the couenants of that agréement, and so the warre continued betwixt them as before.

An. Reg. 9.

R. Houed. One yeare & 4 moneths saith *Wil. Paruus.* At length king Richard and the French king concluded vpon an abstinence of warre to indure from the feast of S. Hilarie for one whole yere, purposing in the meane time to make a finall peace and agréement. In which season Baldwine earle of Flanders came into England to doo his deuotions vnto the shrine where Thomas the archbishop laie buried at Canturburie. The same yeare also somewhat before this time, Rise ap Griffin king of Wales departed this life, after whose death there fell discord betwixt his sonnes for the succession, till the archbishop Hubert went to the marshes of that countrie and made an agréement betwixt them. Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leicester, elected bishop of saint Andrews in Scotland, receiued the order of préesthood, and was consecrated bishop by the hands of the bishop of Aberdine.

Griffin king of Wales departed this life.

Weights and measures. This yeare it was ordeined that measures of all manner of graine should conteine one quantitie throughout the realme, that is to saie, one resonable horsselode, and that the measures of wine and ale with all maner of liquors should be of one iust quantie according to the diuersitie of the liquor: also that weights should be of like rate throughout the relme, and that cloth should conteine two yards in breadth within the lists, of perfect goodnesse throughout, as well in the middest as by the sides, and that one manner of yard should be vsed through the relme. It was also ordeined that no merchants within the realme should hang any red or blacke clothes before their windowes, nor set vp any pentises or other thing whereby to darken the light from those that came to buy their cloth, so as they might be deceiued in choosing thereof.

Also it was enacted that there should be foure or six substantiall honest men chosen in euerie towne, and likewise in shires, with the head officers of cities and boroughes, which had a corporation, to see that the assises aforesaid were truelie kept, and that if anie were found to be offending in the premisses, to cause their bodies to be attached and commited to prison, and their goods to be seized to the kings vse: and if those that were chosen to haue regard thereto, were tried to be negligent, so that by others, and not by them any offendors chanced to be conuicted before the iustices, then should the regarders be put to their fines, for the negligent looking to their offices.

King Richard held his Christmasse this yeare at Roan, and Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie legat of the apostolike sée, named lord chéefe iustice of England, was about the same time in the marshes of Wales at Hereford, and there receiued into his hands the castels of Hereford, Bridgenorth and Ludlow, remouing those that had the same in kéeping, and appointing others in their roomes. Afterwards comming by Couentrie, he placed the moonks againe in the cathedrall church of that citie, by commandement of pope Celestine, and chased out the secular canons, which the bishop Hugh Nouant had brought into the same church when he remooued the moonks.

1198.

Moonks placed againe in the church of Couentrie.

Messengers from the stats of Germanie. In the Christmasse wéeke also there came messengers to Rouen from the archbishops of Cullen and Mentz, and from other states of the empire, which declared vnto king Richard, that all the princes of Germanie were appointed to assemble at Cullen, the two & twentith of Februarie, about the choosing of a new emperour, in place of the late deceassed Henrie: and therefore they commanded him by force of the oth and league in which he was bound to the emperour and empire, that all excuse of deniall or occasions to the contrarie ceasing and set apart, he should make his repaire vnto Cullen at the aforesaid day, to helpe them in choosing of some worthie personage that might and was able

able to haue the empire. King Richard doubting to put himselfe in danger, bicause he had not discharged all the debts due for his ransome, staied at home, but yet he sent diuerse noble men thither, and did so much in fauour of his nephue Otho, that by the helpe of the foresaid two archbishops of Cullen and Mentz, the same Otho was elected emperour. But of this matter more shall be said hereafter.

Three hundred knights of men of armes to be found.

Moreouer, about the same time king Richard required by the archbishop of Canturburie his chéefe iustice, an aid of 300 knights to be found by his subiects of England, to remaine with him in his seruice for one whole yeare, or else that theywould giue him so much monie, as might serue to reteine that number after the rate of three shillings a daie of English monie for euerie knight. Whereas all other were contented to be contributors herein, onelie Hugh bishop of Lincolne refused, and spake sore against the archbishop that moued the matter. But how soeuer that request tooke place, king Richard (as we find) leuied this yeare a subsidie of fiue shillings of euerie hide of land within the realme, two commissioners, that is to say, one of the spiritualtie, & a knight of the temporaltie, being appointed as commissioners in euerie shire, with the assistance of the shiriffe, and others, to sée the same assessed & rated after an hundred acres of land to the hide of land, according to the custome.

The bishop of Lincolne.

The same yeare also the moonks of the house of the holie Trinitie, otherwise called Christes church in Canturburie, exhibited their complaint vnto pope Innocent, that their archbishop Hubert (contrarie to his order and dignitie) exercised the office of high iustice, and sate in iudgement of bloud, being so incumbred in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to discharge his office touching spirituall causes: wherevpon the pope sent vnto king Richard, admonishing him not to suffer the said archbishop to be any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to discharge him thereof, and not to admit any spirituall person from thencefoorth vnto any temporall administration.

The moonks of Christes church send to the pope, complaining of their archbishop.

The pope sendeth to the king.

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience, all manner of prelats and men of the church, that they should not presume rashlie to take vpon them any maner of secular function or office. Whervpon the archbishop was discharged of his office of chéefe iustice, and Geffrey Fitz Peter succéeded in gouernement of the realme in his stéed. ¶ Geruasius Dorobernensis saith, that the archbishop resigned that office of his owne accord, and that not till after his returne from the marshes of Wales, where he had ouerthrowne the Welshmen, and slaine fiue thousand of them. Which victorie other ascribe vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter, which Geffrey (as the said Dorobernensis saith) succeeded the archbishop in the office of lord cheefe iustice, but not vntill August, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne.

In this yeare, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce which was taken till haruest might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kings of England & France began eftsoones to be pursued with like earnestnesse as before: wherevpon manie encounters chanced betwixt the parties, with taking of townes and fortresses, as commonlie in such cases it happeneth. Twise the French king was put to the worsse, once in September betwixt Gamages and Vernon, where he was driuen to saue himselfe by flight, loosing twentie knights, and thréescore seruitors or yomen, which were taken, besides those that were slaine: and againe, in the same moneth on Michaelmasse euen betwixt Curseilles and Gisors, at what time he came to succour Curseilles, bringing with him 400 knights, besides seruitors, and a great multitude of commons. But the castell was woone before he could approch it. An. Reg. 10.

King Richard being aduertised of his comming, hasted foorth to méet him, and giuing the onset vpon him, forced him to flée vnto Gisors, where at the entring of the bridge there was such preasse, that the bridge brake, so that amongst other, the king himselfe with his horsse and all fell into the riuer of Geth, and with much adoo was releeued, and got out of the water, no small number of right hardie and valiant gentlemen being taken at the same time, which put themselues forward to staie the Englishmen, till the king was re-

King Philip almost drowneth.

couered out of the present danger. To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred knights, and two hundred barded horsses, besides seruitors on horssebacke, and footmen with crossebowes. Amongst other prisoners these are named, Matthew de Montmorancie, Gales de Ports, Iollen de Bray, and manie other also innumerable. King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters thereof vnto the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles and barons of his realme, that they might praise God for his good successe.

Seuen score saith *R. Houed. Matth. Paris. R. Houed.*

¶ A notable example to all princes that haue the conquest ouer their enimies, to referre the happie getting thereof to God, and to giue praise vnto him who giueth victorie vnto whom it pleaseth him. Which the Psalmograph saw verie well, and therefore ascribed all the issue of his prosperous affaires to God, as may well be noted by his words, saieng expresselie,

Fob. Hess. in Psal. 144.

——— ab illo
Munior, hic instar turris & arcis erat,
Dura manus in bella meas qui format & armat,
Ad fera qui digitos instruit arma meos.

Now will we staie the proceedings of the king of France at this time, and make no further relation thereof for a while, till we haue touched other things that happened in England at the same season. And first ye shall vnderstand, that Hugh Bardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geffrey Hachet, to whom as iustices, the counties of Lincolne, Nottingham, Yorke, Derbie, Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumberland, and Lancaster were appointed for circuits, held not onelie plées of assises, and of the crowne, but also tooke inquisitions of escheats, and forfaitures of all maner of transgressions, and of donations of benefices, of marriages of widowes and maids, and other such like things as appertained to the king, whereby any aduantages grew to his vse, the which for tediousnesse we passe ouer. These things were streightlie looked vnto, not without the disquieting of manie.

Inquisitions taken.

Herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to diuerse persons within the realme, through inquiries taken by the iustices of the forrests: for Hugh Neuille, Hugh Waley, and Heruisius Neuill, appointed iustices itinerants in that case, were commanded by the king to call before them archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, knights, and frēeholders, with the reeue, and foure of the substantiall men of euerie towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commandement, touching the ordinances of forrests, the which were verie straight in sundrie points, so that whereas before those that offended in killing of the kings deere were punished by the purse, now they should loose their eies and genitals, as the lawe was in the daies of king Henrie his grandfather: and those that offended in cutting downe woods or bushes, or in digging and deluing vp of turues and clods, or by any other maner of waie made waste and distruction in woods or grasse, or spoile of venison, within the precinct of the forrests, contrarie to order, they should be put to their fines.

Ordinances of forrests.

He gaue commandement also, that it should be lawfull to the forresters to take and put vnder arrest, as well prēests and those of the cleargie, as temporall men, being found offendors in forrest grounds and chases. Manie other ordinances were decrēed touching the preseruation of forrests, and the kings prerogatiue, aduantages and profits rising and growing by the same, as well for sauing of his woods and wasts, as in pannage and agistements, greatlie to the restraint of them that might vsurpe or incroch vpon the grounds within the compasse of his forrests.

Prēests to be arrested offending in forrests.

Ye haue heard before, how the moonks of Canturburie did send to exhibit a complaint to the pope, for that their archbishop tooke vpon him to deale in exercise of matters belonging to a temporall man, and not to such a one as had rule ouer the spiritualtie: but this was not the cause that did grēeue them so much, as that he went forward with the erection of that church at Lameth, which his predecessor archbishop Baldwine had first begun

Ger. Dor.

begun at Haketon, now called S. Stephans (as before ye haue heard) and after was driuen through the importunate suit of the moonks to leaue off, and race that which he had there begun, to obeie the popes pleasure: and after laid a new foundation at Lameth. The church of Lameth.

The moonks of Canturburie therefore still fearing least that church should greatlie preiudice such rights and liberties, as they pretended, namlie in the election of their archbishop, would neuer rest, but still complained and followed their suit in most obstinate maner in the court of Rome, as well in the daies of the said Baldwine, as now against Hubert, (when he tooke in hand to continue the worke according to the purpose of his predecessour the said Baldwine, which was to haue instituted a colledge there, and to haue placed secular canons in the same) and such was the earnest trauell of the moonks herein, that in the end now after the deceasse of pope Celestine, they found such fauour at the hands of pope Innocent his successor, that the same Innocent directed his letters of cõmandement to the archbishop, and other bishops of this land, to destroie and race the same foundation, as a péece of worke derogatorie to the sée of Canturburie, and vérie preiudiciall to the estate of holie church. The pope cõmandeth the church of Lameth to be raced.

The archbishop at the first trusted to be borne out by the king (who was highlie offended with the moonks for their presumptuous dealing) and therefore refused to obeie the popes commandement. The king in deed stomached the matter so highlie, that he sent letters vnto the moonks by no worsse messengers than by Geffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz Bardolfe his iustices, signifieng to them not onelie his high displeasure for their presumptuous proceedings in their suit without his consent, but also commanding them to surceasse, and not to procéed further in the matter by virtue of any such the popes letters, which they had purchased contrarie to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme. Moreouer, he wrote to the bishops, commanding them to appeale; and to the archbishop, forbidding him in any wise to breake downe the church which he had so builded at Lameth.

The shiriffe of Kent also was commanded to seize into his hands all the tenements and possessions that belonged to the moonks (a frie of satan, and as one saith verie well of them and the like leuen of lewdnesse, The presumptuous stoutnesse of the moonks.

———sentina malorum,
Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, &c.)

who neuer the lesse were so stout in that quarell, that they would not prolong one daie of the time appointed by the pope for the racing of that church. Herevpon the king for his part and the bishops in their owne behalfes wrote to the pope. Likewise the abbats of Boxeley, Fourd, Stratford, Roberts-bridge, Stanlie, and Basing Warke, wrote the matter to him: and againe the pope and the cardinals wrote to the king, to the archbishops, and bishops: and so letters passed to and fro, till at length the pope sent a Nuncio of purpose, to signifie his full determination, as in the next yeare it shall be shewed at full.

About the same time Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord cheefe iustice of England, raised a power of men, and went into Wales to succour the tenants of William de Brause, which were besieged of the king, or rather prince of that countrie, named Owen, the brother of Cadwalaine, in Mauds castell: but the lord chéefe iustice comming to the reskue of them within, gaue battell to the aduersaries, and vanquishing them slue three thousand of them, and seauen hundred of those that were taken prisoners and wounded. And all the while the warres continued in France, the losse for the most part still redounded to the Frenchmen. Earle John burnt Newburg, and tooke eighteene knights of such as were sent to the reskue. Welshmen vanquished. Ger. Dor. ascribeth this victorie vnto Hubert archb. of Canturburie and saith there were slaine about 500 of the enimies. Mauds castle.

The earle of Leicester with a small companie came before the castell of Pascie, which (although the Frenchmen held it) did yet of right belong vnto the said earle. The souldiors within issued foorth, and being too strong for the earle, caused him to flee, for other- The earle of Leicester.

wise he had béene taken. But returning on the morrow after with more companie about him, and laieng ambushes for the enimie, he approched the said castell, and trained the Frenchmen foorth till he had them within his danger, and then causing his men to breake out vpon them tooke an eightéene knights, and a great multitude of other people. Also Marchades with his rout of Brabanders did the Frenchmen much hurt, in robbing and spoiling the countries.

Marchades.

About this season the archbishop of Canturburie went ouer into Normandie to speake with king Richard, and at the French kings request he passed into France, to common with him of peace, which the French king offered to conclude, in restoring all the townes and castels which he had taken (Gisors onelie excepted) and touching the possession and title thereof, he was contented to put the matter in compremise, to the order and award of six barons in Normandie to be named by him; and of six barons in France which king Richard should name. But king Richard would not thus agrée, except the earle of Flanders and others which had forsaken the French king to take his part, might be comprised in the same peace. At length yet in Nouember, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings till the feast of S. Hilarie next insuing.

In the meane time pope Innocent the third, vnderstanding in what present danger things stood in the holie land, and on the other side, considering what a weakening it was vnto christendome, to haue these two kings thus to warre with mortall hatred one against the other: he thought it stood him vpon to trauell betwixt them, to bring them vnto some peace and agreement. Héerevpon he dispatched one Peter the cardinall of Capua into France, as legat from the sée of Rome, vnto the two foresaid kings, to instruct them in what present danger the state of the christians in Asia presentlie stood, so that without the aid of them and of other christian princes, it could not be holpen, but needs it must come to vtter ruine, and the Saracens yer long to be possessed of the whole. Therefore both in respect hereof, and also for the auoiding of the further wilfull spilling of christian bloud in such ciuill and vngodlie warre, he besought them to staie their hands, and to ioine in some fréendlie band of concord, whereby they might with mutuall consent bestow their seruice in that necessarie and most godlie warre, wherein by ouercomming the enimies of Christ, they might looke for worthie reward at his hands, which is the frée giuer of all victories,

A truce taken betwixt the two kings.

1199. The cardinall comming into France, and dooing his message in most earnest wise, was present at the interuiew appointed betwixt the two kings in the feast of S. Hilarie, but yet could not he bring his purpose to full effect: onelie he procured them to take truce for the terme of fiue yeares, further he could not get them to agrée. ¶ The fault by authors is ascribed aswell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richard being first euill vsed, and put to hinderance, determined either to vanquish, or neuer to giue place.

R. Houed. A truce concluded for fiue yeares.

This forbearance from warre was concluded and taken in the yeare 1199 after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatlie after, there arose matter of new displeasure betwixt these two kings to kéepe their minds in vre with secret grudges, though by reason of the truce they outwardlie absteined from declaring it by force of armes. It chanced that in the election of a new emperour, the electors could not agrée, one part of them choosing Otho duke of Saxonie, nephue to king Richard by his sister Maud, and another part of them naming Philip duke of Tuscaine, and brother to the last emperour Henrie.

Contention about the choosing of the emperour.

King Richard (as reason was) did procure what fauour he could to the furtherance of his nephue Otho: and king Philip on the contrarie part, did what he could in fauour of the foresaid Philip. At length Otho was admitted by the pope to end the strife: but yet the grudge remained in the harts of the two kings: Philip finding himselfe much gréeued in that he had missed his purpose, and Richard being as little pleased for that

that he had woone his so hardlie, and with so much adoo. And thus matters passed for that yeare.

In the beginning of the next, the popes Nuncio came with letters, not onlie to the archbishop and bishops of England, but also to the king himselfe, signifieng the popes resolute decree touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and suppressed. Wherevpon the king and archbishop (though sore against their willes) when they saw no waie longer to shift off the matter, yéelded to the popes pleasure: and so the archbishop sent his letters to Lameth, where the 21 daie of Januarie they were read, and the 27 daie of the same moneth was the church cast downe, & the canons which were alreadie there placed, had commandement to depart from thence without further delaie. Thus the moonks in dispite of the king and archbishop had their willes, but yet their vexation ceassed not, for the king and archbishop bearing them no small euill will, for that they had so obteined their purpose contrarie to their minds and intents, molested them diuerse waies, although the moonks still vpon complaint to the pope, were verie much releeued, and found great freendship both with him and likewise with his court. ¶ So that it may be obserued that these dishclouts of the popes kitchen haue in all ages, since their first quickening béene troublesome and mutinous, sawcie and insolent, rude and malapert. But,

R. Houed. The popes letters to the king for the church of Lameth.

The moonks borne out by the pope.

Proh pudor! hos tolerare potest ecclesia porcos,
Cùm sint lasciui nimiùm, nimiúmq; superbi,
Duntaxàt ventri, veneri somnóq; vacantes?

M. Pal. in suâ sag.

In this meane time, king Richard being now at rest from troubles of warre, studied busilie to prouide monie, meaning to make a new voiage into the holie land. Therefore, finding himselfe beare of treasure, by reason of the French warres had emptied his cofers, he set a great tax vpon his subiects, and by that meanes, hauing recouered a great summe, he builded that notable strong castell in Normandie, vpon the banke of the riuer of Saine, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finished, he fell a iesting thereat and said; "Behold, is not this a faire daughter of one yeares growth." The soile where this castell was builded, belonged to the archbishop of Rouen, for which there followed great strife betwixt the king and the archbishop, till the pope tooke vp the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

A tax.

Fiue shillings of euerie plough land, as saith *Matt. Westm.*

Chasteau Galiard built.

After this, he determined to chastise certeine persons in Poictou, which during the warres betwixt him and the French king, had aided the Frenchmen against him: wherevpon with an armie he passed foorth towards them, but by the waie he was informed, that one Widomer a vicount in the countrie of Britaine, had found great treasure: and therefore pretending a right thereto by vertue of his prerogatiue, he sent for the vicount, who smelling out the matter, and supposing the king would not be indifferent in parting the treasure, fled into Limosin, where although the people were tributaries to the king of England, yet they tooke part with the French king.

Images of an emperour and of his wife & children all of fine gold.

The annals of Aquitaine.

There is a towne in that countrie called Chalus Cheuerell, into which the said vicount retired for safegard of himselfe, and then gaue the townesmen a great portion of treasure, to the end they should defend him and his quarell for the rest. King Richard still following him, as one that could not auoid his fatall ordinance, hasted into the confines of Limosin, fullie determining either to win the towne by force, if the inhabitants should make resistance, or at leastwise, to get into his hands the preie, which he so earnestlie pursued. At his first approch he gaue manie fierce assaults to the towne, but they within hauing throughlie prouided aforehand for to defend a siege, so resisted his attempts, that within three daies after his comming, he ceassed to assaile the towne, meaning to vndermine the walles, which otherwise he perceiued would verie hardlie be gotten, considering the stoutnesse of them within, and withall, the naturall strength and situation of the place it selfe.

Chalus Cheuerell. *R. Houed.*

K. Richard besieged Chalus.

Herevpon therefore on the 26 of March, whiles he (togither with capteine Marchades)

des) went about vnaduisedlie to view the towne (the better to consider the place which waie he might conueie the course of his mine) they came so farre within danger, that the
He is wounded. king was stricken in the left arme, or (as some write) in the shoulder, where it ioined to the necke, with a quarell inuenomed (as is to be supposed by the sequele.) Being
Ra. Niger. thus wounded, he gat to his horsse, and rode home againe to his lodging, where he caused the wound to be searched and bound vp, and as a man nothing dismaid therewith, continued his siege with such force and assurance, that within 12 daies after the mishap, the towne was yéelded vnto him, although verie little treasure (to make any great accompt of) was at that time found therein.

In this meane season, the king had committed the cure of his wound to one of Marchades his surgions, who taking in hand to plucke out the quarell, drew foorth onelie the shaft at he first, and left the iron still within, and afterwards going about most vnskilfullie to get foorth the head of the said quarell, he vsed such incisions, and so mangled the kings arme,
The king despaired of life. yer he could cut it, that he himself despaired of all helpe and longer life, affirming flatlie to such as stood about him, that he could not long continue by reason of his butcherlie handling. To be short féeling himselfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather re-
He ordeineth his testament formed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his gooing foorth towards the holie land.

Vnto his brother Iohn he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie vnto him. His monie, his iewels, and all other his goods mooueable he willed to be diuided into thrée parts, of the
R. Houed. which Otho the emperor his sisters sonne to haue one, his houshold seruants an other part, and the third to be distributed to the poore. Finallie remembring himselfe also of the place of his buriall, he commanded that his bodie should be interred at Fonteurard at
Matth. Paris. his fathers feet, but he willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried, in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. His bowels he ordeined to be buried in Poictiers, as in a place naturallie vnthankefull and not worthie to reteine any of the more honorable parts of his bodie.

Moreouer he caused the arcubalistar that wounded him, to be sought out, whose name was Barthram be Gurden, or Peter Basill (for so he named himselfe as some write) who
Rog. Houed. being brought before the king, he demanded wherein he had so much offended him, that he should so lie in wait to slea him, rather than Marchades, who was then in his companie, and attendant on his person? The other answered boldlie againe, saieng; "I purposed to kill thee, bicause thou sluest my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldest also now haue slaine me, if I had happened to fall into thy hands. Wherefore I intended to reuenge their deaths, not caring in the meane time what became of my selfe, so that I might in anie wise obteine my will of thée, who in such sort hast bereft me of my
A notable example of forgiving an enimie. *Matth. Paris.* freends." The king harkening vnto his words, and pondering his talke by good aduisement, frèelie pardoned him, and withall commanded that he should be set at libertie, and thereto haue an hundred shillings giuen him in his pursse, and so to be let go. Moreouer, he gaue strait charge that no no man should hurt him, or séeke any reuenge for this his death hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not onelie forgaue, but also rewarded his aduersarie. Howbeit after his deceasse, Marchades getting him into his hands, first caused the skin to be stripped off his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibit.

At length king Richard by force of sicknesse (increased with anguish of his incurable
King Richard departed this life. wound) departed this life, on the tuesdaie before Palmesundaie, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xj. dáie after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od
His stature & shape of bodie. daies: he left no issue behind him. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire
Gal. Vinsaf. and comelie of face, so as in his countenance appeared much fauour and grauitie, of haire bright

bright aborne, as it were betwixt red and yellow, with long armes, and nimble in all his ioints. his thighes and legs were of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his bodie.

As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that not without cause, he obteined the surname of Cueur de lion, that is to saie, The lions hart. Moreouer he was courteous to his souldiors, and towards his frèends and strangers that resorted vnto him verie liberall, but to his enimies hard and not to be intreated, desirous of battell, an enimie to rest and quietnesse, verie eloquent of speech and wise, but readie to enter into ieopardies, and that without feare or forecast in time of greatest perils. His disposition of mind.

These were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the wars which he mainteined were throughlie weied) were either none at all, or else few in number, and not verie notorious. He was noted of the common people to be partlie subiect vnto pride, which surelie for the most part foloweth stoutnesse of mind: of incontinencie, to the which his youth might happilie be somewhat bent: and of couetousnesse, into the which infamie most captieins and such princes as commonlie follow the warres doo oftentimes fall, when of the necessitie they are driuen to exact monie, as well of frèends as enimies, to mainteine the infinit charges of their wars. The vices that were in king Richard.

Hereof it came, that on a time whiles he soiourned in France about his warres, which he held against K. Philip, there came vnto him a French prèest whose name was Fulco, who required the K. in any wise to put from him thrée abhominable daughters which he had, and to bestow them in marriage, least God punished him for them. Thou liest hypocrite (said the king) to thy verie face, for all the world knoweth that I haue not one daughter. I lie not (said the prèest) for thou hast thrée daughters, one of them is called pride, the second couetousnesse, and the third lecherie. With that the king called to him his lords & barons, and said to them; "This hypocrite heere hath required me to marrie awaie my thrée daughters, which (as he saith) I cherish, nourish, foster and mainteine, that is to say pride, couetousnesse, and lecherie. And now that I haue found out necessarie & fit husbands for them, I will doo it with effect, and seeke no more delaies. I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded templers and hospitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himselfe. My couetousnesse I giue vnto the white moonks, otherwise called of the Cisteaux order, for they couet the diuell and all. My lecherie I commit to the prelates of the church, who haue most pleasure and felicitie therein." Fulco a prèest.

There liued in the daies of this king Richard, men of worthie fame amongst those of the cleargie, Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert who succeeded him in that sée, also Hugh bishop of Lincolne, a man for his worthinesse of life highlie to be commended. Moreouer, William bishop of Elie, who though otherwise he was to be dispraised for his ambition and pompous hautinesse, yet the king vsed his seruice for a time greatlie to his profit and aduancement of the publike affaires. Also of learned men we find diuerse in these daies that flourished here in this land, as Baldwine of Deuonshire that came to the bishop of Worcester in this kings time, and after his deceasse, he was aduanced to the gouernment of the archbishops sée of Canturburie, who wrote diuerse treatises, namelie of matters perteining to diuinitie. Daniell Morley well seene in the Mathematicals, Iohn de Hexam, and Richard de Hexham two notable historicians, Guilielmus Stephanides a moonke of Canturburie, who wrote much in the praise of archbishop Becket. Beside these, we find one Richard, that was an abbat of the order Premonstratensis, Richard Diuisiensis, Nicholas Walkington, Robert de Bello Foco, an excellent philosopher, &c. ¶ See Bale in his third Centurie. Baldwine & Hubert archbishops of Canturburie. *Iohn Bale.*

In martiall renowme there flourished in this kings daies diuerse noble capteines, as Robert earle of Leicester, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Bardulphes, Hugh and Henrie, thrée Williams, Marshall, Brunell, and Mandeuill, with two Roberts, Ros and Sabeuile. Furthermore, I find that in the daies of this king Richard, a great derth reigned in England, A great derth.

land, and also in France, for the space of three or foure yeares during the wars betweene him & king Philip, so that after his returne out of Germanie, and from imprisonment, a quarter of wheat was sold at 18 shillings eight pence, no small price in those daies, if you consider the alay of monie then currant.

A great mortalitie of people. *Wil. Paruus.*

Also immediatlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, one hundred, nintie six, which was about the seuenth yere of the said kings reigne, there followed a maruellous sore death, which dailie consumed such numbers of people, that scarse there might be found any to keepe and looke to those that were sicke, or to burie them that died. Which sickenesse was a pestilentiall feuer or sharpe burning ague. The accustomed manner of buriall was also neglected: so that in manie places they made great pits, and threw their dead bodies into the same, one vpon an other. For the multitude of them that died was such, that they could not haue time to make for euerie one a seuerall graue. This mortalitie continued for the space of fiue or six months, and at length ceassed in the cold season of winter.

Two sunnes.

In the octaues of Pentecost before this great death, in the first houre of the day, there appeared two sunnes, the true sunne & another, as it were a counterfeit sunne: but so apparentlie, that hard it was to the common people, to discerne the one from the other. The skilfull also were compelled by instruments to distinguish the one from the other: in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the end they found the new apparition, as it were, to wait vpon the planet, and so continued by the space of certeine houres. At length when the beholders (of whom Wil. Paruus that recorded things in that age was one) had well wearied their eies in diligent marking the maner of this strange appearance, the counterfeit sunne vanished awaie.

¶ This strange woonder was taken for a signification of that which followed, that is to say, of war, famine and pestilence: or to say the truth, it betokened rather the continuance of two of those mischiefs. For warre and famine had sore afflicted the people before that time, and as yet ceassed not: but as for the pestilence, it began soone after the strange sight, whereof insued such effect, as I haue alreadie rehearsed.

Thus farre king Richard.

Iohn the yongest sonne of Henrie the second.

An. Reg. 1.

IOHN the yoongest son of Henrie the second was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the sixt daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1199, the first of Philip emperour of Rome, and the 20 of Philip king of France, K. William as yet liuing in gouernement ouer the Scots. This man so soone as his brother Richard was deceassed, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepstow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and also to see his peace kept, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilest he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laie, which was foorthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewith all the castel of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid

Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris.
Chinon.
Robert de Turneham.
Sawmer.

foresaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the said Robert de Turneham deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and péeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and souereigne lord of the same countries. *Rog. Houed.* Thomas de Furnes.

For euen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilest he liued, fell at ods among themselues, some of them indeuouring to preferre king John, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine, considering that he séemed by most right to be their chéefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geffrey elder brother to John. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in processe of time insued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter. Strife amongst the English subiects on the other side of the sea.

Now whilest king John was thus occupied in recouering his brothers treasure, and traueling with his subiects to reduce them to his obedience, quéene Elianor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the English people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king John. For the said archbishop and William Marshall earle of Striguill, being sent ouer into England (as before you haue heard) to proclaime him king, and to kéepe the land in quiet, assembled the estates of the realme at Northampton, where Geffrey Fitz Peter lord chéefe iustice was present with other of the Nobles, afore whom those lords whose fidelities were earst suspected, willinglie tooke their oths of obedience to the new king, and were assured by the same lords on his behalfe, that they should find him a liberall, a noble and a righteous prince, and such a one as would sée that euerie man should inioy his owne, and such as were knowne to be notorious transgressors, should be sure to receiue their condigne punishment. *Matth. Paris.* The states assembled at Northampton.

They sent Eustace de Vescie also vnto William king of Scotland, to signifie to him, that king John vpon his arriuall in England, would satisfie him of all such right as he pretended to haue within the English dominions. And thus was king John accompted and proclaimed king of England by the generall consent of all the lords and barons of the same. The names of the cheefe of those péeres that were sworne (as you haue heard) are as followeth. Dauid earle of Huntington brother vnto William king of Scots, Richard earle of Clare, Ranulfe earle of Chester, William earle of Tutberie or rather Darbie, Walran earle of Warwike, Roger Lacie constable of Chester, and William de Mowbraie, with diuerse other, whose names I heré omit, bicause I would not be tedious and irksome to the readers. Eustace Vescie sent into Scotland.

Now the king of Scotland being informed by the lord Eustace Vescie (who had maried his daughter) that there was some hope to be had on his part, for the recouerie of such seigniories as he and his predecessours somtime held in England, did further dispatch sundrie ambassadours with full purpose to send them ouer into Normandie vnto king John, there to require restitution of the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, and he promised also by his letters, that if the same might be granted vnto him, in as ample manner as they had béene in times past to his ancestors, he would gladlie doo his homage to king John, as to the true & lawfull king of England for the same, and furthermore yéeld to him his faithfull seruice against all men, so often as he should be required thervnto. Howbeit when the archbishop of Canturburie and the rest of the councell, vnderstood that these ambassadors should passe through England, they would not suffer them so to doo, but spéedilie sent Dauid earle of Huntington into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earnestlie that he would not send any ambassadours ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take patience a while, till the king should come ouer into England: which (as they said) he purposed to doo verie shortlie.

King John also hauing vnderstanding of his purpose, sent ouer the said lord Eustace againe vnto him with the like request, who in such wise persuaded him, that he was contented

tented to abide a time, in hope of the better successe in his late attempted suit. And all this was doone chéeflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loued. For she being bent to prefer hir sonne John, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betweene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as John was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto hir will, and séeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, she signified the whole matter vnto K. John, who foorthwith framed all his indeuours to the accomplishment of his businesse.

Quéene Elianors ennie against Arthur.

Surelie quéene Elianor the kings mother was sore against hir nephue Arthur, rather mooued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw if he were king, how his mother Constance would looke to beare most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe. ¶ So hard it is to bring women to agree in one mind, their natures commonlie being so contrarie, their words so variable, and their déeds so vndiscréet. And therfore it was well said of one (alluding to their disposition and qualities,

Constance dutchesse of Britaine.

Prop. lib. 2.

——nulla diu fœmina pondus habet.)

When this dooing of the quéene was signified vnto the said Constance, she doubting the suertie of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised to defend him from all his enimies, and foorthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French souldiers. Quéene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all possible speed passed ouer the sea, and came to hir sonne John into Normandie, and shortlie after they went foorth togither into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and castell of Mauns, throwing downe the wals and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, bicause they had aided Arthur against his vncle John.

Quéene Elianor passeth into Normandie.

The citie of Mauns take. *Matth. Paris. R. Houed.*

After this, king John entring into Aniou, held his Easter at Beaufort (which feast fell that yeare the 18 day of Aprill) and from thence he went streight vnto Rouen, where on the sundaie next after Easter being S. Marks day, he was girded with the sword of the dutchie of Normandie in the high church there by the hands of Walter archbishop of Rouen. And so being inuested duke of Normandie, receiued the oth according to the custome, that he should defend the church, and mainteine the liberties thereof, sée iustice ministred, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders abolished. In the meane time his mother quéene Elianor, togither with captéine Marchades entred into Aniou, and wasted the same, bicause they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their souereigne lord and gouernour. And amongst other townes and fortresses, they tooke the citie of Angiers, slue manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.

K. John inuested duke of Normandie.

The citie of Angiers taken.

This enterprise being thus luckilie atchiued, the residue of the people in those parties were put in such feare, that of their owne accord they turned to their woonted obedience, séeming as though they would continue still therein. The French king all this while conceiuing an other exploit in his head, more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre against the Englishmen vpon so light an occasion, dissembled the matter for a time, as though he would know nothing of all that was doone, till the king should be otherwise occupied in England about his coronation.

In the meane season king John hauing set some stay in his businesse on the further side of the sea, he left his mother still in Guien, to defend that countrie against the enimies, and taking the sea, came ouer himselfe into England, landing at Shorham, the 25 day of Maie. On the next day, being Ascension éeue, he came to London there to receiue the crowne. On the morow after being Ascension daie, when the Nobilitie and commons were assembled, and the king brought into the church of S. Peter at Westminster there

K. John commeth ouer into England.

there to receiue his diademe; Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie being cheefe in authoritie and honour, both for his age and calling, spake these words or the like in substance before the whole assemblie, as followeth.

Hubert the archbishop of Canturburies oration to the lords spirituall and temporall in the presence of the king, &c.

MOST honorable lords of the spiritualtie, and most graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporaltie, you are come hither this day to choose you a king, and such a one as (if need should require) may be able of himselfe to take such a charge vpon him, and (hauing vndertaken the same) readie to execute that which he shall thinke to be expedient for the profit of his subiects: we haue therefore one present heere among vs, vpon whome harts and good willes of high and low, rich and poore, doo generallie depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne part will applie his whole endeuour, studie, and thought vnto that onelie end, which he shall perceiue to be most profitable for the commonwealth, as knowing himselfe to be borne not to serue his owne turne, but for to profit his countrie, and to seeke for the generall benefit of vs that are his subiects.

And albeit I am sure that you doo well know, how all these qualities are most abundantlie planted in the person of John duke of Normandie (a person of high prowesse and no lesse prudence, for the which yee ought to iudge him right worthie of the gouernement) yet beeing in doubt least the common fame should carrie you awaie, or least you should turne your minds to the fauour of an other, as in respect of some better right, by title of a more lawfull descent of inheritance pretended by others than he hath to shew, I require you to giue eare vnto my words: who bearing the state of two manner of persons, ought to be profitable to my countrie, not onelie by example and exhortation, but also by loialtie and good counsell, which hitherto I haue euer studied to performe, and wherein (God willing) I meane to persist, so long as I shall continue in this mortall and transitorie tabernacle.

Therefore whereas at this present we haue in hand to conclude vpon such a weitie matter, which beeing once doone, cannot be vndoone, I commend vnto you this John, euen with all my verie heart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your king, who in all things which he shall ordeine, purpose, or take in hand, shall not faile so to answer your opinions with his well dooing, and so satisfie your good expectations alreadie conceiued of him with his diligent prouidence, that all the whole realme shall not onelie like of and allow your dooing heerin, but also with high commendation extoll the same to the verie stars. These things do I promise vnto you, and so farforth as in me may lie, I dare take vpon me all chances and perils that may proceed thereof.

When the archbishop had ended his speach, diuerse held their peace, and manie with great zeale saluted king John, whom the same daie the said archbishop crowned at Westminster, after the maner then vsed with great solemnitie, and no lesse reioising of all such as were present. At the same time also he receiued the homages of the lords and barons of the realme, and promised with all spéed to haue consideration of things that apperteined as well to religion as to the due execution of laws, whereby euerie man might come to inioie that which was his owne, by right and due course of iustice. We find that there were present at this solemnitie and coronation of king John, which was celebrated on the Ascension day the 27 of Maie, archbishops and bishops to the number of seauentéene, as Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, John archbishop of Dubline, also the archbishop of Raguse, William bishop of London, Gilbert bishop of Rochester, John bishop of Norwich, Hugh bishop of Lincolne, Eustace bishop of Elie, Godfrey bishop of Winchester, Henrie

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

Henrie bishop of Exeter, Sefride bishop of Chichester, Godfrey bishop of Couentrie, Sauarie bishop of Bath, Herbert bishop of Salisburie, Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger bishop of saint Andrew in Scotland, and Henrie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. The bishop of Duresme found himselfe somewhat greeued in the matter, making obiections, that the coronation ought not to be celebrated without the presence of Geffrey archbishop of Yorke: but it preuailed not.

Matth. Paris. Additions to Iohn Pike.

Besides these bishops, there were of the temporall lords and earles, Robert of Leicester, Richard of Clare, William of Tutburie, Hamlin of Warren, William of Salisburie, William of Chepstow otherwise called Striguille, Walran of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arundell, and Ranulfe of Chester, with manie other barons, lords, knights, and no small multitudes of gentlemen and other common people. The same daie of his coronation also, he inuested William Marshall with the sword of the earledome of Striguille, and Geffrey Fitz Peter, with the sword of the earledome of Essex. For although they were called earles, and exercised the administration of their earledoms; yet were they not till that daie girded with the sword of those earledoms, and so that day they serued at the table with their swords girded vnto them.

Roger. Houed.
William Marshall earle of Striguille.
Geffrey Fitz Peter created earle of Essex.

In like maner, Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie was made lord chancellour of England; who as he vttered some words vnaduisedlie, that shewed how he inwardlie reioised at the kings fauour toward him in the gift of this office, and so gloried in the honour whereto he was preferred (which he would neuer haue doone, if he had weied of worldlie pompe as by his profession he ought, and as one asketh the question in the same case:

——dic mihi, nunquid
Corporibus prosunt? certè nil; dic animisue?
Tantundem, &c.)

The archb. of Canturburie made lord chancellour.

the lord Hugh Bardolfe said vnto him, yet not so softlie in his eare, but that some ouerheard it; "My lord, to speake and not offend you, suerlie if you would well consider the dignitie and honor of your calling, you would not willinglie yéeld to suffer this yoke of bondage to be laid vpon your shoulders, for we haue oftentimes heard of a chancellour made an archbishop, but neuer an archbishop made a chancellour till now." The coronation being thus ended, it was not long yer there came ambassadors from the Scotish king, namelie William the prior of May, William the prior of saint Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the which on the behalfe of the said Scotish king required restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, with the appurtenances, promising that if the same were restored to him, he would serue the king of England with all his power against all men then aliue; otherwise, that is, if he could not haue those countries, which of right to him apperteined by law, as he pretended, he would doo the best he could to recouer them by force.

The saieng of the lord Bardolfe.

Ambassadors from the king of Scots.

King John made answer héerevnto, that if his coosen the king of Scots would come vnto him, he should be assured to receiue at his hands all that was reason, as well in those demands, as in all other things. He also sent to him the bishop of Duresme, to require him to come vnto Notingham, where he would meet with him. Howbeit, king William refused to come himselfe as then, but sent the bishop of saint Andrew, and Hugh Malebisse to follow his suit, with promise to absteine from any forceable inuasion of England, by the space of fortie daies, so that he might within that terme haue some resolute answer from king John, wherevnto he might stand either on the one side or the other.

N. Triuet.
The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

Whilest these things were a dooing in England, Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake into Normandie, and tooke the citie of Eureux, the towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the English. And passing from thence into Maine, he recouered that countrie latelie before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains with great diligence wan the townes of Gorney, Buteuant and Gensolin, and following the victorie, tooke the citie of Angiers, which king John had woon from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These things being signified to king John, he thought

to

to make prouision for the recouerie of his losses there, with all speed possible. And therevpon perceiuing that the Scotish king meant not to meet with him at Notingham whither he was come, and where he kept the feast of Whitsuntide, he determined to passe the seas ouer into Normandie: but first he tooke order for the gouernement and defense of the realme in his absence. *Rog. Houed.*

Wherevpon he deliuered the charge of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, vnto the lord William de Stuteuille, with all the castels, and other the appurtenances, which the lord Hugh Bardolfe before held, and had in kéeping. He also deliuered vnto Roger de Lacie conestable of Chester, the castell of Pomfret, hauing first the sonne and heire of the same Lacie deliuered vnto him as an hostage for his loialtie and faithfull obedience. This doone, he hasted vnto the sea side, and sailed ouer into Normandie, landing first at Diep, and from thence went to Rouen, whither he came vpon the sundaie before Midsummer day, which was the 26 of June as W. Harison hath noted.

L. William de Stuteuille.

Roger de Lacie conestable of Chester.

King John passeth ouer into Normandie.

Immediatlie vpon his arriuall in those parts, there resorted vnto him a great number of souldiers both horssemen and footmen, hoping to be interteined, but by reason of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt the two kings, they came to a communication, and tooke truce for fiftie daies. The earle of Flanders being certified thereof, was sorie in his hart, and loth that the French king should come to any accord with the king of England, and therefore to turne the mind of king John from the purpose of peace, he came to visit him at Rouen, where they renewed the league betwixt England & Flanders, to be the better able to defend themselues from the French power: and withall determined fullie, that immediatlie vpon the expiring of this last truce they would make the French king warre, to reuenge their late receiued iniuries. The French king aduertised by espials of their determination, prepared also for the warres.

A truce for fiftie daies.

The earle of Flanders. *Polydor.*

The league renewed betwixt England and Flanders.

In this meane time it chanced, that Henrie earle of Namure, brother to Philip earle of Flanders, and one Peter of Doway, a right valiant knight, with his brother that was the elect bishop of Cambrey, were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and presented to the French king. Wherevpon the cardinall of Capua (being at the same time the popes legat in France) interdicted that realme for the taking of the same elect of Cambrey, & also all Normandie, for the deteining of the bishop of Beauuois in prison (who had laine there a long time, & was taken in the field after such manner as is before rehearsed) so that the French king was glad to restore the elect of Cambrey to his libertie. And likewise king John deliuered the bishop of Beauuois, who paied two thousand marks, besides expenses of diet during the time of his captiuitie, and furthermore tooke an oth, that he should neuer after beare armour in the war against any christian or christians.

Rog. Houed.

The earle of Namure.

France interdicted.

Normandie interdicted.

Rog. Houed.

About the same time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire; to wit, on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Guleton. Within three daies after, they came togither personallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betwéene them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Veulquessine to be restored vnto him, as that which had béene granted by Geffrey earle of Aniou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewes le Grosse, to haue his aid then against king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholie resigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.

Arthur duke of Britaine made knight.

The French kings demand.

But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king John would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of any agréement. Therfore diuerse earls and barons of France, which before that time had serued king Richard, repaired vnto king John, and tooke an oth to assist him, and not to agrée with the French king without his consent: and he likewise sware vnto them, not to make peace with the French king,

king, except they were therein comprised. In the moneth of September, Jone king Johns sister, wife to Raimond earle of S. Giles, and somtime quéene of Sicile, died at Rouen, and was buried at Fonteuerard. The French king also tooke diuerse townes and castels, but amongst other the castell of Balun, and raced the wals thereof downe to the ground, wherewith William de Roches, generall of the armie of Arthur duke of Britaine, was greatlie offended, and did so much by his drift, that shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt king John and his nephue duke Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpose.

Balun woon.

A peace betwixt king John & his nephue.

The French king hauing (as I haue said) ouerthrowne the wals of Balun, besieged a fortresse called Lauardin, but king John comming with an armie, caused him to raise his siege, and to withdraw himselfe to the citie of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him (mauger his force) to remooue from thence. All this while was William de Roches busilie occupied about his practise, to make king John and his nephue Arthur frends, which thing at length he brought about, and therevpon deliuered into king Johns hands the citie of Mauns which he had in keeping. Also the vicount of Tours came to the king of England, and surrendred vnto him the castell of Chinon, the keeping whereof he betooke vnto Roger de Lacie the conestable of Chester. But in the night folowing, vpon some mistrust and suspicion gathered in the obseruation of the couenants on K. Johns behalfe, both the said Arthur, with his mother Constance, the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse other, fled awaie secretlie from the king, and got them to the citie of Angiers, where the mother of the said Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Chester, married hir selfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation. The same yere, Philip bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell.

Lauardin.

William de Roches.

The vicount of Tours.

The mistrust that duke Arthur had in his vncle king John.

Philip king Richards bastard son slue the vicount of Limoges.

Moreouer, there fell manie great flouds in England, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence whereof diuerse bridges were borne downe, and amongst other, the bridge at Barwike. For the building vp againe whereof, some variance arose betwixt Philip bishop of Durham and earle Patrike lord chéefe iustice of Scotland, and capiteine at the same time of the towne of Barwike, who by the Scotish kings commandement would haue repared againe the same bridge, which could not be doone, but that the one end thereof must be builded on the bishop of Durhams ground, which he would not suffer, till by the counsell of the lord William de Stuteuille, he agréed, so that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scots and his predecessour bishop Hugh might be reserued inuiolable.

Great flouds.

Variance betwixt the bishop of Durham and earle Patrike.

Furthermore, king John did set a rate vpon the prices of wines, as Rochell wine to be sold for twentie shillings the tun, and not aboue. The wine of Aniou for twentie foure shillings the tun, and no other French wines aboue fiue and twentie shillings the tun, except it were of such notable goodnesse as that some peraduenture for their owne expenses would be contented to giue after twentie six shillings eight pence for the tun, and not aboue. Moreouer, the galon of Rochell wine he appointed to be sold at foure pence: and the galon of white wine at six pence. It was also ordeined, that in euerie citie, towne, and place where wine was vsed to be sold, there should be twelue honest men sworne to haue regard that this assise should not be broken: and that if they found any vintner that should from the pin sell any wine by small measures contrarie to the same assise, his bodie should be attached by the shiriffe, and deteined in prison, till other commandement were giuen for his further punishment, and his goods seized vnto the kings vse. Furthermore, if any persons were or should be found to buy and sell by the hogshead or tun, contrarie to this assise, they should be committed to prison, there to remaine, till other order were taken for them: neither should there be any regrating of wines that were brought into England. But this ordinance lasted not long, for the merchants could

A rate of ye prices of wines.

not

not beare it, and so they fell to and sold white wine for eight pence the gallon, & red or claret for six pence.

King John also came ouer from Normandie into England, and there leuied a subsidie, taking of euerie ploughland three shillings. In the Lent following, he went to Yorke, in hope to haue met the king of Scots there, but he came not, and so king John returned backe, and sailed againe into Normandie, bicause the variance still depended betweene him and the king of France. Finallie vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his reigne, they came eftsoones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Lisle Dandelie, where finallie they concluded an agréement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, & néece to K. John by his sister Elianor.

King John returneth into England. 1200.

A subsidie.

He saileth againe into Normandie.

An. Reg. 2.

A peace concluded with a marriage.

In consideration whereof, king John, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in siluer, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said néece, resigned his title to the citie of Eureux, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by couenants of the same agréement. The French king restored also to king John (as Rafe Niger writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the castels and fortresses which he had taken within Touraine: and moreouer, receiued of king John his homage for all the lands, fees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the said king Lewes or any his predecessors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He also gaue the earledome of Glocester vnto the earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that he resigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Eureux.

Matth. Paris.

Ra. Niger.

By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanch, the right of king John went awaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Eureux, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau, Roux or Raoul, Cressie and Isoldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Veuxin or Veulquessine, which is a part of the territorie of Gisors: the right of all which lands, townes and countries was released to the king of France by K. John, who supposed that by his affinitie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for euer. And in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid Blanch should be conueied into France to hir husband with all spéed. That doone he returned into England.

Polydor.

The king cõmeth backe againe into England.

¶ Certes this peace was displeasant to manie, but namelie to the earle of Flanders, who herevpon making no accompt of king Johns amitie, concluded a peace with king Philip shortlie after, and ment to make warre against the infidels in the east parts, wherby we may see the discontented minds of men, and of how differing humors they be, so that nothing is harder than to satisfie manie with one thing, be the same neuer so good,

———ô cæcis mortalia plena tenebris
Pectora, & ô mentes caligine circumseptas!

But by the chronicles of Flanders it appeareth, that the earle of Flanders concluded a peace with the French king in Februarie last past, before that king John and the French king fell to any composition. But such was the malice of writers in times past, which they bare towards king John, that whatsoeuer was doone in preiudice of him or his subiects, it was still interpreted to chance through his default, so as the blame still was imputed to him, in so much that although manie things he did peraduenture in matters of gouernement: for the which he might be hardlie excused, yet to thinke that he deserued the tenth part of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might seeme a great lacke of aduised consideration in them that so should take it. But now to proceed with our purpose.

Ia. Meir.

King John being now in rest from forren enimies, began to make warre with

with his subiects pursses at home, emptieng them by taxes and tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the minds of a great number of them from his loue and obedience. At length also, when he had got togither a great masse of monie, he went ouer againe into Normandie, where by Helias archbishop of Burdeaux, and the bishop of Poictiers and Scone, he was diuorsed from his wife Isabell, that was the daughter of Robert earle of Glocester, bicause of the nécerenesse of bloud, as touching hir in the third degrée. After that, he married Isabell the daughter of Amerie earle of Angolesme, by whome he had two sonnes, Henrie and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Elianor, and Jane.

R. Houed. King John is diuorsed. *Matt. West.* *Matth. Paris.* *R. Houed.*

Moreouer, about this time, Geffrey archbishop of Yorke was depriued of all his manours, lands, and possessions, by the kings commandement, directed to the shiriffe of Yorkeshire for diuerse causes, for that he would not permit the same shiriffe to leuie the dutie called Charugage, that was; three shillings of euerie ploughland within his diocesse, rated and appointed to be leuied to the kings vse, throughout all parts of the realme. Secondlie, for that the same archbishop refused to go ouer with the king into Normandie to helpe to make the marriage betwixt the French kings sonne and his néece. Thirdlie, bicause he had excommunicated the same shiriffe and all the prouince of Yorke: whereupon the king tooke displeasure against him, and not onelie spoiled him (as I said) of his goods, but also banished him out of the court, not suffering him to come in his presence for the space of twelue moneths after.

Matth. Paris. Geffrey arch. of Yorke depriued.

Rog. Houed. A councell called at Westminster by the archbishop of Canturburie.

In this yeare also, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminster against the prohibition of the lord chéefe iustice, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex. In the which councell or synod, diuerse constitutions were made and ordeined for orders and customes to be vsed touching the seruice and administration of sacraments in the church, and other articles concerning churchmen and ecclesiasticall matters. About the same time, king John and Philip king of France met togither néere the towne of Vernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as vassall to his vncle king John) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & those other places which he held of him on this side and beyond the riuer of Loir, and afterward still mistrusting his vncles curtesie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himselfe to his said vncle, who (as he supposed) did beare him little good will. These things being thus performed, king John returned into England, and there caused his new married wife Isabell to be crowned on the sundaie before the feast of S. Denise, the eight of October.

Arthur duke of Britaine doth homage to the king of England.

King John returneth into England. The quéene is crowned.

At the same time he gaue commandement vnto Hugh Neuill high iustice of his forrests, that he should award his precepts vnto all forresters within the realme, to giue warning to all the white moonks, that before the quindene of S. Michaell they should remooue out of his forrests all their horsses of Haraz, and other cattell, vnder the penaltie to forfeit so manie of them, as after that day chanced to be found within the same forrests. The cause that mooued the king to deale so hardlie with them was, for that they refused to helpe him with monie, when before his last going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the paiment of the thirtie thousand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king, to liue in rest and peace, which he coueted to haue done for reliefe of his people, and his owne suertie, knowing what enimies he had that laie in wait to destroie him, and againe, what discommodities had chanced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall wars. But now to procéed with other doings.

An ambassage sent vnto the K. of Scots.

Immediatlie after the solemnization of the queens coronation ended, he sent Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger Bigot earle of Northfolke, and Henrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, nephue to William king of Scotland, and Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to the said king, and Roger de Lacie conestable of Chester, the lord William de Vescie, and the lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of the said king, & Robert Fitz Roger shiriffe of Northumberland, as ambassadours from him vnto the foresaid William king of Scotland, with letters patents, conteining a safe conduct for him to come into England, and to méet with king John at Lincolne on the morrow after the feast

The king of Scots came to the king of England at Lincolne.

feast of S. Edmund, who gladlie granted therevnto, and so according to that appointment, both the kings met at Lincolne the 21 day of Nouember. And on the morrow after king John went to the cathedrall church, and offered vpon the high altar a chalice of gold. *Matth. Paris. Ran. Higd. R. Houed. Polydor*

On the same day, vpon a hill without the citie, the king of Scots did homage vnto king John, in the presence and sight of a great multitude of people, swearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldlie honour vnto king John, which oth he made vpon the crosse of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie. There were present at that time, beside other Noblemen, three archbishops, Canturburie, Yorke, and Raguse, with other bishops, to the number of thirtéene, as Duresme, London, Rochester, Elie, Bath, Salisburie, Winchester, Hereford, Norwich, S. Andrews in Scotland, Landaffe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Ireland, beside a great multitude of earles, barons, and other Noblemen. When the king of Scots had thus doone his homage, he required restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, which he claimed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was had touching this matter, but they could not agrée, and therefore king John asked respit to consider of it till the feast of Pentecost next insuing, which being granted, the king of Scots the next morrow being the 23 of Nouember returned homewards, and was conducted backe againe into his countrie by the same Noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The same day that the king of Scots tooke his iournie homewards from Lincolne, the corps of Hugh bishop of that citie (latelie before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parts of beyond the seas) was brought thither to be buried, the king and all the bishops, earles and barons went to receiue it, and honoured his buriall with their presence. On the morrow after being fridaie, he was interred within the new church which he had builded. This Hugh was a Frenchman by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant wit, and skilfull both in science of holie scripture and humane knowledge. He was first a regular canon, and after became a Carthusian moonke. King Henrie the second mooued with the fame of his vertue and godlie life, sent the bishop of Bath to bring him into England, and after he was come, made him first abbat of Whithing in the diocesse of Welles, and after created him bishop of Lincolne.

He was noted to be of a verie perfect life, namelie, bicause he would not sticke to reprooue men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the fauour or disfauour of any man, in somuch that he would not feare to pronounce them accurssed, which being the kings officers, would take vpon them the punishment of any person within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forrests and chases, yea (and that which is more) he would denie paiments of such subsidies and taxes as he was assessed to paie to the vses of king Richard and king John, towards the maintenance of their wars, and did oftentimes accurse by his ecclesiasticall authoritie, such shiriffes, collectors, or other officers, as did distreine vpon his lands and goods for to satisfie these kings of their demands, alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one christian prince, vpon priuate displeasure and grudge, made against another prince of the same religion. This was his reason. *A presumptuous part in a bishop.*

And when he came before the king to make answer to his disobedience shewed herein, he would so handle the matter, partlie with gentle admonishments, partlie with sharpe reproofes, and sometime mixing merrie and pleasant spéech amongst his serious arguments, that often times he would so qualifie the kings mood, that being driuen from anger, he could not but laugh and smile at the bishops pleasant talke and merrie conceits, so that it might well be said of him,

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci.

This maner he vsed, not onelie with the king alone, but with the father and the two sonnes, that is to say, Henrie the second, Richard and John, in whose time he ruled and

gouerned the sée of Lincolne. He was after his decesse, for the opinion which men conceiued of his holinesse and vertues, admitted into the number of the saints.

Yee haue heard how king John had conceiued no small displeasure against the moonks of the white order, for that they would not part with any monie, excusing themselues that they might not doo it, without consent of a generall chapiter of their order. Wherevpon the king had caused them diuerse waies to be molested, but cheefelie in restreining them of libertie to haue any horsses or other cattell going to pasture within his forrests. They therefore taking aduise togither, chose foorth twelue abbats amongst them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make suit to the king (comming thither at this time to méet the king of Scots) that it would please him to remit his displeasure conceiued against them, and to take them againe into his protection.

This suit was so followed, although with some difficultie, that at length, to wit, the sundaie after that the king of Scots had doone his homage, through the helpe and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to the kings spéech, and obteined so much, as they in reason might desire: for he pardoned them of all his passed displeasure, receiued them againe into his fauour, tooke them into his protection, and commanded that all iniuries, greeuances and molestations should be reformed, redressed and amended, which in respect of his indignation had béene offered and doone to them by any manner of meanes. And to see the same accomplished, writs were directed vnto the shiriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the 27 of Nouember. And thus were those moonks for that time restored to the kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Fiue moones. About the moneth of December, there were séene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the middest of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie. The winter after was extreamelie cold, more than the naturall course had beene aforetime. And in the springtime came a great glutting and continuall raine, causing the riuers to rise with higher flouds than they had béene accustomed.

1201. In the yeare 1201 king John held his Christmas at Gilford, and there gaue to his seruants manie faire liueries and suits of apparell. The archbishop of Canturburie did also
Matt. Paris. An. Reg. 3. the like at Canturburie, seeming in déed to striue with the king, which of them should passe the other in such sumptuous appareling of their men: whereat the king (and not without good cause) was greatlie mooued to indignation against him, although for a time he coloured the same, going presentlie into the north, where he gathered of the countrie there no small summs of monie, as it were by way of fining them for their transgressions committed in his forrests.

From thence he returned and came to Canturburie, where he held his easter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, in the which feast he sat crowned, togither with his wife quéene Isabell, the archbishop of Canturburie bearing the charges of them and their trains while they remained there. At the feast of the Ascension next insuing, king John set out a proclamation at Tewkesburie, that all the earles and barons of the realme, and also all other that held of him by knights seruice, should be readie in the feast of Pentecost next insuing, with horsse and armour at Portesmouth, to passe ouer with him into Normandie, who made their appearance accordinglie. Howbeit, a great number of them in the end gat licence to tarrie at home, paieng for euerie knights fée two markes of siluer for a fine, which then was a great matter.

Rog. Houed. But he sent before him into Normandie William Marshall earle of Striguille, with an hundred knights or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacie with an other hundred men of armes to defend the confines of Normandie against the enimies: and to his chamberleine Hubert de Burgh he deliuered the like number of knights or men of armes also, to keepe the marshes betwixt England and Wales as warden of the same.

This

This doone, he pardoned his brother the archbishop of Yorke, and restored him to all his dignities, possessions and liberties, confirming the same vnto him in as full and large manner, as euer Roger late archbishop of that see had enioied the same: for the which confirmation his said brother vndertooke to paie to the king within the terme of one yeare the summe of a thousand pounds starling; and for the assurance thereof, engaged his baronie to the king in pledge. The archbish. of Yorke restored.

Moreouer, about the same time, the king sent Geffrey bishop of Chester, and Richard Malebisse, with Henrie de Poisie, vnto William king of Scotland, requiring him that the time appointed for him to make answer touching his demand of Northumberland, might be proroged vntill the feast of saint Michaell the archangell next insuing, which was obteined, and then the king and queene (being come to Portsmouth on the mondaie in Whitsunwéeke) tooke the sea to passe ouer into Normandie, but not both in one ship, so that the quéene with a prosperous gale of wind arriued there at hir owne desire. But the king was driuen by reason of a pirrie, to take land in the Ile of Wight, and so was staied there for a time: howbeit, within a few daies after, he tooke ship againe at Portsmouth, and so passed ouer into Normandie, where shortlie after his arriuall in those parties he came to an enteruiew with the king of France, neere to Lisle Donelie, where comming a long time togither alone, they agreed so well, that within thrée daies after, king John at the French kings request went into France, and was receiued of him with much honour, first at S. Denise with procession of the cleargie: and there lodging one night, vpon the morrow the French king accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receiued of the citizens with great reuerence, the prouost presenting vnto him in the name of the whole citie manie rich gifts for his welcome. K. Philip feasted him also in his owne palace, & for his part gaue to him, to his lords, and to his seruants manie great and princelie gifts: Morouer, the league at this time was renewed betwixt them, and put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them first brake the couenants; such lords on his part as were become suerties for performance, should be released of their allegiance which they owght to him that so should breake, & that they might therevpon freelie become subiects to the other prince. Ambassadors sent to Scotland. The king passeth ouer into Normandie. He commeth to talke with the king of France. King John entreth into Paris. The league renewed. *Matth. Paris.* *R. Houed.*

These things doone, at length when as king John had remained at Paris with great mirth and solace certeine daies, the French king brought him foorth of the citie, and tooke leaue of him in verie louing wise. After this king John went to Chinon, & from thence into Normandie; about which time there chanced some troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacie vnder pretense of a communication that was appointed betwixt him and John de Curcie, lord of Vlnester, meant to haue taken the said Curcie, and for the accomplishment of his purpose set vpon him, slue manie of his men, and for his safegard constreined Curcie in the end to take a castell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacie, vpon faire promises made to him by the same Hugh, to be preserued out of all danger, it came to passe, that when he was once got in, he might no more be suffered to depart. For the Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to king John, but the seruants and frèends of the said Curcie made such cruell war, in wasting and destroieng the lands and possessions that belonged vnto the said Walter and Hugh Lacies, that finallie they were constreined to set him againe at libertie whether they would or no. Walter Lacie, meant to haue taken the lord Curcie.

At the same time also, the kings of France and England gaue large monie towards the maintenance of the armie, which at this present went foorth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enimies of the christian faith, at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortith part of all the reuenues belonging to ecclesiasticall persons, towards the aid of the christians then being in the holie land, and all such as well of the Nobilitie as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretlie laid it downe, were compelled eftsoones to receiue it now againe. *Polydor.* Aid against the Turkes and infidels. *Matth. Paris.*

There chanced this yeare woonderfull tempests of thunder, lightning, haile, and aburn- Vnseasonable weather.

dance

dance of raine, in such wise, that mens minds were greatlie astonied therwith: medowes and marsh grounds were quite ouerflowne, bridges broken and borne downe, and great quantitie of corne and haie lost and carried awaie, and diuerse men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Constance, duches of Britaine, sister to William king of Scots, and mother to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, deceassed. This yeare also by the counsell and aduice of the burgesses of London, there were chosen 35 of the most substantiall and wisest men, which after the report of some writers, were called the councell of the citie of London, out of which number the Maior and Bailiffes were yearelie chosen.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris. 1202.

In the yeare 1202 king John held his Christmasse at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met togither, neere vnto the castell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betweene them, he commanded king John with no small arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promise, to restore vnto his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine, all those lands now in his possession on that side the sea, which king John earnestlie denied to doo, wherevpon the French king immediatlie after, began war against him, and tooke Buteuant, Augi, and the castell of Linos. Moreouer, he besieged the castell of Radepont for the space of eight daies, till king John came thither, and forced him to depart with much dishonor. Howbeit after this, the French king wan Gourney, and then returning to Paris, he appointed certeine persons to haue the gouernement of the foresaid Arthur duke of Britaine, and then sent him foorth with 200 men of armes into Poictou, that he might bring the countrie also vnder his subiection.

The French K. beginneth to make war against king John.

Polydor.

Herevpon Hugh le Brun earle of March (vnto whome queene Isabell the wife of king John had beene promised in marriage, before that king John was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inward displeasure towards the king of England, for that he had so bereft him of his promised spouse) being now desirous to procure some trouble also vnto king John, ioined himselfe with Arthur duke of Britaine, and found meanes to cause them of Poictou (a people euer subiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king John, and to take armour against him, so that the yoong Arthur being incouraged with this new supplie of associats, first went into Touraine, and after into Aniou, compelling both those countries to submit themselues vnto him, and proclaimed himselfe earle of those places, by commission and grant obteined from king Philip.

Hugh earle of March.

The Poictouins reuolt from king John.

Arthur proclaimeth himselfe earle of Aniou, &c.

Queene Elianor.

Queene Elianor that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturre, got hir into Mirabeau a strong towne, situat in the countrie of Aniou, and foorthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king John, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortlie after followed hir, and woone Mirabeau, where he tooke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported.) ¶ But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the foresaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie togither in the field.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

King John in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangenesse of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all possible hast speedeth him foorth, continuing his iournie for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be briefe, he vsed such diligence, that he was vpon his enimies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his comming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approch so neere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once woone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as preuented by the hastie comming of the enimies vpon them, and want-

Polydor.

K. John commeth vpon his enimies not looked for.

ing

ing leisure to take aduice what was best to be doone, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flée, to yeeld or to resist.

This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noise and turmoile) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either tooke or slue them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great hast to enter: but such spéed was vsed by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wan the said towne before their enimies could come néere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Mirabeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first bickering was taken, who being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping some into castels within Normandie, and some were sent into England. Arthur duke of Britaine take prisoner. *Matth. Paris.*

King Iohn hauing gotten this victorie, and taken his nephue Arthur, he wrote the maner of that his successe vnto his barons in England, in manner as followeth.

IOHN by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, to all his barons sendeth greeting. Know yee that we by Gods fauour are in sound and perfect health, and through Gods grace that maruellouslie worketh with vs, on tuesdaie before Lammas daie, we being before the citie of Mauns, were aduertised that our mother was besieged in Mirabeau, and therfore we hasted so fast as we possibly might, so that we came thither on Lammas daie, and there we tooke our nephue Arthur, Hugh le Brun, Andrew de Chauenie, the vicount of Chateau Erald, Raimond de Touars, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other enimies of Poictou that were there assembled against vs, to the number of two hundred knights and aboue, so that not one of them escaped. Giue God therefore thanks, and reioise at our good successe. De Castre Erald. 252 knights or men of armes besides demilances.

The French king at the same time lieng in siege before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raised from thence, and returned homewards, destroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie. It is said that king John caused his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to persuade him all that he could to forsake his freendship and aliance with the French king, and to leane and sticke to him being his naturall vncle. But Arthur like one that wanted good counsell, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a presumptuous answer, not onelie denieng so to doo, but also commanding king John to restore vnto him the realme of England, with all those other lands and possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For sith the same apperteined to him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except restitution were made the sooner, he should not long continue quiet. King John being sore moued with such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in prison, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the new castell there. Thus by meanes of this good successe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered. An. Reg. 4.

Shortlie after king John comming ouer into England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbishop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, *Matth. Paris.* King John eftsoones crowned.

arriuall, a rumour was spred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. *Rafe Cog.* True it is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerse other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their suit, they banded themselues togither, and ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanson, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie sharpe wars against king John in diuerse places, insomuch (as it was thought) that so long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: wherevpon it was reported, that king John through persuasion of his councellors, appointed certeine persons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in prison, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yoong gentlemans eies.

But through such resistance as he made against one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other rather forsooke their prince and countrie, than they would consent to obeie the kings authoritie héerein) and such lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preserue him from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the yoong gentleman had béene so cruellie dealt withall. For he considered, that king John had resolued vpon this point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men to vndertake manie an inconuenient enterprise, vnbeseeming the person of a common man, much more reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being meere foolish and furious, and prone to accomplish the peruerse conceits of their ill possessed heart; as one saith right well,

——pronus in iram
Stultorum est animus, facilè excandescit, & audet
Omne scelus, quoties conceptabile tumescit)

and that afterwards, vpon better aduisement, he would both repent himselfe so to haue commanded, and giue them small thanke that should sée it put in execution. Howbeit to satisfie his mind for the time, and to staie the rage of the Britains, he caused it to be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur also through sorrow and greefe was departed out of this life. For the space of fiftéene daies this rumour incessantlie ran through both the realmes of England and France, and there was ringing for him through townes and villages, as it had béene for his funerals. It was also bruted, that his bodie was buried in the monasterie of saint Andrewes of the Cisteaux order.

But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the mischeefe they could deuise, in reuenge of their souereignes death, there was no remedie but to signifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing displeased for that his commandement was not executed, sith there were diuerse of his capteins which vttered in plaine words, that he should not find knights to keepe his castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France or other their aduersaries, they should be sure to tast of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of this Arthur, writers make sundrie reports. Neuertheless certeine it is, that in the yeare next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confesse that euer he saw him go aliue. Some haue written, that as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and prouing to clime ouer the wals of the castell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other write, that through verie gréefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some affirme, that king John secretlie caused him to be murthered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agréed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies: but verelie king John was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth. Yet how extreamelie soeuer he delt with his nephue, he released

and set at libertie diuerse of those lords that were taken prisoners with him, namelie Hugh le Brun, and Sauerie de Mauleon, the one to his great trouble and hinderance, and the other to his gaine: for Hugh le Brun afterwards leuied and occasioned sore warres against him, but Sauerie de Mauleon continued euer after his loiall subiect, dooing to him verie agréeable seruice, as hereafter may appeare.

Guie sonne to the vicount of Touars.

The Lord Guie, sonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the diuorse made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obteined the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, tooke the matter verie gréeuouslie, and vpon occasion therof, cited king John to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such obiections as Constance the duches of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir sonne. And bicause king John appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aswell Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.

Constance the mother of duke Arthur accuseth king John.

About the same time the king caused a proclamation to be published for the lawfull assise of bread to be made by the bakers, vpon paine to be punished by the pillorie: which assise was approoued and assessed by the baker of Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord chéefe iustice of England, and by the baker of Robert de Tuinham. So that the baker might sell and gaine in euerie quarter three pence, besides the bran, and two loaues for the heater of the ouen, and for foure seruants foure halfepence, for two boies a farthing, for allowance in salt an halfepenie, yest an halfepenie, for candell a farthing, for fewell three pence, and for a bulter an halfepenie. And this was the rate.

Matt. Paris. The ordinãce for the assise of bread.

When wheat was sold for six shillings the quarter, then shall euerie loafe of fine manchet wey 41 shillings, and euerie loafe of cheat shall wey 24 shillings. When wheat is sold for fiue shillings and six pence, then manchet shall wey 20 shillings, and cheat 28 shillings. When wheat is sold for fiue shillings, then manchet shall wey 24 shillings, and the cheat bread 32 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings six pence, manchet shall wey 32 shillings, and cheat 42 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings, manchet shall wey 36 shillings, and cheat 46 shillings. When wheat is sold for three shillings six pence, then shall manchet wey 42 shillings, and cheat 54 shillings. When wheat is sold for three shillings, manchet shall wey 48 shillings, and cheat 44 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings and six pence, manchet shall wey 54 shillings, and cheat 72 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings, manchet shall wey sixtie shillings, and cheat foure pound. When wheat is sold for 18 pence the quarter, manchet shall wey 77 shillings, & cheat foure pound and eight shillings. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the realme, as most necessarie and profitable for the common-wealth.

This yeare manie woonderfull things happened, for besides the sore winter, which passed any other that had beene heard of in manie yeares before, both for continuance in length and extreame coldnesse of frosts, there followed grifelie tempests, with thunder, lightning, and stormes of raine, and haile of the bignesse of hens egs, wherewith much fruit & great store of corne was perished, beside other great hurts doone vpon houses and yoong cattell. Also spirits (as it was thought) in likenesse of birds and foules were séene in the aire fliers with fire in their beaks, wherewith they set diuerse houses on fire: which did import great troubles yer long to insue, and followed in déed, as shall appeare hereafter.

Great tempests.

With this entrance of the yeare of our lord 1203, king John held his Christmasse at Caen, where not hauing (as some writers say) sufficient regard to the necessarie affaires of his wars, he gaue his mind to banketting, and passed the time in pleasure with the queene his wife, to the great gréefe of his lords, so that they perceiuing his retchlesse demeanour (or as some write, the doubtfull minds of the Nobilitie which serued on that side, and were readie dailie to reuolt from his obedience) withdrew their dutifull hearts from him, and therefore getting licence, returned home into England.

1203. *Matth. Paris.*

In

An. Reg. 5. *Matth. Paris. Polydor.* The French king inuadeth Normandie.

In this meane time the French king, to bring his purpose to full effect, entred into Normandie, wasted the countries, and wan the townes of Cowches, le Val de Rueil, and Lisle Dandele. Le Val de Rueil wis giuen ouer without any great inforcement of assault, by two noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Saer de Quincie. Howbeit Lisle Dandele was valiantlie for a certeine time defended by Roger de Lacie the conestable of Chester. But at length they within were so constreined by famine and long siege, that the said Lacie and others perceiuing it to be more honourable for them to die by the sword, than to starue through want of food, brake out vpon their enimies, and slue a great sort of the Frenchmen, but yet in the end they were taken prisoners, and so these fortresses came into the French kings hands.

Roger de Lacie conestable of Chester taken.

The pope sendeth his Nuncij into France.

The pope hearing of these variances betwixt the two kings, sent the abbat of Casiner into France, accompanied with the abbat of Troisfons, to mooue them to a peace. These two abbats tooke such paines in the matter, that the kings were almost brought to agréement. But the French king perceiuing himselfe to be aforehand in his businesse, sticked at one article, which was to repaire all such abbeies as he had destroied within the dominions of king John: and king John to doo the like by all those that he had wasted within the French kings countries. The popes Nuncij would haue excommunicated king Philip, bicause he would not thus agrée. But king Philip appealing from them, pursued the warre, and besieged the towne of Radpont. The souldiers within the towne defended the first assault verie manfullie, and caused the Frenchmen to retire backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne yer he departed, did so inclose it about, that within ten daies he wan it, and tooke there twentie men of armes, an hundred demilances, and twentie arcubalisters.

Gaguinus.

Polydor.

Radpont woone.

After this, when he had fortified this place, he went to castell Galiard, which he besieged; and though by the high valiancie of Hugh de Gourney the capteine there, the Frenchmen were manfullie beaten backe, and kept out for a moneth and more, yet at length by streict siege and neare approches hardlie made, the fortresse was deliuered into the French kings hands. And in the end the said Hugh Gourney reuolted from his obedience, deliuering also the castell of Mountfort vnto the French king, which castell with the honor thereto apperteining king John had giuen to the same Hugh, not verie long before. All this while king John did lie at Rouen: but forsomuch as he could not well remedie the matter as then, bicause he wanted such helpe as he dailie looked for out of England, and durst not trust any of that side, he passed it ouer with a stout countenance for a while, and would saie oftentimes to such as stood about him; "What else dooth my coosen the French K. now, than steale those things from me, which hereafter I shall indeuour my selfe to cause him to restore with interest?" But when he saw that his enimies would still procéed, and that no aid came out of England, he came ouer himselfe, and landed at Portesmouth on S. Nicholas day.

Castell Galiard.

Matth. Paris.

Hugh de Gourney reuolteth from king John. *Polydor.*

K. John commeth back into England.

King Philip doubting by vsing the victorie with too much rigor, least he should bring the Normans into a desperate boldnesse, and so cause them for safegard of their liues to hazard all vpon resistance, he staied for a time, and withdrew his souldiers backe againe into France, hauing not onelie furnished those places in the meane time which he had wun, with strong garisons of his souldiers, but also appointed certeine personages to trauell with the people, yet remaining in the English subiection, to reuolt and turne from king John, to his obeisance and subiection.

King John being returned into England, accused diuerse of his Nobles for shewing themselues negligent and slothfull in aiding him, according to his commandement, alledging furthermore, that being destitute of their due and requisite seruice, he was constreined to lose his time in Normandie, as not being able for want of their aid to resist his enimies. Wherefore for this and other matters laid to their charges, he did put them to greeuous fines. By meanes whereof, and by leauieng a subsidie of his people, he got togither an huge summe of monie. This subsidie was granted him in a parlement holden at Oxenford,

ford, and begun there vpon the second of Januarie 1204, wherein of euerie knights fée was granted the summe of two markes and an halfe. Neither were the bishops, abbats, nor any other ecclesiasticall persons exempted, by meanes whereof he ran first into the hatred of the clergie, and consequentlie of manie other of his subiects: so that they failed him at his néed, whereby he often susteined no small damage, which he might haue preuented and withstood, if he had beene so qualified with discretion as to haue séene what was conuenient and what inconuenient for his roiall estate. But

Matth. Paris. A parlement at Oxenford. 1204.

A subsidie granted.

———voluntas
Improba perniciem ingentem mortalibus affert,

as it did to him, which may be gathered by a due obseruation of the consequence. ¶ This yeare the aire toward the north and east parts séemed to be on a bright fire for the space of six houres togither. It began about the first watch of the night, on the first of Aprill.

King John about the beginning of this sixt yeare of his reigne, sent in ambassage to the French king the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of Norwich and Elie, the earles Marshall and Leicester, to treat with him of peace: but he was so far off from comming néere to any reasonable motions, bicause he saw the world frame as he wished, that still by demanding somewhat that might not be granted, he kept off, and brought in such hard conditions, that it was not possible to conclude anie agréement. And this he did of purpose, hoping within short time to conquer all that the king of England possessed as yet on that side the seas. He was the more vntoward to compound, for that he was informed how Arthur the duke of Britaine was dispatched of his life, and therfore not doubting but to haue manie to take part with him in seeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chéefe quarell, swearing that he would not ceasse to pursue the warre against king John, till he had depriued him of his whole kingdome. So the ambassadors departed without all hope to come to any agreement. ¶ This yeare Easter day fell so high as it possiblie might, that is to saie, on saint Marks day.

An. Reg. 6. *Rafe Cog.* Ambassadors sent into France.

1204.

King Philip vnderstanding that king John remained still in England, rather occupied in gathering of monie amongst his subiects, than in making other prouision to bring them into the field (to the great offense of his said people) thought now for his part to lose no time: but assembling a mightie armie, he came with the same into Normandie, and vpon his first comming, he wan the towne of Falaise, and shortlie after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by surrender. This doone, he marched further into the countrie, and with his sudden inuasion so oppressed the people euerie where, that they could haue no time to make shift by flight to get into the townes. With this swiftnesse of spéed, he brought also such a feare into the hearts of most men, that he wan all the countrie of Normandie euen to Mount S. Michaell. The inhabitants in euerie place submitted themselues, as those of Baieulx, Constances, Liseux, and other townes thereabouts.

Towns wun by the Freneh king.

Finallie, he came before Rouen, the principall citie of all the countrie, and incamped so in sundrie places about the citie, that all the issues, entries and waies were closed vp by his armie, being so diuided into seuerall camps, that the distance was not great from one to another, making a terrible shew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things necessarie for his purpose, and taken good aduise of his capteins how he should best imploie his force for the winning of this citie (in which exploit he knew the full perfection of all his passed conquests cheefelie to consist) he did manfullie assault it, and they within as manfullie defended themselues, so that he got little by the assaults and approches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hand to practise with the citizens to win them with méed, curtesie, gentle speech, and great promises. So that in fine, they within were so mooued with such reasons as he vsed to persuade them withall, that they made request for a truce to be had for certeine daies, within the terme whereof if no succour came, they couenanted to yeeld without any further trouble.

Rouen besieged by the French king.

This truce being obteined, ambassadours were sent from them of Rouen into England, to signifie vnto king John the whole state of the citie, and of the truce, so that if aid came

not within the time appointed, the citie must néeds be deliuered into the enimies hands. The king hauing no armie in readinesse to send ouer, nor other shift to make for the succour of the citie, permitted the ambassadours to depart without comfort of any aid, who herevpon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they had hard, séene, and found, brought the citie into great sorrow. For whereas that citie had euer béene accustomed to glorie for the great loialtie and faithfull fidelitie which the same had euer shewed towards their liege lords and naturall princes; now the citizens perceiued manifestlie, that vnlesse they would cast awaie themselues, and lose all they had, they must of force yeeld into the hands of their enimies. Wherefore to make their true allegiance more apparant to the world, they staied the surrender as long as they had any store of vittels within the citie to releeue their fainting bodies withall: and so in the end being vanquished with hunger, they submitted themselues to the French king. Their submission being once knowne, caused all those other townes which had not yéelded, to deliuer vp their keies vnto the Frenchmen, as Arques, Vernueill, and others.

The great fidelitie of the citizens of Rouen.

Roué through famine is surrendred to the French king.

Moreouer the townes in Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou, which king John had recouered latelie before, did now againe (being in no small feare) yeeld themselues vnto king Philip: so that of all the townes within those countries, there remained none vnder the English obeisance, saue onelie Rochell, Tours, Niorth, and a few other. Thus Normandie which king Rollo had purchased and gotten 316 yeares before that present time, was then recouered by the French men, to the great reproch and dishonour of the English, in this yeare 1204. About this time quéene Elianor the mother of king John departed this life, consumed rather through sorow and anguish of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.

Matth. Paris.

In this sixt yeare of king Johns reigne, at Oreford in Suffolke, as Fabian saith (although I thinke he be deceiued in the time) a fish was taken by fishers in their nets as they were at sea, resembling in shape a wild or sauage man, whome they presented vnto sir Bartholomew de Glanuille knight, that had then the kéeping of the castell of Oreford in Suffolke. He was naked, and in all his lims and members resembling the right proportion of a man; he had haires also in the vsuall parts of his bodie, albeit that the crowne of his head was bald, his beard was long and rugged, and his breast hairie. The knight caused him to be kept certeine daies & nights from the sea, meat set afore him he greedilie deuoured, & did eat fish both raw and sod. Those that were raw he pressed in his hand till he had thrust out all the moisture, and so then did eat them. He would not or could not vtter any speach, although to trie him they hung him vp by the héeles, and miserablie tormented him. He would get him to his couch at the setting of the sunne, and rise againe at the rising of the same.

By *Rafe Coghshals* report this should séeme to haue chanced in the daies of K. Henrie the second.

A fish like to a man.

One day they brought him to the hauen, and suffered him to go into the sea, but to be sure he should not escape from them, they set thrée ranks of mightie strong nets before him, so to catch him againe at their pleasure (as they imagined) but he streightwaies diuing downe to the bottome of the water, got past all the nets, and comming vp, shewed himselfe to them againe that stood waiting for him, and dowking diuerse times vnder water and comming vp againe he beheld them on the shore that stood still looking at him, who seemed as it were to mocke them, for that he had deceiued them, & got past their nets. At length after he had thus sported himselfe a great while in the water, and that there was no more hope of his returne, he came to them againe of his owne accord, swimming through the water, and remained with them two moneths after. But finallie, when he was negligentlie looked to, and now séemed not to be regarded, he fled secretlie to the sea, and was neuer after séene nor heard of.

¶ Thus much out of Rafe Coghshall, who affirmeth that this chanced in the daies of Henrie the second, about the 33 of his reigne, as Iohn Stow in his summarie hath also noted. Which report of theirs in respect to the strangenesse thereof might séeme incredible, speciallie to such as be hard of beléefe, and refuse to giue faith and credit to any thing

John Stow.

thing but what their owne eies haue sealed to their consciences, so that the reading of such woonders as these, is no more beneficiall to them, than to carrie a candle before a blind man, or to sing a song to him that is starke deafe. Neuerthelesse, of all vncouth and rare sights, speciallie of monstruous appearances we ought to be so farre from hauing little regard; that we should rather in them and by them obserue the euent and falling out of some future thing, no lesse miraculous in the issue, than they be woonderfull at the sudden sight. This was well noted of a philosopher, who to the purpose (among other matters by him touched) hath spoken no lesse pithilie than crediblie, saieng;

Nec fieri aut errore aut casu monstra putandum, *M. Pal. in scorp.*
Cùm certas habeant causas, vt tristia monstrent,
Vnde illis nomen, quare & portenta vocantur.

The war was mightilie mainteined all this while betwixt them of Poictou and Aquitaine, and manie sharpe incounters chanced betwixt the parties, of which the one following the king of Englands lieutenant Robert de Turneham, valiantlie resisted the other that held with the French king vnder the conduct of William de Roches, & Hugh le Brun earle of March, chiefe leaders of that faction. But Robert Turneham, togither with Sauerie de Mauleon, and Gerard de Atie, bare themselues so manfullie, that in all conflicts for the most part the victorie remained on their sides. The Gascoignes also tooke part with king John, and continued in dutifull obedience towards him, for the which their loialtie he was readie to consider them with princelie gifts and beneficiall rewards, in such bountifull wise, that he gaue vnto a Noble man of that countrie named Moreue, the summe of 28 thousand marks, to leuie & wage thirtie thousand men to aid him at his comming ouer into those parties. The archbishop of Burdeaux, that was brother vnto the foresaid Moreue, became suertie for performance of the couenants, and remained in England a long time bicause the same couenants were not in all points accomplished.

The bishop of London was sent ambassadour from king John vnto the emperour vpon certeine earnest businesse. The duke of Louaine, and the earle of Bullongne were made friends by the French kings drift, and promised to inuade England with an armie, and to make warre against king John for the withholding of such lands and reuenues as they claimed to be due vnto them, in right of their wiues. King Philip also vndertooke to follow them within a moneth after they should be entred into England, & thus did the French king seeke to make him strong with fréends, which dailie fell from king John on ech hand. ¶ Godfrey bishop of Winchester, that was son to the lord Richard de Lucie departed this life. This yere the king was on Christmasse day at Tukesburie, where he staied not past one day. 1205.

The 14 day of Januarie it began to fréeze, and so continued till the 22 of March, with such extremitie, that the husbandmen could not make their tilth, by reason whereof in the summer following, corne began to grow to an excessiue price, so that wheat was sold by the quarter at 12 shillings of monie then currant. This yeare about the feast of Pentecost, the king (by the aduice of his councell assembled at Northampton) prepared a nauie of ships, mustered souldiers, and shewed great tokens that he would renew the war, and séeke to be reuenged of his enimie the French king. The Nobles of the realme indeuoured themselues also to match the diligence of the king in this preparation, vpon an earnest desire to reuenge the iniuries latelie doone to the common-wealth.

An extreame frost.

An. Reg. 7. *Polydor. Matth. Paris.* King John prepareth an armie to go into France.

Now when all things were readie, and the ships fraught with vittels, armour, and all other prouisions necessarie, the king came to Porchester, there to take the sea, purposing verelie to passe ouer into France, in hope of such faire promises as his fréends of Normandie and Poictou had made, in sending oftentimes to him, to procure him with spéed to come to their succours. But as the king was readie to enter on shipboord, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Penbroke came to him, and with manie great reasons went about to persuade him to staie his iournie. Who although he

Rafe Cog. The archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of

Penbroke persuade the king to staie at home.

he was verie loath to follow their counsell, yet they put foorth so manie doubts and dangers that might follow of his departing the realme at that present, to the hazarding of the whole state, that in the end (sore to his greefe) he was ouercome by their importunate persuasions, and so dismissing the most part of his armie, appointed his brother the earle of Salisburie with a certeine number of knights & men of armes to passe ouer into Rochell, whither the lord Geffrey the kings base sonne was gone before him, with manie other knights and men of armes.

The lords and other that were dismissed, tooke it verie euill, considering the great preparation that had béene made for that iournie. But speciallie the mariners were sore offended, cursing the archbishop and the said earle of Penbroke, that were knowne to be authors of so naughtie counsell as they tooke this to be. It was thought there was neuer so manie ships gotten togither at one time before, as were at that present, to haue attended the king: for (as writers haue recorded) there were to the number of fourtéene thousand mariners that had brought their ships thither for that purpose. But as the breaking vp of this voiage gréeued others, so it pinched the king so néere the heart, that he being come backe from the sea side to Winchester, repented so much that he had not gone forward with his iournie, that the next daie he returned againe to the coast, and at Portesmouth entring the sea with his ships, on the fiftéenth of Julie he sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe for the space of two daies togither, till by aduice of his frèends he was persuaded not to aduenture to passe ouer, sith his armie was dismissed and gone home, and so he returned backe to the shore againe, arriuing at Scotland, neere vnto Warham, the third daie after his setting foorth: yet such as were behind, and hasted after him, thought verelie he had beene gone ouer, and such a brute was spread ouer all, till at length in time the truth was knowne.

The king repenting him goeth backe to the sea side.

He goeth to the sea the 15 of Julie, as some authors haue.

At his comming backe (as some write) he charged certeine of the Nobilitie with treason, bicause they did not follow him: wherevpon shortlie after he punished them verie gréeuouslie, and peraduenture not without some ground of iust cause. For likelie it is that some greater matter forced him to breake vp his iournie, than appeareth in our writers, although Rafe Cogheshall setteth downe some reasons alledged by the archbishop Hubert, and earle Marshall, to persuade him not to depart the realme. But peraduenture other causes there were also of farre more importance that constreined him so greatlie against his mind & full resolution, both at the first, and now at this second time to returne. ¶ Verelie to vtter my coniecture, it may be that vpon his last determination to go ouer, he gaue new commandement to his lords to follow him, and they peraduenture vsed not such diligence in accomplishing his pleasure therein, as he looked they should haue doone: or it may be, when the armie was once discharged, the souldiers made such hast homewards, ech man towards his countrie, that it was no easie matter to bring them backe againe in any conuenient time. But howsoeuer it was, as it had béene vpon a change of purpose, he came backe againe (as before yée haue heard.)

The death of the archb. of Canturburie. *Matt. Paris. Polydor.*

The thirtéenth of Julie Hubert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life at Tenham, the king not being gratlie sorie for his death (as some haue written) bicause he gathered some suspicion that he bare too much good will towards the French king. In verie déed (as some write) the archbishop repented himselfe of nothing so much, as for that he had commended king John to the Noblemen and Péers of the realme, sith he prooued an other manner of man than he looked to haue found him. This archbishop had gouerned the sée of Canturburie eleuen yeares, eight moneths, and six daies.

An archbishop chosen.

After his deceasse, the moonks of Canturburie without knowledge of the king, chose one Reignold the subprior of their house to be their archbishop, who secretlie went to Rome to obteine his confirmation of the pope. Which thing bred much mischéefe and great discord betwixt pope Innocent & king John, since the pope would not confirme the election, bicause he saw some péece of secret practise, till he might vnderstand and be certified by report of sufficient witnesse (for that he wanted the letters commendatorie from

from the king) that the same election was lawfull and orderlie made. Of this delaie also the moonks being spéedilie aduertised, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauour, whome they had verie sore offended in not making him priuie to the first election, they made request vnto him, that by his nomination it might be lawfull for them to choose an other archbishop.

The king gladlie herevnto assented, requiring them to grant their voices vnto John Gray the bishop of Norwich, being both his chapleine and president of his councell. The moonks to gratifie the king obeied his request, and so electing the same bishop of Norwich, they sent their procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to signifie the same vnto the pope, and to require him to confirme this their second election, as vnmindfull of their first, and clearelie adnihilating the same to all intents and purposes. Amongst other that were sent to Rome about this businesse, Helias de Brantfield was one, a moonke of great estimation, and had in good credit with the king, who ministred vnto them that were thus sent, sufficient allowance wherewith to beare their charges and expenses.

Matth. West. John Gray bishop of Norwich president of the councell. *Matth. Paris.*

Helias de Brantfield.

Also at the same time the bishops that were suffragans to the see of Canturburie, sent their procurators to Rome, about a quarrell which they had against the moonks there, for that the same moonks presumed to procéed to the election of an archbishop without their consent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrées and customes to be associat with them in the said elections. But how this matter was answered, yée shall sée hereafter. In the meane time these and other like things procured the pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the third person, whereby the trouble begun was not a little augmented (as you shall heare heereafter.) Now whilest these procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king minding to conquer all that which king John yet held within France, assembled an armie, and comming before the towne of Loches, wan it, and tooke Gerard de Atie prisoner, that had so long time and with such valiancie defended it. The same time also was Robert de Turnham taken prisoner, who with great manhood had all this while repressed and chastised the rebellious Poictouins.

The bishops quarell with the moonks of Canturburie about the electson of an archbishop.

Gerard de Atie & Robert de Turnham takē prisoners.

Moreouer, when the French king had woone Loches, he went to Chinon, within the which Hubert de Burgh was capteine, a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found, who hauing prepared all things necessarie for defense, manfullie repelled the Frenchmen, who inforced themselues to win the towne with continuall assaults and alarms, not suffering them within to rest neither day nor night, who yet for certeine daies togither, by the valiant incouragement of their capteine defended the towne, with great slaughter of the Frenchmen. Neuerthelesse, at length beginning to despaire by reason of their incessant trauell, certeine of them that were somewhat faintharted stale ouer the walles in the night, and ran to the Frenchmen, and for safegard of their liues instructed them of the whole estate of the towne. The French vnderstanding that they within were in no small feare of themselues, with such violence came vnto the walles, and renewed the assault vpon all sides, that streightwaies they entred by force. A great number of Englishmen were taken, and amongst other their capteine the foresaid Hubert de Burgh. [This chanced on the vigill of S. John Baptist.]

Hubert de Burgh a valiant capteine.

Polydor. Chinon taken by force of assault.

After this, king Philip tooke diuerse other townes and castels in that countrie, of the which some he raced, and some he fortified and stored with garisons of his souldiers. This doone he passed ouer the riuer of Loir, and wan a castell situat néere vnto a promontorie or head of land called Grapelitum, which was woont to be a great succour & aid to Englishmen arriuing on that coast. The occasion why he made wars thus vpon the Britains, was (as some write) for that Guie duke of Britaine, who had married the duches Constance, and succéeded in the duchie after hir son Arthur, without regard to reuenge the death of the same Arthur, was ioined in league with king John togither with Sauere de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignian, lords of great honour, power, and stoutnesse of stomach.

1206. King John also in this meane while, mooued with the increase of these his new associats, and also with desire to reuenge so manie iniuries and losses susteined at the French
An. Reg. 8. kings hands, preparing an armie of men, and a nauie of ships, tooke the sea with them and landed at Rochell the ninth of Julie, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse
Polydor. of the people; and no small number of gentlemen and others that inhabited thereabout repaired vnto him, offering to aid him to the vttermost of their powers. He therefore
Montalban woone. with assured hope of good spéed departed from thence, and wan the towne of Montalban,
Les annales de France. with a great part of all the countrie thereabouts. Finallie he entred into Aniou, and
Polydor. comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horssemen to compasse the towne about, whilest he, with the residue of the footmen, &
King John wan the citie of Angiers by assault. all the men of armes, did go to assault the gates. Which enterprise with fire and sword he so manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entred and deliuered to the souldiers for a preie. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the wals of the citie beaten flat to the ground. This doone, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction. Then came the people of the countries next adioining, of their owne accord to submit themselues vnto him, promising to aid him with men and vittels most plentifullie.

King John being verie ioyfull of this good successe, marched towards Poictou, sending out his troops of horssemen to waste the countrie on euerie side. In the meane while the French king being hereof aduertised, came foorth with his armie readie furnished to
The duke of Britaine and other of the king Johns friends ouerthrowne. resist king John, and by the way encountred with the duke of Britaine, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignian, which had beene abroad to spoile the French kings countries. But being now ouerset with the kings puissance, they were taken, and all their companie stripped out of their armour, to their great confusion. This mishap sore weakened the power and courage of king John. But the French king proud of the victorie, kept on his iournie, and approching néere vnto the place where king John was as then lodged, did cause his tents to be pitched downe for the first night, and on the morrow after, as one desirous of battell, brought his armie into the fields, ranged in good order and readie to fight.

The like did king John, so that with stout stomachs and eger minds, they stood there
Matth. West. *Matth. Paris.* in the field readie to trie the matter with dint of sword vpon sound of the warning-blast
This truce was concluded vpon All hallowes day. giuen by the trumpets. Howbeit, by the mediation of certeine graue personages, as well of the spiritualtie as of the temporaltie, which were in good estimation with both the princes, a communication was appointed, which tooke such effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the prisoners on either side being released by waie of exchange: and thus the wars ceased for that time. Then king Philip returned into France, and king John into England, where he landed at Portesmouth the 12 of December.

John Ferentino the popes legat. About this time came one John Ferentino (so called peraduenture *A Ferendo*, a common name to all the whelps of that litter, for they neuer came into the land as legats but they would be sure to carrie out with them manie large legacies and vsurped duties) a legat from the pope into England, and passing through the same as it were in visitation, gathered a great summe of monie; and finallie at Reading on the morow after saint Lukes day, celebrated a councell, which being ended, he caused his coffers to be packed vp and sent awaie, hastening himselfe after to depart the realme, and so taking the sea
The pope giueth sentence with ye monks against the bishops. bad England farewell. About the same season also pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the prior and moonks of Canturburie had to elect and choose the archbishop of that see, giuing sentence against the suffragans which claimed a right to be
See *Matt. Paris* pag. 287 in the printed copie. ioined with the said prior and moonks in the election, as by a letter directed to the same suffragans from the said pope it may more plainelie appeare.

After this it chanced that king John remembring himselfe of the destruction of the citie of Angiers, which (bicause he was descended from thence) he had before time greatlie loued,

loued, began now to repent him, in that he had destroied it, and therefore with all spéed he tooke order to haue it againe repaired, which was doone in most beautifull wise, to his great cost and expenses, which he might haue saued, had not his foolish rashnesse driuen him to attempt that, whereof vpon sober aduisement afterwards he was ashamed. But what will not an ordinarie man doo in the full tide of his furie; much more princes & great men, whose anger is resembled to the roring of a lion, euen vpon light occasions oftentimes, to satisfie their vnbrideled and brainesicke affections, which carrie them with a swift and full streame into such follies and dotages as are vndecent for their degrées. Hereto assenteth the poet, saieng,

King John repaireth the citie of Angiers.

——— magni regésque ducésque
Delirant sæpe, & vitiorum peste laborant,
Stultitijsque suis sæpe vrbes exitio dant,
Imperiúmque sibi miserorum cæde lucrantur.

Mal. Pal. in suo cap.

Moreouer, in this yeare about Candlemasse, the K. caused the 13 part of euerie mans goods, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, to be leuied and gathered to his vse, all men murmuring at such dooings, but none being so hardie as to gainesaie the kings pleasure, except onelie Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke, who therevpon departing secretlie out of the realme, accursed all those that laid any hands to the collection of that paiment, within his archbishoprike of Yorke. Also vpon the 17 of Januarie then last past, about the middest of the night, there rose such a tempest of wind vpon a sudden, that manie houses were ouerthrowne therewith, and sheepe and other cattell destroied and buried in the drifts of snow, which as then laie verie déepe euerie where vpon the ground.

1207.

A tax leuied.

The archbishop of Yorke stealeth out of the realme.

A mightie tempest.

This order of frier Minors began about this time, and increased maruellouslie within a short season. And the emperour Otho came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was most roiallie receiued by king John, who taking councell with the said emperour to renew the warre against the French king (bicause he was promised great aid at his hands for the furnishing of the same) gaue vnto him at his departing foorth of the realme, great summes of monie in hand towards the paiment of such souldiers as he should leuie for this businesse.

The emperor Otho cõmeth into England.

Fiue thousand marks of siluer, as *Matth. West.* and *Matth. Paruus* doo write.

In the meane while, the strife depended still in the court of Rome betwixt the two elected archbishops of Canturburie, Reginald and John. But after the pope was fullie informed of the manner of their elections, he disannulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the moonks of Canturburie (of whome manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to choose one Stephan Langton the cardinall of S. Chrysogon an Englishman borne, and of good estimation and learning in the court of Rome to be their archbishop. The moonks at the first were loth to consent thereto, alledging that they might not lawfullie doo it without consent of their king, and of their couent.

An. Reg. 9.

Stephan Langton chosen archbishop of Canturburie by ye popes appointment.

But the pope as it were taking the word out of their mouths, said vnto them, "Doo yée not consider that we haue full authoritie and power in the church of Canturburie: neither is the assent of kings or princes to be looked for vpon elections celebrated in the presence of the apostolike sée. Wherefore I command you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of curssing, that you being such and so manie here as are sufficient for the election, to choose him to your archbishop, whome I shall appoint to you for father and pastor of your soules." The moonks doubting to offend the pope, consented all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Brantfield, who refused. And so the foresaid Stephan Langton being elected of them, was confirmed of the pope, who signified by letters the whole state therof to king John, commending the said Stephan as archbishop vnto him.

The king sore offended in his mind that the bishop of Norwich was thus put beside that dignitie, to the which he had aduanced him, caused foorthwith all the goods of the moonks of Canturburie to be confiscate to his vse, and after banished them the relme, as well I meane

The moonks of Canturburie banished.

King John writeth to the pope.

meane those at home, as those that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderstand for answer, "that he would neuer consent that Stephan which had béene brought vp & alwaies conuersant with his enimies the Frenchmen, should now enioy the rule of the bishoprike and dioces of Canturburie. Moreouer, he declared in the same letters, that he maruelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not consider how necessarie the freendship of the king of England was to the see of Rome, sith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this side the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would stand to the death, if the matter so required. And as for the election of the bishop of Norwich vnto the sée of Canturburie, sith it was profitable to him and to his realme, he meant not to release it.

How gainfull England was to the court of Rome.

"Moreouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his mind, he would suerlie restraine the passages out of this realme, that none should go to Rome, least his land should be so emptied of monie and treasure, that he should want sufficient abilitie to beat backe and expell his enimies that might attempt inuasion against the same. Lastlie of all he concluded, sith the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and other ecclesiasticall persons, as well of his realme of England, as of other his lands and dominions, were sufficientlie furnished with knowledge, that he would not go for anie néed that should driue him thereto, to séeke iustice or iudgement at the prescript of any forren persons."

The popes answer vnto the king.

The pope greatlie maruelling hereat, wrote againe to the king, requiring him to absteine from the spoiling of those men that were priuileged by the canons of the church, "that he would place the moonks againe in their house and possessions, and receiue the archbishop canonicallie elected and confirmed, the which for his learning and knowledge, as well in the liberall sciences, as in holy scripture, was thought worthie to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and what estimation he himselfe had of him it appeared, in that he had written to him thrice since he was made cardinall, declaring that although he was minded to call him to his seruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher roome; adding further, how there was good cause that he should haue consideration of him, bicause he was borne within his land, of father and mother that were his faithfull subiects, and for that he had a prebend in the church of Yorke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Whereby not onelie by reason of flesh and bloud, but also by hauing ecclesiasticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with sincere affection."

Manie other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king John, to haue persuaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king John was so far from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie, which by any manner means had aided the forenamed Stephan. The pope being hereof aduertised, thought good not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spiritualtie, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decréed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischéefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespasse so committed.

Bailiffes of London discharged and committed to ward.

¶ These things being brought to this issue, the further narration of them shall staie for a time, till I haue told you of a little trouble which about this time happened in London. For vpon the seauenth of June, the bailiffes of London, Roger Winchester and Edmund Hardell were discharged, and Serle the mercer and Hugh of saint Albons chosen in their roomes. The two former bailiffes were discharged and commited to prison by the kings commandement, vpon displeasure taken against them bicause they had resisted his purueier

of

of wheat, and would not suffer him to conueie anie of that kind of graine out of the citie, till the citie was stored. The thirtie and fiue rulers of the citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commandement to them directed for the discharging of those bailiffes, and imprisoning them, did after take aduice thither, and appointed a certeine number of themselues with other to ride vnto the king, as then being at Langley, to obteine pardon for the said bailiffes, and so comming togither, they made such excuse in the matter, shewing further, that at the same season there was such scarsitie of wheat in the citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an insurrection about the same. By which means, and through freendship which they had in the court, the king was so satisfied, that he released them from prison, and pardoned their offenses.

Also vpon the first of October, Henrie the sonne of king John, begotten of his wife quéene Isabell, was borne at Winchester, who after succeeded his father in the kingdome. But now againe to our purpose. The pope perceiuing that king John continued still in his former mind (which he called obstinacie) sent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William bishop of London, to Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Mauger bishop of Worcester, commanding them that vnlesse king John would suffer peaceablie the archbishop of Canturburie to occupie his see, and his moonks their abbie, they should put both him and his land vnder the sentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainelie accurssed. And further he wrote expresse letters vnto all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, that they should by vertue of their obedience, which they owght to the apostolike sée, receiue and obeie the archbishop Stephan for their father and metropolitane.

The birth of king Henrie the third. *N. Triuet.* 1208.

The pope writeth to the bishops. *Matt. Paris. Nic. Triuet.*

Matth. Paris.

These bishops with other to them associate, made instant request and suit to the king for the obseruing of the popes commandement, and to eschew the censures of the church, but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage sware, that if either they or any other presumed to put his land vnder interdiction, he would incontinentlie therevpon send all the prelats within the realme out of the same vnto the pope, and seize all their goods vnto his owne vse. And further he added, that what Romans soeuer he found within the precinct of any his dominions, he would put out their eies, and slit their noses, and so send them packing to Rome, that by such marks they might be knowne from all other nations of the world. And herewith he commanded the bishops to packe out of his sight, if they loued their owne health and preseruation.

Romans, that is such chapleines strangers as belonged to the pope.

Herevpon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and furthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed vp, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be vsed, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiuing that the K. ment not to stoope for all this which they had doone, but rather sought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, Malger bishop of Worcester, Joceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

The móndaie in the passion weeke saith *Matth. West.* The king and realme put vnder the popes cursse.

The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized vpon all their temporalties, and conuerted the same to his vse, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their dooings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Howbeit the most part of the prelats wiselie prouided for themselues in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbies, and other habitations, bicause they had no commission to vse any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings vse, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

An. Reg. 10. The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

¶ It was a miserable time now for preests and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong. It is

An heauie time for churchmen.

reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a shiriffe brought before the king a fellow which had robbed and slaine a préest, desiring to vnderstand his pleasure what should be doone with that offender: vnto whom the king made this answer, "He hath slaine mine enimie, and therefore set him at libertie." *Matth. Paris.*

The king also doubting least the pope should proceed further, and absolue all his subiects of their allegiance which they owght to him, and that his lords would happilie reuolt and forsake him in this his trouble, tooke hostages of them whom he most suspected. And as the messengers, which were sent abroad for that purpose, came vnto the lord William de Breuse, requiring to haue his sonnes for the said purpose, his wife (like a quick and hastie dame) taking the word out of hir husbands mouth, made this round answer, "that she would not deliuer hir sonnes vnto king John, who alreadie had slaine his owne nephue Arthur, whome he ought rather honourablie to haue loued and preserued." These words being signified vnto the king, set him in such an heat against hir husband (though he rebuked hir sharpelie for the same) that the said lord was glad togither with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Ireland for safegard of their liues. Lord William de Breuse.

Whereas before this time London bridge was made of timber, and was ruled, guided, & repaired by a fraternitie or colledge of préests; this yéere by great aid of the citizens of London and others passing that waie, the same bridge was begun to be made of stone. And in the same yeare S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke was begun to be repaired. The same yeare also, the citizens of London made such suit vnto the king, that he granted vnto them by his letters patents, licence to choose to themselues a maior, and two shiriffes euerie yeare. After which grant vnto them confirmed, they chose for their maior Henrie Fitz Alwin, who was sworne and charged at that present maior of that citie, vpon the day of saint Michaell the archangell, in the said tenth yeare of king John his reigne. On the same day and yeare, were Peter Duke & Thomas Nele sworne for shiriffes. Thus the name of bailiffes from thenceforth was clearelie extinguished. Londō bridge repaired.

But here yée haue to vnderstand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had béene maior of London long before this time, euen from the first yeare of king Richard (as John Stow hath gathered out of ancient instruments and records) vnto this present tenth yeare of king John, and now vpon grant made to the citizens, that it should be lawfull for them to choose euerie yeare a maior, and two shiriffes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the said Henrie Fitz Alwin was newlie by them elected, and likewise afterwards from yeare to yeare, till he departed this life, which chanced in the yeare 1213, and fifteenth of king Johns reigne, so that he continued maior of the same citie of London, by the terme of twentie and foure yeares. *John Stow.*

¶ Now therefore bicause it appeareth here how the gouernors of the citie of London had their names altered for their greater honour, and the state of gouernment thereby partlie changed, or rather confirmed; I haue thought good (though verie breefelie) to touch somewhat the signification of this word Maire, before I proceed any further with the rest of this historie. The ancient inhabitants of Franconia, or Frankenland, from whome the Frenchmen are descended, and their neighbors the old Saxons, of whom the Englishmen haue their originall, being people of Germanie, and descended (as Berosus saith) of the old Hebrues, haue reteined manie Hebrue words, either from the beginning, or else borowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, passing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conuersation with those people whom they subdued, they brought home into their owne countrie and toong manie borowed words, so that their language hath no small store of them fetched out of sundrie strange toongs. The signification of this word Maire. *Wulf. Lax. Berosus.*

Now among other old words remaining in their toong, this word Mar was one, which in Hebrue signifieth Dominus, (that is to saie, lord) but pronounced now somewhat corruptlie

corruptlie Maire. So as it is to be supposed, hereof it came to passe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of maior, though in the cities of London and Yorke, for an augmentation of honour by an ancient custome (through ignorance what the title of maire dooth signifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of lord maire, where Maire simplie pronounced of it selfe, signifieth no lesse than lord, without any such addition. Thus much for the name of Maire. And now to procéed.

King John holding his Christmasse this yeare at Bristow, set foorth a commandement, whereby he restreined the taking of wild foule. About the same time, Henrie duke of Suaben came into England from the emperour Otho, and receiving no small portion of monie of the king, departed backe into his owne countrie againe. In the vigil of the Epiphanie also, the kings second sonne was borne, and named Richard after his vncles name. And the court of the eschequer was remoued from Westminster vnto Northampton. Moreouer in the same yeare, Walter Gray was made lord chancellour, who in all thing studied to satisfie the kings will and purpose, for the which he incurred great indignation of the cleargie, and other that fauoured not the proceedings of the king. 1209. *Matth. Paris.* The eschequer remoued.

¶ It was suerlie a rufull thing to consider the estate of this realme at that present, when as the king neither trusted his péeres, neither the nobilitie fauoured the king; no, there were verie few that trusted one another, but ech one hid & hourded vp his wealth, looking dailie when another should come and enter vpon the spoile. The communaltie also grew into factions, some fauouring, & some cursing the king, as they bare affection. The cleargie was likewise at dissention, so that nothing preuailed but malice and spite, which brought foorth and spred abroad the fruits of disobedience to all good lawes and orders, greatlie to the disquieting of the whole state. So that herein we haue a perfect view of the perplexed state of princes, chéeflie when they are ouerswaied with forren & prophane power, and not able to assure themselues of their subiects allegiance and loialtie. Whereto this clause alludeth,

M. Pal. in sue Leo.

———cruciat comes improbus ipsos
Assidui metus atque timor, suspectáque ijsdem
Omnia sunt: hinc insidias, hinc dira venena
Concipiunt, soli nec possunt ire nec audent,
Nec sine fas illis prægustatore comesse.

King John notwithstanding that the realme was thus wholie interdicted and vexed, so that no preests could be found to saie seruice in churches or chapels, made no great account thereof as touching any offense towards God or the pope: but rather mistrusting the hollow hearts of his people, he tooke a new oth of them for their faithfull allegiance, and immediatlie therevpon assembled an armie to go against Alexander king of Scots, vnto whome (as he had heard) diuerse of the nobilitie of this realme were fled, which Alexander was the second of that name that had ruled the Scots, and latelie before was entred into the rule as lawfull successor to the crowne of Scotland, by the death of his father K. William. An. Reg. 11. *Polydor.* A new oth of allegiance. Alexander K. of Scots.

In this meane while also Stephan archbishop of Canturburie lamenting (as some haue reported) the state of his natiue countrie, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obteined of pope Innocent, that vpon certeine dais it might be lawfull for an appointed number of preests within the realme of England, to celebrate diuine seruice, that is to say, for those of conuentuall churches once in the wéeke. But the moonks of the white order were forbidden to vse that priuilege, bicause in the beginning of the interdiction they had at the appointment of their principall abbat presumed to celebrate the sacraments without the popes consent or knowledge. *Matth. Paris.* The white moonks.

In like maner on the other side, king John hauing his armie in a readinesse, hasted foorth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the castell of Norham, prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battell, sought to come *Polydor. Matth. Paris.*

Alexander K. of Scots compoundeth for peace with king John.

come vnto some frèendlie agréement with him, and so by counsell of his lords, casting off his armour, he came to the king, and for a great summe of gold (or 11 thousand marks of siluer as some write) with much adoo he purchased peace, deliuering two of his daughters in hostage for more assurance of his dealing. Wherevpon king John, after his returne from Norham, which was about the 24 of June, shewed himselfe not a little displeased with those of the nobilitie, which had refused to attend vpon him in that iournie, hauing receiued streit commandement from him to attend vpon him at that time. Certes the cause why they refused to follow him, was euident, as they said, in that they knew him to stand accursed by the pope. About the same time also, when corne began to wax ripe, to reuenge himselfe of them that had refused to go with him in that iournie, he caused the pales of all the parks & forrests which he had within his realme to be throwne downe, & the diches to be made plaine, that the déere breaking out and ranging abroad in the corne fields, might destroie & eat vp the same before it could be ripened, for which act (if it were so in deed) manie a bitter cursse procéeded from the mouths of the poore husbandmen towards the kings person, and not vnworthilie. Moreouer in this season the Welshmen (which thing had not beene séene afore time) came vnto Woodstoke, and there did homage vnto the king, although the same was chargeable, aswell to the rich as the poore so to come out of their countrie.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris. A murther at Oxford.

About the same time also, it chanced that a preest slue a woman at Oxford, and when the kings officers could not find him that had committed the murther, they apprehended thrée other préests not guiltie of the fact, and streightway hanged them vp without iudgement. With which crueltie others of the Vniuersitie being put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither againe of a long time after, some of them repairing to Cambridge, and some to Reading to applie their studies in those places, leauing Oxford void. The same yeare one Hugh archdeacon of Welles, and kéeper of the kings great seale, was nominated bishop of Lincolne; and herewithall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the archbishop of Rouen, that he might be consecrated of him. Wherewith the king was contented and gladlie gaue him leaue, who no sooner got ouer into Normandie, but he streight tooke the high waie to Rome, and there receiued his consecration of Stephan archbishop of Canturburie. Now when the king vnderstood this matter, and saw the dulnesse of the bishop, he was in a wonderfull chafe toward him, and thervpon made port-sale of all his goods, and receiued the profit of the reuenues belonging to the sée of Lincolne for his own vse.

Thrée thousands saith *Matth. Paris.*

Oxford forsaken of the scholers.

Hugh archdeacon of Wels made bishop of Lincolne.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

Cementarius.

¶ There liued in those daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the moonks and friers saie) against his subiects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessell, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. He did see (as it should seeme) the euill disposed humors of the people concerning their dutifull obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall prince king John, and therefore as a doctrine most necessarie in that dangerous time, he taught the people how they were by Gods lawes bound in dutie to obeie their lawfull prince, and not through any wicked persuasion of busie heads and lewd discoursers, to be carried away to forget their loiall allegiance, and so to fall into the damnable sinke of rebellion.

He went about also to proone with likelie arguments, that it apperteined not to the pope, to haue to doo concerning the temporall possessions of any kings or other potentats touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters apperteining therevnto. By such doctrine of him set foorth, he wan in such wise the kings fauour, that he obteined manie great preferments at the kings hands, and

was

was abbat of saint Austines in Canturburie: but at length, when his manners were notified to the pope, he tooke such order for him, that he was despoiled of all his goods and benefices, so that afterwards he was driuen in great miserie to beg his bread from doore to doore, as some write. This did he procure to himselfe by telling the trueth against that beast, whose hornes were pricking at euerie christian prince, that he might set himselfe in a seat of supremasie aboue all principalities: so that we may saie,

In audaces non est audacia tuta.

Furthermore, about the same time the king taxed the Jewes, and grieuouslie tormented and emprisoned them, bicause diuers of them would not willinglie pay the summes that they were taxed at. Amongst other, there was one of them at Bristow, which would not consent to giue anie fine for his deliuerance: wherefore by the kings commandement he was put vnto this penance, that euerie daie, till he would agrée to giue to the king those ten thousand marks that he was seized at, he should haue one of his téeth plucked out of his head. By the space of seauen daies togither he stood stedfast, loosing euerie of those daies a tooth, but on the eight day, when he shuld come to haue the eight tooth and the last (for he had but eight in all) drawne out, he paid the monie to saue that one, who with more wisedome and lesse paine might haue doone so before, and haue saued his seauen teeth, which he lost with such torments, for those homelie toothdrawers vsed no great cunning in plucking them foorth (as may be coniectured.)

1210. *Matth. Paris.* Jewes taxed.

A Jew hath his téeth drawne out.

Whilest king John was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Irish rebels made foule worke and sore annoied the English subiects. He therefore assembling a mightie armie, imbarked at Penbroke in Wales, and so hasting towards Ireland, arriued there the twentie fiue of Maie, and brought the people in such feare immediatlie vpon his arriuall, that all those that inhabited vpon the sea coasts in the champaine countries, came in, and yeelded themselues, receiuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him. There were twentie of the cheefest rulers within Ireland, which came to the king at his comming to Dublin, and there did to him homage and fealtie as apperteined. The king at the same time ordeined also, that the English lawes should be vsed in that land, and appointed shiriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrie, to rule the same according to the English ordinances. After this, he marched forward into the land, and tooke diuerse fortresses and strong holds of his enimies, which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacie and manie other. At length, comming into the countrie of Meth, he besieged a castell, wherein the wife of William de Breuse, and hir sonne named also William were inclosed, but they found means to escape before the castell was woone, though afterward they were taken in the Ile of Man, and sent by the king into England, where they were so straitlie kept within the castell of Windsor, that (as the fame went) they were famished to death.

An. Reg. 12. *Matth. Paris.* King John passeth ouer into Ireland. *Polydor.* *Matth. Paris.*

Walter de Lacie.

The Ladie de Breuse & hir sonne taken.

¶ We read in an old historie of Flanders, written by one whose name is not knowne, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare 1562, that the said ladie, wife to the lord William de Breuse, presented vpon a time vnto the queene of England, a gift of foure hundred kine, and one bull, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were red. Although this tale may séeme incredible, yet if we shall consider that the said Breuse was a lord marcher, and had goodlie possessions in Wales, and on the marshes, in which countries the most part of the peoples substance consisteth in cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelihood of truth. And suerlie the same author writeth of the iournie made this yeare into Ireland, so sensiblie, and namelie touching the manners of the Irish, that he seemeth to haue had good informations, sauing that he misseth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in maner common to all forreine writers. Touching the death of the said ladie, he saith, that within eleuen daies after she was committed to prison héere in England, she was found dead, sitting betwixt hir sonnes legs, who likewise being dead, sate directlie vp against a wall of the chamber, wherein they were kept with

A present of white kine.

He himselfe escapeth.

with hard pitance (as writers doo report.) William the father escaped, and got away into France.

The bishop of Norwich lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Thus the more part of the Irish people being brought vnder, he appointed John Gray the bishop of Norwich, to be his deputie there, remouing out of that office Hugh Lacie, which bare great rule in that quarter before. The bishop then being appointed deputie and cheefe iustice of Ireland, reformed the coine there, causing the same to be made of like weight and finenesse to the English coine, so that the Irish monie was currant, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of the like weight, forme, and finenesse to the English. Moreouer, those that inhabited the wood-countries and the mounteine places, though they would not as then submit themselues, he would not at that time further pursue, bicause winter was at hand, which in that countrie approcheth timelie in the yeare. Hauing thus subdued the more part of all Ireland, and ordred things there at his pleasure, he tooke the sea againe with much triumph, and landed in England about the thirtith day of August.

Irish monie reformed.

The King returneth into England.

From hence he made hast to London, and at his comming thither, tooke counsell how to recouer the great charges and expenses that he had béene at in this iournie, and by the aduise of William Brewer, Robert de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhill, and Richard de Marish, he caused all the cheefe prelats of England to assemble before him at S. Brides in London. So that thither came all the abbats, abbesses, templers, hospitallers, kéepers of farmes and possessions of the order of Clugnie, and other such forreners as had lands within this realme belonging to their houses. All which were constreined to paie such a greeuous tax, that the whole amounted to the summe of an hundred thousand pounds. The moonks of the Cisteaux order, otherwise called white moonks, were constreined to paie 40 thousand pounds of siluer at this time, all their priuileges to the contrarie notwithstanding. Moreouer, the abbats of that order might not get licence to go their generall chapter that yéere, which yeerelie was vsed to be holden, least their complaint should mooue all the world against the king, for his too too hard and seuere handling of them.

An assemblie of the prelats at London.

A tax leuied.

1211.

An. Reg. 13. King John goeth into Wales with an armie.

In the summer following, about the 18 day of Julie, king John with a mightie armie went into Wales, and passing foorth into the inner parts of the countrie, he came into Snowdon, beating downe all that came in his way, so that he subdued all the rulers and princes, without contradiction. And to be the better assured for their subiection in time following, he tooke pledges of them, to the number of 28, & so returned to Album Monasterium on the daie of the Assumption of our ladie, from whence he first set foorth into the Welsh confines. In the same yeare also, the pope sent two legats into England, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king John, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his stubborne disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdooings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not fare distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne foorth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to préests which he had seized vpon, neither of those that apperteined to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

Matth. Paris. White church I thinke.

Pandulph & Durant the popes legats. *Polydor.*

Fabian.

¶ Touching the maner of this interdiction there haue béene diuerse opinions, some haue said, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houses of religion closed vp, that no where was anie diuine seruice vsed: but it was not so streit, for there were diuerse places occupied with diuine seruice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchased either then or before. Children were also christened, and men houseled and annoiled through all the land, except such as were in the bill of excommunication by name expressed. But to our purpose.

Matth. Paris.

King John, after that the legats were returned toward Rome againe, punished diuerse of

of those persons which had refused to go with him into Wales, in like maner as he had doone those that refused to go with him into Scotland: he tooke now of ech of them for euerie knights fée two marks of siluer, as before is recited. About the same time also, Reginald earle of Bullongne being accursed in like maner as king John was, for certeine oppressions doone to poore men, and namelie to certeine preests, fled ouer into England, bicause the French king had banished him out of France.

Reginald erle of Bullougne.

The chéefest cause of the French kings displeasure towards this earle, may séeme to proceed of the amitie and league which was concluded betwixt king John, and the said earle, in the first yeare of the said king's reigne, whereby they bound themselues either to other, not to make anie peace, or to take anie truce with the king of France, without either others consent first thereto had, and that if after anie agréement taken betwixt them and the king of France, he should chance to make warre against either of them, then should the other aid and assist him, against whom such ware should be made, to the vttermost of his power.

The like league was made in the same first yeare of king John betwixt him & Ferdinando earle of Flanders.

This league was accorded to remaine for euer betwixt them and their heires, with suerties sworne on either part: and for the king of England, these, whose names insue, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Ranulfe earle of Chester, Robert earle of Leicester, Baldwine earle of Albemarle, William earle of Arundell, Ralfe earle of Augi, Robert de Mellet, Hugh de Gourney, William de Kaeu, Geffrey de Cella, Roger conestable of Chester, Ralfe Fitz Water, William de Albanie, Robert de Ros, Richard de Montfichet, Roger de Thoney, Saer de Quincie, William de Montchenise, Peter de Pratellis, William de Poole aliàs de Stagno, Adam de Port, Robert de Turneham, William Mallet, Eustace de Vescie, Peter de Brus, William de Presennie, Hubert de Burgh, William de Mansey, and Peter Sauenie. For the earle, these were suerties, Anselme de Kaeu, Guy Lieschans, Ralfe the said earles brother, &c. But now to returne.

After that the earle of Bullongne was expelled out of France (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer to king John, and was of him ioifullie receiued, hauing thrée hundred pounds of reuenues in land to him assigned within England, for the which he did homage and fealtie vnto him. Shortlie after this also, died William de Breuse the elder, which fled from the face of king John out of Ireland into France, and departing this life at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the abbeie of S. Victor.

In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that king John would not be ordered by him, determined with the consent of his cardinals and other councellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelats being there with him, to depriue king John of his kinglie state, and so first absolued all his subiects and vassals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his depriuation vnto the French king and other christian princes, admonishing them to pursue king John, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoeuer imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and ouercome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, not onlie in their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

Polydor.

But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holinesse, than to haue king John to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiuenesse for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English exiles, to go into France, togither with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be doone against king John, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse excommunicated. Moreouer this Pandulph

Pandulph sent into France to practise with the frech king, for king John his destruction.

was commanded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king John such letters as the pope had written for his better instruction, and to séeke by all meanes possible to draw him from his naughtie opinion.

In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had released the people & absolued them of their oth of fidelitie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes sentence, by little and little a great number both of souldiers, citizens, burgesses, capteins and conestables of castels, leauing their charges, & bishops with a great multitude of préests reuolting from him, and auoiding his companie and presence, secretlie stale awaie, and got ouer into France.

Matth. West. Matt. Paris.

Notwithstanding that diuerse in respect of the popes cursse, and other considerations them mouing, vtterlie refused in this manner to obeie king John, yet there were manie others that did take his part, and mainteine his quarell verie earnestlie, as his brother William earle of Salisburie, Alberike de Veere erle of Oxford, Geffrey Fitz Peter lord chéefe iustice of England, also thrée bishops, Durham, Winchester, and Norwich, Richard de Marish lord chancellour, Hugh Neuill chiefe forrester, William de Wrothing lord warden of the ports, Robert Veipount and his brother Yuan, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie, Hugh Ballioll, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow and his son William Fulke de Cantlow, Reginald de Cornehull shiriffe of Kent, Robert Braibrooke and his son Harrie, Philip de Louecotes, John de Bassingborne, Philip March, Chatelaine of Notingham, Peter de Maulley, Robert de Gaugy, Gerard de Athie and his nephue Ingelrand, William Brewer, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Bassei, and Foulks de Briant a Norman, with many other, too long here to rehearse, who as fautors and councellors vnto him, sought to defend him in all causes, notwithstanding the censures of the church so cruellie pronounced against him; knowing that they were bound in conscience to sticke to him, now speciallie in this general apostasie of his péeres and people. For they were opinioned, that it was

The names of the noble men that cõtinued true vnto K. John.

Ouid. lib. 2. de Pont.

Turpe referre pedem, nec passu stare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem.

1212. The same yeare king John held his Christmasse at Windsor, and in the Lent following, on midlent sundaie being at London, he honoured the lord Alexander sonne and heire to the king of Scots, with the high order of knighthood. And (as I find it mentioned by some writers) wheras he vnderstood how there were diuerse in Scotland, that contemning their naturall lord and king by reason of his great age, king John went thither with an armie to represse the rebels, and being come thither, he sent his men of war into the inner parts of the country, who scowring the coasts, took Guthred Macwilliam capteine of them that moued sedition, whom king John caused to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. This Guthred was descended of the line of the ancient Scotish kings, and being assisted with the Irishmen and Scots that fauoured not the race of the kings that presentlie reigned, wrought them much trouble, as his father (named Donald) had doone before him, sometime secretlie vnder hand, and sometime againe by way of open rebellion.

Bernewell.

The Welshmen moeue rebellion. *Matth. Paris.* An. Reg. 14. King John hangeth the Welsh pledges.

Shortlie after, the Welshmen began to sturre also, who rushing out of their owne confines, fell vpon their next neighbours within the English marshes, wasted the countrie, and ouerthrew diuerse castels flat to the ground. Whereof the king hauing knowledge, assembled a mightie armie out of hand, and comming to Notingham, he hanged vp the Welsh hostages which the last yeare he had receiued, to the number of eight and twentie yoong striplings. And by reason he was now set in a maruellous chafe, he roughlie proceeded against all those whom he knew not to fauor his case: some he discharged of their offices, other he depriued of their capteineships and other roomes, & reuoked certeine priuileges & immunities granted to moonks, préests, & men of religion.

Furthermore, hauing his armie readie to passe on into Wales, he receiued letters the same time, both from the king of Scots, and from his daughter the wife of Leoline prince of Wales, conteining in effect the aduertisement of one matter, which was to let him know,

know, that if he proceeded on his iournie, he should either through treason be slaine of his owne lords, or else be deliuered to be destroied of his enimies. The king iudging no lesse, but that the tenor of the letters conteined a truth, brake vp his armie and returned to London. From whence he sent messengers vnto all such lords as he suspected, commanding them to send vnto him hostages for more assurance of their fidelities. The lords durst not disobeie his commandement, but sent their sons, their nephues, and other their kinsmen, accordinglie as he required, and so his rancour was appeased for a time. But Eustace de Vescie, Robert Fitz Walter, and Stephan Ridell, being accused and suspected of the K. for the said treason, were glad to flée the realme, Vescie departing into Scotland, and the other two into France.

Matth. Paris. King John breaketh vp his armie.

The same yeare, the church of S. Marie Queries, and all the building vpon London bridge on both sides the same, were consumed with fire, which was iudged to be a signification of some mishap to follow. The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Westminster, with no great traine of knights about him. About the same time Geffrey archbishop of Yorke departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a seauen yeares. But now to returne againe to the practises of the popes legats.

Matth. Paris. Matt. West. Saint Marie Queries burnt. 1213.

The deceasse of Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke.

Ye shall vnderstand, the French king being requested by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand against king John, was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe ouer into England: and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greatest forwardnesse, to take his iournie. When Pandulph vpon good considerations thought first to go eftsoones, or at the least wise to send into England, before the French armie should land there, and to assaie once againe, if he might induce the king to shew himselfe reformable vnto the popes pleasure: king John hauing knowledge of the French kings purpose and ordinance, assembled his people, and lodged with them alongst by the coast towards France, that he might resist his enimies, and kéepe them off from landing.

The French king prepared to inuade England.

Here writers declare, that he had got togither such an armie of men out of all the parts of his realme, both of lords, knights, gentlemen, yeomen, & other of the commons, that notwithstanding all the prouision of vittels that might possible be recouered, there could not be found sufficient store to susteine the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongst the coast, namelie at Douer, Feuersham, Gipsewich, and other places. Wherevpon the capteins discharged and sent home a great number of the commons, reteining onelie the men of armes, yeomen, and fréeholders, with the crossebowes and archers. There came likewise to the kings aid at the same time, the bishop of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him fiue hundred men of armes, & a great sort of other horssemen.

An. Reg. 15. *Matth. Paris.* The great armie which K. John assembled togither.

The bishop of Norwich.

To conclude, there was estéemed of able men assembled togither in the armie on Barhamdowne, what of chosen men of armes, and valient yeomen, and other armed men, the number of sixtie thousand: so that if they had béene all of one mind, and well bent towards the seruice of their king and defense of their countrie, there had not béene a prince in christendome, but that they might haue beene able to haue defended the realme of England against him. He had also prouided a nauie of ships farre stronger than the French kings, readie to fight with them by sea, if the case had so required.

But as he lay thus readie, néere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

Polydor. Two knights of the temple.

The king vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, of whose arriuall when the king

The legat Pandulph cõmeth ouer.

was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence. Now after they had talked togither a little, and courteouslie saluted each other (as the course of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) vttered these words following.

The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the presumptuous popes behalfe.

I DOO not thinke that you are ignorant, how pope Innocent, to do that which to his dutie apperteineth, hath both absolued your subiects of that oth which they made vnto you at the beginning, and also taken from you the gouernance of England, according to your deserts, and finallie giuen commandement vnto certeine princes of Christendome, to expell you out of this kingdom and to place an other in your roome; so worthilie to punish you for your disobedience and contempt of religion: and that Philip king of France, with the first being readie to accomplish the popes commandement, hath an armie in a readinesse, and with his nauie newlie decked, rigged and furnished in all points, lieth at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, looking for a prosperous wind, that as soone as it commeth about, he may saile therewith hither into England, trusting (as he saith) with the helpe of your owne people (which neither name you, nor will take you for their king) to spoile you of your kingdome with small adoo, and to conquer it at his pleasure, for he hath (as he sticketh not to protest openlie to the world) a charter made by all the cheefest lords of England touching thier fealtie and obedience assured to him. Therfore, sith God for your iust desert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill spoken of by all men, as they that come against you be well reported, I would aduise you, that whilest there is a place for grace and fauour, rather to obeie the popes iust demands, to whose word other christian princes are readie to giue eare, than by striuing in vaine to cast awaie your selfe and all others that take your part, or are bent to defend your quarell or cause.

These words being thus spoken by the legat, king John as then vtterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constreined to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waieng with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue doone, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Vpon this, he promised to receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and banished men, making vnto them sufficient amends for all iniuries to them doone, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

K. John deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

Then Pandulph kéeping the crowne with him for the space of fiue daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By meanes of this act (saith Polydor) the fame went abroad, that king John willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition, that his successors should likewise from thencefoorth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdome from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king John, haue not observed any such lawes of reconciliation, neither doo the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king John to obserue, perteined vnto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor.

Pandulph restoreth the crowne again to the king.

Howbeit,

Howbeit, Ranulph Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, saith indéed, that king John did not onelie bind himselfe, but his heires and successors, being kings of England, to be feudaries vnto pope Innocent and his successors popes of Rome, that is to say, that they should hold their dominions of them in fee, yeelding and paieng yéerelie to the sée of Rome the summe of seauen hundred marks for England, and thrée hundred marks for Ireland. Furthermore, by report of the most autentike and approoued writers, king John, to auoid all dangers, which (as he doubted) might insue, despairing as it were in himselfe, or rather most speciallie for lacke of loiall dutie in his subiects, consented to all the persuasions of Pandulph, and so (not without his great hart-gréefe) he was contented to take his oth, togither with sixtéene earles and barons, who laieng their hands vpon the holie euangelists, sware with him vpon perill of their soules, that he should stand to the iudgement of the church of Rome, and that if he repented him, and would refuse to stand to promise, they should then compell him to make satisfaction. Héervpon, they being all togither at Douer, the king and Pandulph, with the earls and barons, and a great multitude of other people, agréed and concluded vpon a finall peace in forme as here insueth.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributarie to the pope.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

The charter of king Iohn his submission, as it was conueied to the pope at Rome.

IOhannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, omnibus Christi fidelibus hanc chartam inspecturis, salutem in Domino. Vniuersitati vestræ per hanc chartam sigillo nostro munitam, volumus esse notum, quòd cùm Deum et matrem nostram sanctam ecclesiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina misericordia plurimùm indigeamus, nec quid dignè offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo & ecclesiæ debita facienda, nisi nosmetipsos humiliemus & regna nostra, volentes nosipsos humiliare, pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliauit vsq; ad mortem, gratia sancti spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontaneáq; voluntate, ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum conferimus, & liberè concedimus Deo & sanctis apostolis eius Petro & Paulo, & sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matri nostræ, ac domino papæ Innocentio, eiúsq; catholicis successoribus, totum regnum Angliæ, & totum regnum Hyberniæ, cum omni iure & pertinentijs suis, pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum, et totius generis nostri, tam pro viuis quàm pro defunctis, & amodò illa ab eo & ecclesia Romana tanquam secundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præsentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini papæ subdiaconi & familiaris.

Exindè prædicto domino papæ Innocentio, eiúsque catholicis successoribus, & ecclesiæ Romanæ, secundùm subscriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, et homagium ligium in præsentia Pandulphi; si coram domino papa esse poterimus, eidem faciemus: successores nostros & hæredes de vxore nostra in perpetuum obligantes, vt simili modo summo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, & ecclesiæ Romanæ, sine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præstare, & homagium recognoscere.

Ad indicium autem huius nostræ perpetuæ obligationis & concessionis, volumus & stabilimus, vt de proprijs & specialibus redditibus nostris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni seruitio & consuetudine, quæ pro ipsis facere debemus, saluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, ecclesia Romana mille marcas Esterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in festo scilicet sancti Michaëlis quingentas marcas, & in Pascha quingentas: septingentas scilicet pro regno Angliæ, & trecentas pro regno Hyberniæ, saluis nobis & hæredibus nostris, iustitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus nostris. Quæ omnia, sicut supra scripta sunt, rata esse volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & successores nostros contra non venire, & si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum contra hæc attentare præsumpserit, quicunq; ille fuerit, nisi ritè commonitus resipuerit, cadat à iure regni.

Et hæc charta obligationis & concessionis nostræ, semper firma permaneat. Teste meipso, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H. Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Iohanne Norwicensi episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sarisburiæ, Willielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononiæ, W. comite Warrennæ, S. comite Winton, W. comite Arundel, W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Briwere, Petro filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, 15 die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo quarto.

This deed and instrument being written and ingrossed, the king deliuered it vnto Pandulph, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to pope Innocent, and herewith did homage to the same pope, in forme as followeth.

The words of fealtie made by king Iohn to the pope.

EGO Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hyberniæ, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro et ecclesiæ Romanæ, & domino meo papæ domino Innocentio, eiúsq; successoribus catholicè intrantibus. Non ero in facto, in dicto, consensu vel consilio, vt vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum si sciuero, impediam, & remanere faciam si potero: alioquin eis quàm citiùs potero intimabo, vel tali personæ dicam, quàm eis credam pro certo dicturam. Consilium quod mihi crediderint, per se vel per nuncios suos seu literas suas, secretum, tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pandam me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & specialiter regnum Angliæ, & regnum Hyberniæ adiutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & hæc sancta euangelia, Amen. Acta autem sunt hæc, vt prædictum est, in vigilia dominicæ Ascensionis ad Doueram, Anno 1213.

In English thus.

IOHN by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, shall be faithfull to God and to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome, and to my lord pope Innocentius, and to his successours lawfully entring. I shall not be in word nor deed, in consent or counsell, that they should lose life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their losse if I may know it, I shall impeach and staie, so far as I shal be able, or else so shortlie as I can I shall signifie vnto them, or declare to such person the which I shall beleeue will declare the same vnto them. The counsell which they shal commit to me by themselues, their messengers, or letters, I shall keepe secret, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimonie of S. Peter, and speciallie the kingdomes of England and Ireland, I shall indeuour my selfe to defend against all men to my power. So helpe me God, and these holie euangelists, Amen. These things were done on the eeue of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare 1213.

Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king John, thought not good to release the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be made to the archbishop, and the other banished men, he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and what he had doone in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse of monie, to the summe of sixtie thousand pounds, as he himselfe alledged, about the furniture of his iournie, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no small aid within the realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished men as he

Matth. Paris.

Fortie thousand marks of siluer saith *Matth. West.*

he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king John, and determined not so to breake off his enterprise, least it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue beene at such charges and great expenses in vaine. Therefore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purposed to doo. The French K. displeased for the reconciliation of K. John with the pope.

All his Nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpose to be verie good and requisite, except the earle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who (in hope to recouer againe those townes, which the French king held from him in Arthois, as Aire, and S. Omers) had ioined secretlie in league with king John, and with the earle of Bullongne, and therefore misliked the conclusion of their aduise. Howbeit king Philip not being yet fullie certified hereof, caused his nauie to draw alongest the coast towards Flanders, whither he himselfe hasted to go also by land, that comming thither, he might from thence saile ouer into England, and take land at a place to him assigned. The French king meaneth to proceed in his iournie against the realme of England.

Now it came to passe, that at his comming to Graueling, he had perfect knowledge, that the earle of Flanders was ioined in league with his enimies, wherfore he determined first to subdue the earle, least whilest he should be out of his realme, some great trouble or sedition might rise within his owne dominions. Therfore, leauing the enterprise which he ment to haue made against England, he turned his power against the earle of Flanders, and first commanded his nauie to saile vnto the port of Dam, whilest he himselfe keeping on his iournie still by land, tooke the town of Cassile, and likewise Ypres. From thence he went to Bruges, and besieged the towne, but he could not win it at the first, and therefore leauing a power of men to mainteine the siege before it, he himselfe went to Gaunt, and thereto also laid his siege. The French K. inuadeth Flanders. Gaunt besieged by the French king.

In the mean time, the earle of Flanders perceiuing that he was not able to resist so puissant an enimie as the French king, sent ouer in hast vnto the king of England for aid. Wherevpon king John vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip had turned all his force against the earle of Flanders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England; that same nauie (which as before is recited) he had put in a readinesse, conteining the number of fiue hundred saile, he sent streight into Flanders with a strong armie, both of horssemen and footmen, vnder the guiding of William duke of Holland, William Longspée earle of Salisburie base brother to king John, and Reignold earle of Bullongne. *Matth. Paris.*

These capteins being now passed foorth with their fléets into the maine sea, espied anon manie ships lieng without the hauen of Dam (for the number of ships of the French fléet was so great, that the hauen could not receiue them all, so that manie of them laie at anchor without the hauen mouth, and all alongst the coast.) Wherefore they sent foorth certeine shallops, to espie whether they were freends or enimies, and what their number and order was. It chanced, that the same time, the men of warre which were appointed to kéepe the French fleet, were gone foorth, togither with a great number of the mariners, to spoile and fetch booties abroad in the countrie.

The English espials therefore, making semblance as though they had beene some fishermen of those parts, came verie neere the French ships lieng at anchor, and perceiuing them to be vnfurnished of people necessarie to defend them, came backe to their companie, and declared what they had séene, certifieng their capteins that the victorie was in their hands, if they would make speed. The capteins glad of these newes, commanded their men to make them readie to giue battell, and causing their mariners to make saile directlie towards the French fléet, at their first approch they wanne those tall ships that laie at anchor abroad before the hauen, without any great resistance, the mariners onelie making request to haue their liues saued. The other smaller vessels which (after the tide was gone) remained vpon the sands (spoiling them first of their tackle and other things that would serue to vse) they consumed with fier, the mariners escaping by flight. The English men assaile the French ships.

Thus the Englishmen hauing dispatched this businesse with good successe, did set vpon those ships that laie in harbrough within the hauen. But here was hard hold for a while;

while, bicause the narrownesse of the place would not giue any great aduantage to the greater number. And those Frenchmen that were gone abroad into the countrie, perceiuing that the enimies were come, by the running awaie of the mariners, returned with all spéed to their ships to aid their fellowes, and so made valiant resistance for a time, till the Englishmen getting on land, and ranging themselues on either side of the hauen, beat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and the ships grapling togither on front, that they fought as it had bin in a pitcht field, till that finallie the Frenchmen were not able to susteine the force of the Englishmen, but were constreined (after long fight and great slaughter) to yéeld themselues prisoners.

The English men wanne the French ships.

The English capteins glad of this victorie gotten, contrarie to expectation, first gaue thanks to God for the same, and then manning thrée hundred of those French ships, which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oile, flesh, and other vittels, and also with armour, they sent them awaie into England, and afterwards they set fire vpon the residue that laie on ground, which were aboue an hundred, bicause they were drawne vp so farre vpon the sands, that they could not easilie get them out, without their further inconuenience. After this, comming on land with their power, they marched foorth into the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that if they should encounter with king Philip by the way comming to the rescue of his ships, they might be readie to giue them battell, which thing was not deuised, without good and great consideration.

For king Philip being certified of the danger wherein his ships stood by the sudden comming of his enimies, and therewithall being in good hope to come to their succours in time, and yer the Englishmen had wrote their full feat, he raised his siege, and made hast toward the coast: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertised that the enimies had woone all his whole fléet, and were now marching foorth to méet him, and to giue him battell. Also it was told him, how Ferdinando the earle of Flanders, being certified of the victorie atchiued by his freends, followed at his backe. Wherefore, least he should séeme ouer rashlie to commit himselfe into manifest perill, he staied a little from Bruges, and there incamped for that day, as if he ment to abide the comming of his enimies.

The French K. returneth into France.

The next morrow he raised and returned towards France, the verie same waie that he came, no man pursuing him. For the Englishmen contented with that victorie which they had gotten, thought it not necessarie to follow him with their further hazard. In the meane time, king John receiuing newes of this prosperous victorie thus gotten by his people, did woonderfullie reioise for the same, conceiuing an hope, that all his businesse would now come forward and growe to good successe.

Matt. Paris. Polydor. Iacob. Meir.

¶ This is the truth of this historie, as some authors haue set it foorth. But Iames Meir in his discourse of Flanders declareth the matter somwhat otherwise, as thus: Vpon the thursdaie before the Pentecost (saith he) the English fléet setting vpon the French nauie, which laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam, drowned certeine of the French vessels, and tooke to the number of foure, which they conueied awaie with them. Ferdinando the earle of Flanders hauing an armie of men readie by land, was lodged the same time not far off from the coast and therefore hearing what had chanced, came the next day, and ioined with the Englishmen.

There were yet remaining also diuerse other of the French ships (besides those which the Englishmen had sunke and taken) which were drawne vp further into the land ward. The earle of Flanders therefore, and the English capteins iudged, that it should much hinder the French kings attempts, if they might win those ships also with the towne of Dam, wherin the king had laid vp a great part of his prouision for the furniture of his warres. Héerevpon the Englishmen were set on land, and ioining with the earls power, they marched strait towards Dam. This was vpon Whitsun éeuen, on the which day, as they were most busie in assaulting the towne and ships which laie there in the hauen, the French king being come awaie from Gaunt, suddenlie set vpon them, and though in the beginning

beginning he found sharpe resistance, yet in the end, the Englishmen and Flemmings ouerset with the great multitude of the Frenchmen, were put to flight, and chased to their ships, with the losse of two thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, amongst the which were found to be 22 knights. The Englishmen and Flemings vanquished by the French force.

The earle of Flanders with the earles of Bullen and Salisburie, doubting to lose their ships, and late gotten bootie, sailed strait into one of the Iles of Zeland called Walkeren. Then the French king constreining them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, to deliuer vnto him pledges, caused the towne of Dam, and his ships lieng there in the hauen to be burned, doubting least they should come into the hands of his enimies. This doone, he returned into France, leauing his sonne Lewes and the earle of S. Paule in garrison at Lisle and Doway, and for great sums of monie, which by agreement he receiued of the townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, he restored vnto them their pledges. Thus saith Meire: and Matthew Paris differeth not much from him touching the successe which chanced to the Englishmen by land. ¶ Héere will I staie a while in the further narration of this matter, and touch by the way a thing that happened to king John about this present time. The French king burneth his ships.

There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people beléeued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell what should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his saiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet: which was no good consequence that therefore his predictions comprised vndoubted euents. Naie rather, sith in this pseudoprophet or false foreteller of afterclaps, these necessarie concurrents (namelie, An hermit named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as some writers haue. *See M. Fox, tome first, pag.* 331.

Si sensus atq; affectus compresserit omnes,
Si spernens prorsus mortalia gaudia, sese
Abdicet a curis terrenis, assiduóq;
Conetur studio ad superos extollere mentem,
Tunc etenim sapiens fiet, poterítq; futura
Cernere, vel vigilans vel somno oppressus inerti,
Hoc pacto cecinêre olim ventura prophetæ)

were wanting, and that he was contrarilie qualified to that which this heptastichon comprehendeth, necessarilie it foloweth, that he was not as he was taken, but rather a deluder of the people, and an instrument of satan raised vp for the inlargement of his kingdome: as the sequele of this discourse importeth. This Peter about the first of Januarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beléeued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corf, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king John, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castell, vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his sonne. The heremit and his sonne hanged.

The people much blamed king John, for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king John had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indéed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which mooued king John the sooner to agrée with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow

grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yéeld the sooner. But to the matter againe.

King John (after his capteins in Flanders had sped so well as before yee haue heard) prepared to make a voiage into Guien, not much regarding the matter, in that the realme stood as yet interdicted. But when he vnderstood by his lords, that they would not go with him except the interdicting might first be released, and he clearlie absolued of the popes cursse, to the end that Gods wrath and the popes being fullie pacified towards him, he might with better speed mooue and mainteine the warres, he was constreined to change his purpose, and so comming to Winchester, dispatched foorth a messenger with letters, signed with the hands of foure and twentie earles and barons, to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Hereford, as then soiourning in France, requiring them with all the other banished men to returne into England, promising them by his letters patents, not onelie a sure safeconduct for their comming ouer, but that he would also forget all passed displeasures, and frankelie restore vnto euerie man all that by his means had béene wrongfullie taken from them, and as yet by him deteined.

King John writeth to the archbishop & the other bishops to returne.

The archbishop and the other bishops receiuing the kings letters, with all speed made hast to come into England, and so arriuing at Douer the sixtéenth day of Julie, with other the banished men, they went to Winchester, where the king yet remained, who hearing that the bishops were come, went foorth to receiue them, and at his first méeting with the archbishop of Canturburie, he knéeled downe at his feet, and besought him of forgiuenesse, and that it would please him and the other bishops also to prouide for the relééfe of the miserable state of the realme. Herewith the water standing in diuerse of their eies on both sides, they entred into the citie, the people greatlie reioising to behold the head of the commonwealth agrée at length with the members. This was in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1213.

The bishops doo returne.

They came to Winchester ye 20 of Julie.

The K. knéeleth to the archbishop.

King John required of the archbishop (hauing as then the popes power in his hands, because he was his legat,) to be absolued, promising vpon his solemne receiued oth, that he would (afore all things) defend the church and the order of priesthood from receiuing anie wrongs. Also, that he would restore the old lawes made by the ancient kings of England, and namelie those of S. Edward, which were almost extinguished and forgotten. And further, that he would make recompense to all men whom he had by anie meanes indamaged. This doone, he was absolued by the archbishop, & shortly after he sent his oratours to Rome, to intreat with the bishop to take awaie the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after also, the king sent his letters vnto all the shiriffes of the counties within the realme, commanding them to summon foure lawfull men of euerie towne belonging to the demeans of the crowne, to make their appearance at S. Albons, vpon the 4 daie of August, that they and other might make inquisition of the losses which euerie bishop had susteined, what had beene taken from them, and what ought to be restored to them as due for the same.

The king praieth to be absolued.

He is absolued.

A quest of inquirie.

The archbishop for that time taking his leaue of the king, went to Canturburie, where he restored the moonks to their abbie, and then tooke possession of his see, being the two and fortith archbishop that had ruled the same. In the meane time, the king repaired to Portesmouth, there so take the sea to saile ouer into Poictow, committing the rule of the realme vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peers, lord chéefe iustice, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to vse the counsell and aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie, in gouerning things touching the common-wealth. Herewith there came also to the king a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had spent in staieng for him, and his going ouer sea all their monie, so that he must now needs giue them wages, if he would haue them to passe ouer with him into France. The which when he refused to doo, he was constreined to take the water with his owne seruants, arriuing about a thrée daies after at the Ile of Jersey: but perceiuing that none of his lords followed

The archbishop taketh possession of his see.

The lords refuse to follow the king into France.

lowed him according to his commandement, as one disappointed of aid, he returned backe againe into England, there to take further order for this their misdemeanour.

Whilest these things were thus in dooing, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and the bishop of Winchester were come to S. Albons, togither with the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and peeres of the realme, where the kings peace being proclaimed to all men it was on his behalfe streitlie commanded, that the lawes of K. Henrie his grandfather should be obserued vniuersallie within his realme, and that all vniust lawes and ordinances should be abrogated. It was also commanded, that no shiriffe, nor forrester, nor other minister of the kings, should vpon paine of life and linme, take violentlie anie thing of any man by waie of extortion, nor presume wrong anie man, or to fine anie man, as they had afore time béene accustomed to doo. King Henrie the first his lawes.

After this, the king being come backe from his iournie, which he purposed to haue made into Poictow, assembled an armie, and ment to haue gone against those lords which had refused to go with him, but the archbishop of Canturburie comming to him at Northampton, sought to appease his mood, and to cause him to staie, but yet in his furious rage he went forward till he came to Notingham, and there with much adoo, the archbishop following him with threatning to excommunicate all those that should aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprise. The archbishop menaceth to excommunicate those ye assist the king.

Then the archbishop (about the fiue and twentith day of August) came to London, there to take aduise for the reformation of things touching the good gouernement of the common-wealth. But here whilest the archbishop, with other péeres of the realme deuised orders verie necessarie (as was thought) for the state of the common-wealth, the king doubting least the same should be a bridle for him to restreine his authoritie roiall from dooing things to his pleasure, he began to find fault, and séemed as though he had repented himselfe of his large promises made for his reconciliation: but the archbishop of Canturburie so asswaged his mood, and persuaded him, by opening vnto him what danger would insue both to him and to his realme, if he went from the agreement, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble.

In this hurlie burlie also the lords and péeres of the realme (by the setting on of the archbishop) were earnestlie bent to haue the king to restore and confirme the grant which his grandfather king Henrie the first had by his charter granted and confirmed to his subiects, which to doo, king John thought greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall estate and dignitie. The earle of Tholouse hauing lost all his possessions, the citie of Tholouse onelie excepted, came ouer into England, & rendred the said citie into the hands of king John, and receiued at his departure, the summe of ten thousand marks as was reported, by the bountifull gift of king John. *Ex Cog.* The earle of Tholouse.

Vpon the second of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex and lord cheefe iustice of England departed this life, a man of great power and authoritie, in whose politike direction and gouernement, the order of things perteining to the common-wealth chéefelie consisted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in possessions, and ioined in blood or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, so that his death was no small losse to the commonwelth: for through him and the archbishop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from such wilfull purposes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practise, in so much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) séemed to reioise for his death, bicause he might now worke his will without anie to controll him. *Matth. Paris.* Geffrey Fitz Peers or Fitz Peter departeth this life.

The same time, to wit, about the feast of saint Michaell, came Nicholas the cardinall of Tusculane into England, sent from the pope, to take awaie the interdiction, if the king would stand to that agreement which he had made and promised by his oth to performe. King John receiued this cardinall in most honorable wise, and gladlie heard him in all things that he had to saie. This legat at his comming to Westminster, deposed the abbat of that place, named William from his roome, for that he was accused both of wasting A cardinall sent into England.

the reuenues of the house, and also of notable incontinencie. Moreouer the burgesses of the towne of Oxford came vnto him to obteine absolution of their offense, in that through their presumption, the three schollers (of whom ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the great terror of all the residue. To be short, they were absolued and penance inioined them, that they should strip them out of their apparell at euerie church in the towne, and going barefooted with scourges in their hands, they should require the benefit of absolution of euerie parish preest within their towne, saieng the psalme of Miserere.

The burgesses of Oxford require absolution.

A cõuocation called by the cardinall.

After this, the said cardinall called a councell or conuocation of the cleargie, to reforme such things touching the state of the church as should be thought requisite. And though he handled not this matter with such fauour and vprightnesse as the bishops wished on their behalfes, yet he caused king John to restore the most part of all those goods that remained vnspent, and also the value of halfe of those that were consumed and made awaie, vnto those persons as well spirituall as temporall, from whom they had béene taken in time of the discord betwixt him and the pope. But before all things could be thus quieted and set in order betwixt the king and the bishops, manie méetings were had, as at London, Reading, Wallingford and in other places.

Now the archbishop and prelates for their parts thought this recompense to be but small, in respect of the great losses and hinderances which they had susteined: and to haue the whole restitution delaied, they tooke it not well. Howbeit the cardinall leaned so to the kings side (hauing receiued of him to the popes vse the charter of subiection of the realmes of England and Ireland, now bulled with gold, where at the first it was deliuered to Pandulph sealed onelie with wax. But their suit came to little effect, and in the end it fell out in such wise, that their complaint was lesse regarded. Moreouer, the rating of the value which the king should restore vnto the archbishop, and the other bishops, was by agréement of the king and them togither, appointed vnto foure barons indifferentlie chosen betwixt them.

Restitution to be made to the bishops.

At length notwithstanding that deuise took no place: for it was otherwise decréed by the pope, that the king should restore to them the summe of fortie thousand marks, of the which he had paid alreadie twelue thousand, before the returne of the said archbishop and bishops into the realme, and fifteene thousand more at the late meeting had betwixt them at Reading, so that there remained onelie 13000 behind: for not onelie the king, but also the cardinall had sent to the pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertise him, that there was a great fault in the archbishop and his fellowes.

King John commended to the pope for an humble prince.

In so much that Pandulph which was sent to him from the legat, declared in fauour of the king, that there was not a more humble and modest prince to be found than king John, and that the archbishop and his fellowes were too hard, and shewed themselues too couetous in requiring the restitution that should be made to them for losses susteined in time of the interdiction.

Now the cause wherefore the legat and the king did send vnto the pope, was this. There was some grudge betwixt the legat and the archbishop, for that where the pope had written to the legat, how he should (according to the order of the ancient canons of the church) place in euerie bishops sée and abbeie (that was void) méet and able persons to rule and guide the same, the legat presuming on that authoritie granted him by the pope, without the aduise of the archbishop or other bishops, tooke onelie with him certeine of the kings chapleins, and comming with them to such churches as were vacant, ordeined in them such persons as were nothing méet to take such charge vpon them, and that according to the old abuse of England, as Matthew Paris saith. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie repining at such doings, sent to the legat as then being at Burton vpon Trent, two of his chapleins from Dunstable (where he and his suffragans held as then a synod, after the feast of the Epiphanie) commanding him by waie of appeale,

Matth. Paris. The presumption of the cardinall.

1214.

Burton vpon Trent. Dunstable. A Synod.

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in no wise to meddle with instituting any gouernours to churches, within the precinct of his iurisdiction, where such institutions belonged onelie to him.

Discord betwixt the cardinall and the archbishop of Canturburie.

Herevpon therefore the legat dispatched Pandulph to Rome vnto the pope as is aforesaid, and the king likewise sent ambassadors thither, as the bishop of Norwich, and the archdeacon of Northumberland, with others, the which in the end so behaued themselues in their suit, that notwithstanding Simon Langton the archbishops brother earnestlie withstood them, as proctor for the bishops, yet at length, the pope tooke order in the matter, writing vnto his legat, that he should sée the same fulfilled, and then absolue the realme of the former interdiction. In this meane time, king John made prouision to go ouer into France (as after yee shall heare) but at his going ouer he committed the whole ordering of this matter vnto the legat, and to William Marshall the earle of Penbroke. The legat therefore vpon the receipt of the popes bulles, called a councell at London, and there declaring what was conteined in the same, he tooke bands for paiment of the residue of the fortie thousand marks which was behind, being 13000 onelie, as before I haue said.

Walter Gray bishop of Worcester is remooued to the sée of Yorke.

About the same time also, Walter Gray bishop of Worcester was remooued to the gouernement of the sée of Yorke, which had béen vacant euer since the death of the archbishop Geffrey. This Walter was the three & thirtith bishop that gouerned that sée. But now to returne and speake of the kings affaires in the parts beyond the sea. Ye shall vnderstand, that hauing set his businesse in some good staie at home with the legat, he applied his studie to the performance of his wars abroad, and therefore he first sent monie into Flanders to paie the souldiers wages, which he had sent thither to aid the erle there against king Philip. Which earle came ouer this yeare into England, and at Canturburie the king receiued him where he did homage to the king for the whole earledome of Flanders: and on the other part, the king as well to the said earle, as to such lords and bishops which came ouer with him, declared his roiall liberalitie by princelie gifts of gold, siluer, iewels, and pretious stones. After his returne, such capteins as remained in his countrie with their bands at the king of Englands paie, made a iournie into France, and wasted the lands that belonged to the earle of Guisnes, wanne the castell of Bruncham, and raced it, taking within it diuerse men of armes and demilances. They also wanne by siege the towne of Aire, and burnt it. The castell of Liens they tooke by assault, and slue manie souldiers that defended it, beside those which they tooke prisoners.

Monie sent into Flanders.

Rafe Cog. The earle of Flanders doth homage to K. John.

Matth. Paris. The lands of ye erle of Guisnes wasted.

Moreouer, they wasted and destroied the lands which Lewes the French kings sonne was possessed of in those parts. In the meane time, king John hauing prepared a mightie nauie, and a strong armie of valiant soldiers, tooke sea at Portsmouth on Candlemas day, with his wife, his sonne Richard, & Elianor the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine. He had not many of his earles or barons with him, but a great number of knights and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Rochell in safetie, within a few daies after his setting foorth. He tooke ouer with him inestimable treasure, as it was reported, in gold, siluer, and iewels. Immediatlie vpon his arriuall at Rochell, the barons of Poictow reuolted from the French king, and comming in to king John, did homage vnto him, as to their king and souereigne lord.

But howsoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had granted vnto the earls of Marsh and Augi, on the friday before Whitsunday he came with his armie before the castell of Meireuent, which belonged vnto Geffrey de Lucignam, and on the day next insuing, being Whitsun écue, he wanne the same. On Whitsunday he laid siege vnto Nouant, an other castell belonging to the same Geffrey, who as then was lodged in the same, and also two of his sonnes: but within thrée daies after that the siege was laid, the earle of Marsh came to king John, and did so much preuaile, that through his means, both Geffrey and his two sonnes were receiued to mercie, and king John put in possession of the castell. After this, bicause king John was aduertised, that Lewes the

An. Reg. 16. Meireuent. Geffrey de Lucignam. Nouant.

Mountcounter. Parthenay. French kings sonne had now besieged Mountcounter, a castell that was apperteining to the said Geffrey, he hasted thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to him, as well the foresaid earle of Marsh, as also the earle of Augi, and both they togither with the said Geffrey de Lucignam, did homage to our king, and so became his liege men.

Jane the daughter of king John married to the erle of Marsh. The same time also, the ladie Jane the kings daughter was affianced to the said earle of Marsh his sonne, whereas the French king made means to haue hir married to his sonne: but bicause king John doubted least that suit was attempted but vnder some cloked pretense, he would giue no eare thereto, but rather made this match with the earle of Marsh, in hope so to assure himselfe of the said earle, that he might stand him in no small steed to defend his cause against his aduersaries of France. But now to the doings in England.

¶ Ye haue heard before how pope Innocent (or rather Nocent, who was the root of much mischiefe and trouble, which qualities are nothing consonant to his name) according to that king John had required of him by solemne messengers, directed his bulles vnto his legat Nicholas, declaring vpon what conditions his pleasure was to haue the sentence of interdiction released. Wherein first he commanded that the king should satisfie and pay so much monie vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London and Elie, as should fullie amount to the summe of 40 thousand markes (with that which alreadie he had paied, which was 27 thousand markes, at two seueral paiments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and paiment to be made of the residue, he ordeined that the king should be sworne, and also seale to an obligation, and certeine suerties with him (as the bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with the earles of Chester, Winchester and Marshall) all which things were performed at this present, so that after the assurance so taken for paiment of the od 13 thousand marks behind, residue of the 40 thousand marks, the interdiction was taken vtterlie awaie, and the land solemnelie released by the legat, sitting within the cathedrall church of S. Paule at London, vpon the 29 of June, in the yeare 1214, after the terme of six yeares, three moneths, and 14 daies, that the realme had been striken with that dreadfull dart of correction, as it was then esteemed.

The interdiction released.

King John in the meane time remaining still in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauourable inough vnto him, by reason his power was much increased by the aid of the Poictouins, determined to attempt the winning of Britaine, for this cause speciallie, that he might by so dooing weaken the French kings power, and partlie also to withdraw him from the wars of Flanders, on which side he had procured likewise the French borders to be inuaded with great force, and that not onelie by the earle and such captains as he had sent thither, and reteined in wages, but also by the emperour Otho, who in proper person came downe into that countrie himselfe.

The emperor Otho

K. John inuadeth Britaine. Herevpon king John went foorth with all his power of horssemen, and entering into Britaine, made rodes through the countrie, wasting the same euen to the walles of Naunts: but shortlie after the Britaines assembled togither, vnder the leading of Peter, the son of Robert earle of Drieux (the French kings vncle, who had maried the ladie Adela, daughter to duke Guie of Britaine) and marching foorth into the field to defend their countrie from the enimies, came to ioine with them in battell. At the first there was a verie sharp incounter, but at length the Britains being vanquished and put to flight, a great number of them were taken prisoners, and amongst other their captains, the foresaid Peter was one, whom king John sent awaie with all the rest vnto Angiers, to be kept in safegard vntill he should returne.

The Britaines put to flight. Peter the erle of Drieux his sonne taken prisoner.

The French kings sonne came to fight with king John. After this, he besieged a castell that stood vpon the banke of the riuer of Loir, called La Roch au moyne, inforcing his whole indeuour to haue woone it. But yet he could atteine his purpose, he was aduertised that Lewes the sonne of king Philip was comming towards him with a great power to raise his siege. Wherefore hauing no great confidence in the Poictouins, and vnderstanding that Lewes brought with him a verie strong armie,

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he tooke aduise of his councell, who iudged that it should be best for him to breake vp his siege and to depart, which he did, and went streight waies to Angiers. Lewes (after king John was thus retired) brought the Poictouins againe to subiection, and put the chief authours of the rebellion to death. In the meane time also his father king Philip with like successe, but in a foughten field, vanquished the emperour Otho at the bridge of Bouins on the 28 day of Julie, as in the historie of France more at large appeare. There among other prisoners, the three earles of Flanders, Salisburie, and Bullogne were taken.

K. John remoueth to Angiers.
The Peictouins subdued by the Frech.
The battell at the bridge of Bouins.

Now king John being aduertised of that ouerthrow, was maruellouslie sad and sorrowfull for the chance, in so much that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow into rage, he openlie said, that "since the time that he made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with him." Indeed he condescended to an agréement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather dissembled with the pope (sith he could not otherwise choose) than agreed to the couenants with any hartie affection.

The saieng of king John.

But to the purpose. Perceiuing himself now destitute of his best frends, of whom diuerse remained prisoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agrée with king Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce, which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, and to begin at Easter in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appease certeine tumults which began alreadie to shoot out buds of some new ciuill dissention. And suerlie the same spred abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouision could be hindered. For the people being set on by diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding themselues grieued that the king kept not promise in restoring the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determined from thencefoorth to vse force, since by request he might not preuaile. To appease this furie of the people, not onelie policie but power also was required, for the people vndertaking an euill enterprise, speciallie raising a tumult or ioining in a conspiracie are as hardlie suppressed and vanquished as Hydra the monster hauing manie heads: and therefore it is well said, that

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England and France.

——— comes est discordia vulgi,
Námque à turbando nomen sibi turba recepit.

The Nobles supposing that longer delaie therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselues togither at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doo their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there inshrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners, alledging how they were oftentimes called foorth to serue in the wars & to fight in defense of the realme, and yet notwithstanding were still oppressed at home by the kings officers, who (vpon confidence of the lawes) attempted all things whatsoeuer they conceiued. And if anie man complained, or alledged that he receiued wrong at their hands, they would answer by and by, that they had law on their side to doo as they had doone, so that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therfore if they that were the lords and péeres of the realme were men, it stood them vpon to prouide that such inconueniencies might be auoided, and better lawes brought in vse, by the which their ancestours liued in a more quiet and happie state.

A cloked pilgrimage.

There was brought foorth and also read an ancient charter made sometime by Henrie the first (which charter Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie had deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London) conteining the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confessor, profitable to the church and barons of the realme, which they purposed to haue vniuersallie executed ouer all the land. And therefore being thus assembled in the quéers of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued

The charter of K. Henrie the first.
A firebrand of dissention.

&c.

a solemne oth vpon the alter there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thencefoorth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yéeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable.

Bernewell. The cheefe cause that mooued the lords to this conspiracie, rose by reason the king demanded escuage of them that refused to go with him into Poictow: and they on the other part mainteined, that they were not bound to paie it, for any warres which the king made in the parts beyond the seas. But he to prooue that he ought to haue it, declared how in his fathers and brothers time it was paied, and therefore he ought to haue it. Much adoo there was about this matter at the first brocking thereof, and more adoo there had beene, if the legats presence had not somewhat staied the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of king Henrie the first at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, they made such a sinister interpretation thereof, that supposing it to serue their turnes, they procéeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

Finallie it was determined amongst them, that shortlie after Christmasse, they should go to the king, and require of him that they might haue those laws restored, which he had promised to them (as is aforesaid.) But forasmuch as they knew well that their sute would not be thankfullie accepted, in the meane time they prouided themselues of horsse, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readinesse and safegard, if in exhibiting their request, the matter did grow to any such inforcement. They appointed also diuerse of the most ancient lords to mooue the said matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worcester, and being aduertised of this conspi-
1215. racie, as soone as the feast of Christmasse was past, he went streight to London: thither
Matt. Paris. Polydor. came the lords also with like spéed, leauing their men in the townes and villages abroad, to be readie vpon any sudden warning to come vnto them, if néed should so require.

The lords present their request to the king. Being come into his presence, they required of him that it might please him, first, to appoint the exercise and vse of those ancient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of England in times past ruled their subiects: secondlie, that according to his promise, he would abrogate those newer lawes, which euerie man might with good cause name méere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdlie they required of him the performance of all other things, which he had most faithfullie of late vndertaken to obserue. The king (though somewhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their request, gaue them a verie gentle answer. For perceiuing them readie with force to constreine him, if by gentlenesse they might not preuaile, he thought it should be more safe and easie for him to turne their vnquiet minds with soft remedies than to go about to breake them of their willes by
The K. promiseth to consider of their requests. strong hand, which is a thing verie dangerous, especiallie where both parts are of like force. Therefore he promised them within a few daies, to haue consideration of their request.

And to the intent they might giue the more credit to his words, he caused the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, with William Marshall earle of Penbroke (vnto whom he had giuen his daughter Elianor in marriage) to vndertake for him, and as it were to become his suerties; which willinglie they did. Herewith the minds of the
Matth. Paris. Nobilitie being somewhat pacified, returned home to their houses. The king soon after
The king demandeth a new oth of allegiance of his subiects. also, to assure himselfe the more effectuallie of the allegiance of his people in time to come, caused euerie man to renew his homage, and to take a new oth to be faithfull to him against all other persons. And to prouide the more suerlie for himselfe, on Candle-
The king taketh on him the crosse. masse day next insuing, he tooke vpon him the crosse to go into the holie land, which I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was also thought by other, to the end that he might (vnder the protection thereof) remaine the more out of danger of such as were his foes. In which point of dissimulation he shewed himselfe prudent, observing the counsell of the wiseman,

—inclusum

——— inclusum corde dolorem
Dissimula atq; tace, ne deteriora subinde
Damna feras.

¶ Some say that a great part of this variance that chanced betwéene king John and his barons, was bicause the king would without skilfull aduise haue exiled the erle of Chester, and for none other occasion than for that he had oftentimes aduised him to leaue his cruell dealing, and also his accustomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others. Other write that the same dissention rose by reason of the great crueltie, and vnreasonable auarice, which the king vsed towards all the states and degrées of his subiects, as well towards them of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie. The prelats therefore of the realme sore repining at his doings, for that they could not patientlie suffer such exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they toke it to the libertie of the church) found means through practise, to persuade both the kings of Scotland and France to aid and support them against him, by linking themselues togither with sundrie noblemen of England. But these séeme to be coniectures of such writers as were euill affected towards the kings cause.

The causes of the discord betwixt the king and his barons. *Fabian.* *Caxton.* The earle of Chester. *Hector Boet.* The kings couetousnesse. The repining of the cleargie against the K.

Now therefore to the sequele of the matter. The king hauing sent awaie the barons with a gentle answer, though he minded nothing less than to satisfie them in that they did demand, bicause it made much against his roiall prerogatiue: and therewith foreseeing that the matter would be like to grow at length to be tried by force, he began to dout his owne estate, and therefore prepared an armie, and fortified diuerse castels and places with men, munition, and vittels, into the which he might retire for his safetie in any time of need. The barons which vnderstood the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie also their power, appointing for their generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in counsell, and valiant in warre. Herewith they came vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, presenting vnto him a booke, wherein was conteined a note of all the articles of their petitions, & required him to vnderstand the kings mind touching the same. The archbishop coueting to extinguish the sedition (whereof he himselfe had beene no small kindler) which was like to grow, if the Nobilitie were not pacified the sooner, talked with the king, and exhorted his grace verie instantlie to satisfie the requests of his barons, and herewith did shew the booke of the articles which they had deliuered vnto him.

Polydor. Robert Fitz Walter. The archb. of Canturburie mooueth the K. to satisfie the requests of the barons.

The king, when he saw what they demanded (which in effect was a new order in things touching the whole state of the common wealth) sware in a great furie, that he would neuer condescend vnto those petitions. Whereof when the barons had knowledge, they gat them strait vnto armour, making their assemblie at Stamford in the Easter weeke, whither they had drawne vnto them almost the whole Nobilitie, and gathered an exceeding great armie. For the commons flocked vnto them from euerie part, bicause the king was generallie hated of the more part of his subiects.

The king refuseth to grant their petitions. *Matt. Paris.*

It was coniectured that there were in that armie the number of two thousand knights, besides yeomen on horssebacke or demilances (as I may call them) and footemen apparelled in diuerse sorts of armour. The cheefe ringleaders of this power were these, whose names insue: Robert Fitz Walter, Eustace Vescie, Richard Percie, Robert Roos, Peter de Breuse, Nicholas de Stuteuill, Saer earle of Winchester, Robert erle of Clare, Henrie earle of Clare, Richard earle de Bigot, William de Mowbray, William de Cressey, Ralfe Fitz Robert, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, Will. Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simon de Kime, William Marshall the yoonger, William Manduit, Robert de Montibigonis, John Fitz Robert, John Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, O. Fitz Alane, W. de Hobrug, O. de Uales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Brakesley, Robert de Mountfichet, Will. de Lanualley, G. de Maundeuile earle of Essex, William his brother, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Gresley, G. constable of Menton, Alexander de Panton, Peter Fitz John, Alexander de Sutton, Osbert de Bodie, John constable of Chester, Thomas de Muleton, Conan Fitz Helie,

The names of the lords that banded themselues against the king.

Helie, and manie other; they had also of councell with them as chiefe the archbishop of Canturburie.

An. Reg. 17. *Matth. Paris.* The king sendeth to the lords.

The king as then was at Oxford, who hearing of the assemblie which the barons made, and that they were come to Brakesley, on the mondaie next after the octaues of Easter, he sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, in whom he reposed great confidence, and William Marshall earle of Penbroke, to vnderstand what they meant by that their assembling thus togither. Wherevpon they deliuered to the same messengers a roll conteining the ancient liberties, priuiledges and customs of the realme, signifieng that if the king would not confirme the same, they would not cease to make him warre, till he should satisfie their requests in that behalfe.

The archbishop and the earle returning to the king, shewed him the whole circumstance of that which the barons demanded, who tooke great indignation thereat, and scornefullie said; "Why do they not aske to haue the kingdome also?" Finallie, he affirmed with an oth, "that he would neuer grant anie such liberties, whereby he should become a slaue." Herevpon the archbishop and the earle of Penbroke returned to the barons, and declared the kings deniall to confirme their articles. Then the barons naming their hoast The armie of God and the holie church, set forward, and first came vnto Northampton, and besieging the towne, when they could not preuaile, bicause the same was well prouided for defense aforehand, they departed from thence, and came towards Bedford to besiege the castell there, in which Sir William Beauchampe was capteine, who being secretlie confederate with them deliuered the place incontinentlie into their hands.

The barons giue a plausible name to their armie.

Northampton besieged.

They wan the towne but not the castell.

Matth. West. Whilest they remained here a certeine time to fortifie and furnish the castell with necessary prouision, there came letters to them from London, giuing them to vnderstand that if they would send a conuenient power of souldiers to defend the citie, the same should be receiued thereinto at some meet and reasonable time in the night season by the citizens, who would ioine with them in that quarell against the king to the vttermost of their powers. The lords were glad of these newes, to haue the cheefe citie of the realme to take part with them, and therfore they sent foure bands of souldiers streightwaies thither, which were brought into the citie in the night season (according to order aforehand taken.) But as Matt. Paris saith, they were receiued into the citie by Algate, the 24 of Maie being sundaie, whilest the citizens were at masse. The next day they made open rebellion, tooke such as they knew fauoured the king, brake into the houses of the Jewes, & spoiled them.

Bedford castell deliuered to the barons.

Matth. Paris. The barons write to other of the nobilitie to ioine with them against the king.

The barons hauing thus gotten possession of the citie of London, wrote letters vnto all those lords which as yet had not ioined with them in this confederacie, threatning that if they refused to aid them now in this necessitie, they would destroie their castels, manours, parkes, and other possessions, making open warre vpon them as the enimies of God, and rebels to the church. These were the names of those lords which yet had not sworne to mainteine the foresaid liberties; William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Raiulfe earle of Chester, Nicholas earle of Salisburie, William earle Warren, William erle of Albemarle, H. earle of Cornewall, W. de Albenie, Robert de Veipount, Peter Fitz Herbert, Brian de Lisley, G. de Lucie, G. de Furniuall, Thomas Basset, H. de Braibrooke, I. de Bassingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornwall, John Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Neuill, Philip de Albenie, John Marshall, and William Brewer. All these vpon receipt of the barons letters, or the more part of them came to London, and ioined themselues with the barons, vtterlie renouncing to aid king John.

The king left desolate of frends.

Polydor. Also the plées in the eschequer ceased, and the shiriffes staied from executing their office. For there was none that would pale anie monie to the kings vse, nor anie that did obeie him, in somuch that there remained with him but onelie seuen horssemen of all his traine at one time (as some write) though soone after he had a great power, which came to him to the castell of Windsore, where he then laie, and meant to haue led the same against the lords with all spéed. But hearing now of this new rebellion of the

Londoners, he changed his purpose and durst not depart from Windsore, being brought in great doubt least all the other cities of the realme would follow their example. Herevpon he thought good to assaie if he might come to some agreement by waie of communication, and incontinentlie sent his ambassadours to the barons, promising them that he would satisfie their requests, if they would come to Windsore to talke with him.

Howbeit, the lords hauing no confidence in his promise came with their armie within thrée miles of Windsore, and their pitcht downe their tents in a medow betwixt Stanes and Windsore, whither king John also came the 15 daie of June, and shewed such friendlie countenance towards euerie one of them, that they were put in good hope he meant no deceipt. Being thus met, they fell in consultation about an agréement to be had. On the kings part (as it were) sate the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Bath, Worcester, Couentrie, Rochester, and Pandulph the popes Nuncio, with Almerike master of the knights templers: the earles of Penbroke, Salisburie, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Galoway, William Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Basset, Hugh de Neuill, Hubert de Burgh seneschall of Poictou, Robert de Ropley, John Marshall and Philip de Albenie. On the barons part, there were innumerable, for all the nobilitie of England was in a maner assembled there togither.

The lords incamped betwixt Stanes and Windsore.
K. John commeth to them to talk of some pacification.
Matth. Paris.

Finallie, when the king measuring his owne strength with the barons, perceiued that he was not able to resist them, he consented to subscribe and seale to such articles concerning the liberties demanded, in forme for the most part as is conteined in the two charters Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, beginning Iohannes Dei gratia, &c. And he did not onlie grant vnto them their petitions touching the forsaid liberties, but also to win him further credit, was contented that they should choose out certeine graue and honourable personages, which should haue authoritie and power to sée those things performed which he then granted vnto them.

Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta.

There were twentie fiue of those that were so elected, namelie these. The earles of Clare, Albemarle, Glocester, Winchester, and Hereford: also earle Roger, earle Robert, earle Marshall the yoonger, Robert Fitz Walter the yoonger, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescie, Hugh Bigot, William de Mowbray, the maior of London, Gilbert de la Vale, Robert de Roos, John constable of Chester, Richard de Percie, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geffrey de Saie, Roger de Mowbray, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Mountfichet, and William de Albenie. These fiue and twentie were sworne to sée the liberties granted and confirmed by the king to be in euerie point obserued, but if he went against the same, then they should haue authoritie to compell him to the obseruing of euerie of them.

Moreouer, there were other that were sworne to be obedient, and as it were assistant vnto these fiue and twentie péeres in such things as they should appoint, which were these. The earle of Arundell, the earle Warren by his attornie, Henrie Doilie, Hubert de Burgh, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pinknie, Roger Huscarle, Robert de Newburgh, Henrie de Pont Audoin, Rafe de la Hay, Henrie de Brentfield, Warren Fitz Gerald, Thomas Basset, William de Buckland, William de saint John, Alane Basset, Richard de Riuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jordain de Sackuille, Ralfe Musgraue, Richard Siflewast, Robert de Ropeley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunstable, Walter Folioth, Foulkes de Brent, John Marshall, Philip Daubnie, William de Perca, Ralfe de Normandie, William de Percie, William Agoilum, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirenton, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Barnard, and Godfrie de Grancombe. It was further ordered, that the chatelains or constables (as I may call them) of the foure castels of Northampton, Killingworth, Notingham, and Scarborow, should be sworne to the fiue and twentie péeres, to gouerne those castels in such wise as they should haue in commandement from the said fiue and twentie péeres, or from the greater part of them: and that such should be placed as chatelains in the same, as were thought to be most true and faithfull

The chatelains of foure castels.

vnto the barons and the realme. ¶ It was also decreed, that certeine strangers, as Flemings and other, should be banished out of England.

The king herevpon sent his letters patents vnto the shiriffes of all the counties of this realme, commanding them to see the ordinances and liberties which he granted and confirmed, to be diligentlie obserued. And for the more strengthening of this his grant, he had gotten the pope to confirme a like charter granted the yeare before. For the pope (sith king John was become his obedient vassall, and the apostolike king) easilie granted to gratifie both him and his lords herein, and so was the grant of the liberties corroborated & made good with a double confirmation, and so sealed, that it was impossible for them to be separated in sunder, the kings grant being annexed to the popes bull.

Immediatlie also vpon the confirmation now made by the king, diuerse lords came to him, and required restitution of such possessions, lands, and houses, as he had in his hands, the right whereof (as they alledged) apperteined to them: but he excused the matter, and shifted them off, till by inquest taken, it might appeare what right euerie man had to those things which they then claimed: and furthermore assigned them a daie to be holden at Westminster, which was the sixtéenth day of Julie. But yer he restored at that time the castell of Rochester vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, the barons hauing obteined a great peece of their purpose (as they thought) returned to London with their charter sealed, the date whereof was this: Giuen by our owne hand, in the medow called Kuningsmede or Rimemede, betwixt Stanes and Windsore, the fifteenth of Iune, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

Rochester castell restored to the archb. of Canturburie.

Great reioising was made for this conclusion of peace betwixt the king and his barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, and mollified it, whereby happie daies were come for the realme of England, as though it had béene deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt: but they were much deceiued, for the king hauing condescended to make such grant of liberties, farre contrarie to his mind, was right sorowfull in his heart, cursed his mother that bare him, the houre that he was borne, and the paps that gaue him sucke, wishing that he had receiued death by violence of sword or knife, in stéed of naturall norishment: he whetted his teeth, he did bite now on one staffe, and now on an other as he walked, and oft brake the same in péeces when he had doone, and with such disordered behauiour and furious gestures he vttered his gréefe, in such sort that the Noble men verie well perceiued the inclination of his inward affection concerning these things, before the breaking vp of the councell, and therefore sore lamented the state of the realme, gessing what would follow of his impatiencie and displesant taking of the matter.

Matt. Paris.

The kings impatiencie to sée himselfe bridled by his subiects.

Herevpon they said among themselues, " Wo be to vs, yea rather to the whole realme that wanteth a sufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that séeketh the subuersion therof. Now hath our souereigne lord made vs subiect to Rome, and to the Romish court, so that we must hencefoorth obteine our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, least we doo féele hereafter some further peece of mischéefe to light vpon vs suddenlie. We neuer heard of any king that would not gladlie indeuor to withdraw his necke from bondage & captiuitie, but ours of his owne accord voluntarilie submitteth himselfe to become vassall to euerie stranger." And thus the lords lamenting the case, left the king, and returned to London (as before yee haue heard.)

But the king disquieted not a little, for that he was thus driuen to yéeld so farre vnto the barons, notwithstanding as much as was possible he kept his purpose secret, deuised by what means he might disappoint all that had beene doone, and promised on his part, at this assemblie betwixt him and the lords a pacification (as yée haue heard.) Wherefore the next day verie late in the euening, he secretlie departed to Southampton, and so ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he tooke aduice with his councell what remedie he might find to quiet the minds of his lords and barons, and to bring them vnto his purpose. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduise of

The king departeth into the Ile of Wight.

of the greater part, that the king should require the popes aid therein. And so Walter the bishop of Worcester, & John the bishop of Norwich, with one Richard Marish his chancellor, with all speed were sent as ambassadors from the king vnto pope Innocent, to instruct him of the rebellion of the English Nobilitie, and that he constreined by force had granted them certeine lawes and priuileges hurtfull to his realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne. He sendeth ambassadors to the pope.

Moreouer, sith that all this was doone by the authoritie of the pope the king besought him to make the same void, and to command the barons to obeie him being their king, as reason required they should. There were also sent by him other messengers, as Hugh de Boues and others, into diuerse parts beyond the sea, to bring from thence great numbers of men of war and souldiers, appointing them to meet him at Douer, at the feast of saint Michaell next insuing. He sent likewise vnto all his chateleins and constables of castels within the realme, requiring them to prouide themselues of all things necessarie for defense of the holds committed to their charge, if they should chance to be besieged, though it were on the next morrow. Hugh de Boues. *Matth. Paris.*

His ambassadours and other messengers being thus dispatched, and hauing but few persons left about him, or in maner none, except such of the bishop of Norwich his seruants as he had borowed of him, he fell to take prises as any ships came by suspected not to be his frēends, so séeking to win the fauour of the mariners that belonged to the cinke ports, and so lay close in the Ile of Wight and there about the sea-coasts for the space of thrée moneths togither. In which meane time, manie things were reported of him, some calling him a fisher, some a merchant, and some a pirat and rouer. And manie (for that no certeine newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by some other means. But he still looking for some power to come ouer to his aid, kept himselfe out of the way, till the same should be arriued, and dissembled the conceit of his reuenge and hart grudge, till opportunitie serued him with conuenient securitie to put the same in execution. Wherein he shewed himselfe discréet and prouident, and did as in such a case one wiseman dooth counsell another, saieng,

———sapiens irámque coërcet,
Sæpè etiam vtiliter cedit, placidísque furentem
Demulcet dictis, & dulcibus allicit hostem
Blanditijs, donec deceptum in retia mittat.

The lords all this while lay at London, and began to doubt the matter, bicause they could heare no certeine newes where the king was become: for doubting (as I said) the suertie of his person, he conueied himselfe secretlie from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentimes more meanlie than was decent for his estate: and still he longed to heare how his amdassadours sped with the pope, who in the meane time comming vnto Rome, and declaring their message at full, tooke it vpon their solemne oth, that the right was on the kings side, and that the fault rested onelie on the lords, touching the whole controuersie betweene them and him, who sought with great rigour and against reason to bridle him at their pleasures. *Polydor.* The ambassadours cōming to the popes presence declare their message.

They shewed also a note of certeine articles conteined in the charter, which seemed to make most for the kings purpose, and withall declared that the king in open assemblie, where he and the barons met to talke of such matters, had protested that the kingdome of England speciallie apperteined (as touching the souereingtie) vnto the church of Rome, whervpon he neither could nor ought without knowledge of the pope to ordeine anie thing anew, or change ought within that kingdome in preiudice thereof. Wherefore whereas he put himselfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the apostolike sée: the barons yet without regard had to the same appeale, did seize into their possession the citie of London, and getting them to armour, inforced the king to confirme such vnreasonable articles, as there appeared for him to consider. *Matth. Paris.*

The

The popes answer vnto the kings ambassadours.

The pope hauing heard their tale, and considered of the articles, with bending browes (in witnesse of his indignation) made foorth with this short answer: " And is it so, that the barons of England doo go about to expell their king, which hath taken vpon him the crosse, and is remaining vnder the protection of the apostolike sée? And do they meane indéed to translate the dominion that belongeth to the church of Rome vnto another? By S. Peter we cannot suffer this iniurie to passe vnpunished." Herevpon (crediting the ambassadours words) by the aduice of his cardinals, he décreed that all those priuiledges, which the king had granted vnto the lords and barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, should be accounted void and of none effect. Also he wrote vnto the lords, admonishing them by his letters that they should obeie their king, vpon paine of his cursse if they should attempt anie thing that sounded to the contrarie.

Hect. Boetius. Cardinall Gualo.

¶ At the same time there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius saith) a cardinall named Gualo or Wallo, a verie couetous person, and such a one (as in that place some are neuer wanting) which for monie passed not what he did to further anie mans suit, without regard either to right or wrong, by whose chiefe trauell and means the pope was greatlie induced to fauour king Johns cause, and to iudge with him in preiudice of the lords purposes, as before is expressed.

Polydor. The ambassadours returne from the pope.

But to proceed. The ambassadours being dispatched, and hauing the popes prescript, and such other his letters with them as they had obteined of him, returned with all spéed into England vnto the king (who was come a litle before vnto Windsore castell) and there declared vnto him how they sped. K. John being ioifull in that they had brought the matter so well about for his purpose, caused the popes decree to be declared vnto the barons, commanding them streitlie to obeie the same. The barons taking the matter grieuouslie to be thus mocked, with great indignation both blamed king Johns vniust dealing, and the popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced against them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themselues. Wherevpon out of hand (notwithstanding the popes prohibition and prescript to the contrarie) they determined to trie their cause by dint of sword, and with all speed assembled their powers, which for the greater part they had latelie dismissed and sent home. They furnished the castell of Rochester with a strong garrison of men, and placed therein as capteine one William Albeney, a verie skilfull warriour.

The popes decrée is declared to the lords.

The barons will trie their quarel by dint of sword.

The K. sendeth eftsoons to the pope.

King John, after he vnderstood that the barons (contemning the popes decrée and inhibition) were more offended and bent against him than before, sent once againe to the pope, to aduertise him of their disobedience and great contumacie shewed in refusing to stand to his prescript. This doone, he returned to the Ile of Wight, and sailed from thence to Douer, where diuerse of those his commissaries which he had sent to hire soldiers in forren parts returned to him, bringing with them out of diuerse countries such a multitude of souldiers and armed men, that the onelie sight of them stroke the harts of all the beholders with great feare and terror. For out of the parties of Poictou and Gascoine, there came men of great nobilitie, and right worthie warriours, as Sauerie de Mauleon, Geffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile two brethren, hauing vnder them great numbers of good souldiers and tall men of warre. Also out of Brabant there came Walter Buc, Gerard de Sotignie, and one Godestall, with thrée legions of armed men and crossebowes. Likewise there came out of Flanders other capteins, with diuerse bands of souldiers, which Ferdinando earle of Flanders (latelie returned out of the French captiuitie) for old fréendships sake furnished and sent ouer to aid him against his subiects, according as he had requested.

The king returneth into the Ile of Wight. *Matt. Paris.* *Polydor.* The arriuall of forren souldiers to the kings aid. Sauerie de Mauleon.

Ferdinando erle of Flanders.

King John then hauing recouered strength about him, and being aduertised that William de Albenie was entred into the castell of Rochester with a great number of knights, men of armes and other souldiers, hasted thither with his whole armie, and besieged them within, inforcing himselfe by all waies possible to win the castell as well by battering the walles with engines, as by giuing thereto manie assaults: but the garison within (consisting of

Wil. de Albenie capteine of Rochester castell.

of nintie and foure knights beside demilances, and other souldiers) defended the place verie manfullie, in hope of rescue from the barons, which laie as then at London: but they comming forward one daies iournie vnto Dartford, when they heard that the king was comming forward in good araie of battell to meet them, vpon consideration had of their owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footmen, they returned backe againe to the citie, breaking that assured promise which they had made and also confirmed by their solemne oths, which was that if the castell should chance to be besieged, they would not faile but raise the siege. *Bernewell.*

King John besiegeth the castell of Rochester.

At length they within for want of vittels were constreined to yeeld it vp vnto the king, after it had béene besieged the space of three score daies: during which time they had beaten backe their enimies at suudry assaults, with great slaughter and losse. But the king hauing now got the possession of that hold, vpon greefe conceiued for the losse of so manie men, and also bicause he had line so long about it yer he could winne it, to his inestimable costs and charges, was determined to haue put them all to death that had kept it. But Sauerie de Mauleon aduised him otherwise, lest by such crueltie, the barons in any like case should be occasioned to vse the same extremitie towards such of his people, as by chance might fall into their hands. Thus the king spared the Nobles and gentlemen, sending William de Albenie, William de Lancaster, William de Emeford, Thomas de Muleton, Osbert Gifford, Osbert de Bobie, Odinell de Albenie, and diuerse other to the castell of Corfe, there to be kept as prisoners. But Robert Charnie, Richard Gifford, and Thomas de Lincolne were sent to Notingham, and so other were sent to other places. As for all the demilances or yeomen (if I shall so call them) and the arcubalisters which had slaine manie of his men during the siege (as Matthew Paris saith) the king caused them to be hanged, to put other in feare that should so obstinatlie resist him.

Rochester castell is yéelded to the king.

The counsell of Sauerie de Mauleon.

Arcubalisters those y^t beare crossebowes.

Neuerthelesse (as the booke that belonged to Bernewell abbie saith) there was not any of them hanged, sauing one arcubalister onelie, whome the king had brought vp of a child. But howsoeuer the king dealt with them after they were yéelded, true it is (as by the same booke it appeareth) there had beene no siege in those daies more earnestlie inforced, nor more obstinatlie defended: for after that all the limmes of the castell had béene reuersed and throwne downe, they kept the maister tower, till halfe thereof was also ouerthrowne, and after kept the other halfe, till through famine they were constreined to yéeld, hauing nothing but horsseflesh and water to susteine their liues withall. *Bernewell.*

Here is to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie thus at Rochester, Hugh de Boues a valiant knight, but full of pride and arrogancie, a Frenchman borne, but banished out of his countrie, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and souldiers to come to the aid of king John. But as he was vpon the sea with all his people, meaning to land at Douer, by a sudden tempest which rose at that instant, the said Hugh with all his companie was drowned by shipwracke. Soone after the bodie of the same Hugh with the carcases of other innumerable, both of men, women, and children, were found not farre from Yermouth, and all along that coast. There were of them in all fortie thousand, as saith Matthew Paris, for of all those which he brought with him, there was (as it is said) not one man left aliue.

Hugh de Boues drowned.

The king (as the fame went, but how true I know not) had giuen by charter vnto the said Hugh de Boues, the whole countrie of Northfolke, so that he ment to haue expelled the old inhabitants, and to haue peopled it with strangers. But whether this was so or not, sure it is that he was verie sorowfull for the losse of this succor and aid which thus perished in the seas, though it happened verie well for his subiects of England, that should haue béene sore oppressed by such multitude of strangers, which for the most part must néeds haue liued vpon the countrie, to the vtter vndooing of the inhabitants wheresoeuer they should haue come.

Héere is to be noted, that during the siege of Rochester (as some write) there came out of France to the number neere hand of seauen thousand men sent from the French king vnto *Rafe Cog.*

vnto the aid of the barons, at the suit of Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester and other ambassadours that were sent from the barons, during the time of this siege, although it should seeme by Matthew Paris, that the said earle was not sent till after the pope had excommunicated the barons (as after yée shall heare.) The Frenchmen that came ouer at this first time landed at Orwell, and at other hauens there neere adioining.

About this season, the canons of Yorke (bicause the archbishops sée there had remained void a long time) obteining licence of the king, assembled togither about the election of an archbishop. And though the king had once againe earnestlie mooued them to preferre Walter Graie bishop of Worcester, yet they refused so to doo, and therefore chose Simon de Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canturburie, which election was afterward made void by the earnest trauell of the king to the pope, bicause his brother the said archbishop of Canturburie was known to fauour the part of the barons against him, so that the said Walter Graie was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the sée of Yorke, according to the kings speciall desire in that behalfe.

Walter Graie elected archb. of Yorke.

About the same time also, pope Innocent being certified, how the barons of England would not obeie his prescript, iudged them enimies to the church and gaue commandement to Peter the bishop of Winchester, to the abbat of Reading, and to the subdeacon Pandulph, to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them. But they could not at the first execute the popes commandement herein, by reason that the archbishop of Canturburie, who fauoured the barons cause, would not permit them. Wherefore the same archbishop was interdicted out of the church, and from saieng diuine seruice, and also being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be depriued of his miter: had not certeine cardinals intreated for him, and obteined his pardon. The archbishop being gone to Rome, as well to excuse himselfe in this matter, as to be present at the generall councell there holden at that time (for he was readie to go take the sea thitherwards when the bishop of Winchester and Pandulph came to him with the popes letters) the said bishop of Winchester & Pandulph proceeded to the pronouncing of the excommunication against the barons, renewing the same euerie sundaie and holieday: albeit the barons (bicause none of them were expresselie named in the popes letters) made none account of the censure, reputing it as void, and not to concerne them in any manner of point. But now to returne to king John.

The archb. of Canturburie fauoureth the barons part.

Matth. Paris. The barons denounced accurssed by the popes commandement.

After he had woone the castell of Rochester (as before you haue heard) he hasted to S. Albons, and there diuided his armie into two parts, appointing the one to remaine about London, whilest he himselfe with the other might go into the north to waste and destroie the possessions of certeine lords there, which (as he was informed) went about to raise an armie against him. He made capteins of that armie which he left behind him, his brother William earle of Salisburie, Sauerie de Mauleon, Will. Brewer, Walter Buc, and othres. He himselfe departed from S. Albons about the 21 day of December, leading his said armie northwards: in which were chiefe capteins these that follow, William erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and John Marshall. Also of strangers, Gerard de Sotigam, and Godstall, with the Flemings, the crossebowes, and others.

K. John diuideth his armie in two parts.

Polydor. Matth. Paris.

The first night he laie at Dunstable, and from thence passing forwards towards Northampton, he destroied by the waie all the manours, places and houses, which belonged to the aduersaries, and so kept on his iournie till he came to Notingham, where he laie in the castell on Christmasse day, and in the morning (being S. Stephans day) he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, sending his summons in the morning to the castell of Beauer, willing them within to yeeld. This castell apperteined to William Albeney, who had committed the custodie thereof vnto his sonne Nicholas de Albeney préest, to sir William de Stodham, and to sir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keies of the castell, and surrendered the same vnto him, with condition that he should be good to their master the said William Albeney, and grant vnto them their horses and armour, wherwith they would remaine with him vnder his peace and protection. On the next

K. John goeth northward. *Matth. Paris.*

Notingham. 1216.

Beauer castle summoned to yéeld.

William de Albeney. Stodham. Charnelles.

next morrow (being S. Johns day) the king went to the castell, and receiuing the same, deliuered it to the kéeping of Geffrey Buteuile, and his brother Oliuer. The castell of Beauoir rendered to the king.

After this the castell of John Lacie at Dunnington was taken and laid flat to the ground, by commandement of the king, who hauing accomplished his will in those parties, drew towards Yorkeshire, and at his comming thither destroied the houses, townes and manours of those lords and gentlemen which were against him. It is horrible to heare, and loth-some to rehearse the crueltie which was practised by the souldiers and men of warre in places where they came, who counting no honour or renowme more excellent, nor glorie (as warriours say) Dunnington castell taken and raced. *Matth. Paris.*

Maior nulla quidem quàm bello parta videtur,
Horrida Mauortis tractare ferociter arma,
Hostilique suam temerare in sanguine dextram,

and therfore were wholie bent to spoile and ransacke the houses of the people without pitie or compassion, besides the robberies, spoiles and great outrages vsed by the souldiers generallie against the common people. Few there were in that countrie of great lineage or wealth, whom the king for their assembling themselues with the barons either spoiled not, or put not to execution. Thus with his armie (to the great desolation of the countrie) he passed foorth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that realme, tooke the castell of Bar-wike, and other places of strength in those parts, meaning to haue woone more from the Scots, if other vrgent businesse had not called him backe againe. This being doone, he committed the countrie which lieth betwixt the riuer of These, and the confines of Scot-land, to the keeping of Hugh de Balioll & Philip de Hulcotes, assigning to them such conuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the custodie of the castels in Yorkeshire he deliuered to Robert de Vepount, to Brian de Lisle, and to Geffrey de Lucie. K. John taketh ye castell of Barwike. Hugh de Balioll & Philip de Hulcotes. Robert de Vepount, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie.

Finallie, when he had so ordered things in the North parts as stood with his pleasure, so that there remained no more but two castels, that is to saie, Mountsorrell, and another in Yorkeshire that apperteined to Robert de Roos in possession of the barons, he returned by the borders of Wales into the south parts: and by all the way as he passed, he shewed great crueltie against his aduersaries, besieging and taking their castells and strong houses, of the which some he caused to be fortified with garrisons of souldiers to his owne vse, and some he raced. The like feats were wrought by the other armie in the parts about London: for William earle of Salisburie, and Foukes de Brent, with the other capteins which the king had left behind him there, perceiuing that the citie would not easilie be woone by anie siege, first furnished the castell of Windsore, Hertford, and Barkhamsted, with such strong garrisons of souldiers as might watch, vpon occasion giuen to assaile those that should either go into the citie, or come from thence: they marched foorth with the residue of the armie, and passing through the counties of Essex, and Hertford, Mid-dlesex, Cambridge, Huntington, they wasted the countries, and made the townes become tributaries to them. As for the houses, manour places, parkes, and other possessions of the barons, they wasted, spoiled and destroied them, running euen hard to the citie of London and setting fire in the suburbs. Mountsorell betwixt Leicester & Lugborough. The earle of Salisburie with his armie inuadeth the countries about London.

In this meane time, whilest the king went forwards on his iournie northwards, vpon the 18 of December last past, the castell of Hanslap was taken by Foukes de Brent, which apperteined vnto William Manduit. On the same day also was the castell of Tunbridge taken by the garrison of Rochester, which castell of Tunbridge belonged to the earle of Clare. Moreouer, the foresaid Foukes de Brent comming vnto Bedford, wan both the towne and castell: for they that had the castell in keeping, after 7 daies respit (which they obteined at the hands of the said Foukes) when rescue came not from the lord William Beauchampe their maister, they deliuered it vnto the said Foukes. Vnto whom K. John gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castells of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge. The castell of Hanslap. Tunbridge castell. Bedford take by Foukes de Brent. Will. Beauchampe. Castels deliuered to the kéeping of Foukes de Brent.

Foukes de Brent aduanced by marriage.

The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to hir belonged. Moreouer, to William earle of Albemarle the king deliuered the custodie of the castels of Rockingham, Sawey and Biham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the castell of Barkehamsted, and to Walter Godreuill seruant to Foukes de Brent, he betooke the kéeping of the castell of Hertford. Thus what on the one part, and what on the other, the barons lost in maner all their possessions from the south sea vnto the borders of Scotland, the king seizing the same into his hands, and committing them to the kéeping of strangers, and such other as he thought more trustie and conuenient. All this while the barons laie at London banketting and making merrie, without attempting anie exploit praise-worthie. But yet when they heard by certeine aduertisement, what hauocke and destruction was made of their houses & possessions abroad, they could not but lament their miseries, and amongst other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they sore blamed the pope, as a cheefe cause of all these euils, for that he mainteined and defended the king against them.

Rockingham, Sawey and Biham.

Barkhamsted.

Hertfort castell.

The barons accursed by name.

Indeed about the same time pope Innocent, who before at the instant suit of king John had excommunicated the barons in generall, did now excommunicate them by name, and in particular, as these. First all the citizens of London which were authors of the mischéefe that had happened by the rebellion of the said barons. Also Robert Fitz Walter, Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, R. his sonne, G. de Mandeuille, and W. his brother the earle of Clare, and G. his sonne, H. earle of Hereford, R. de Percie, G. de Vescie, J. conestable of Chester, W. de Mowbraie, Will. de Albenie, W. his sonne, P. de Breuse, R. de Cressey, J. his sonne, Ranulfe Fitz Robert, R. earle Bigot, H. his sonne, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Mountacute, W. Fitz Marshall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kime, R. de Montbigons, and Nicholas de Stuteuille, with diuerse other.

Ralfe Cog.

The armie which king John had left behind him in the south parts, vnder the leading of the earle of Salisburie and other, laie not idle, but scowring the countries abroad (as partlie yee haue heard) came to S. Edmundsburie, and hauing intelligence there, that diuerse knights, ladies and gentlewomen that were there before their comming, had fled out of that towne, and for their more safetie were withdrawne into the Ile of Elie, they followed them, besieged the Ile, and assailed it on ech side, so that although they within had fortified the passages, and appointed men of warre to remaine vpon the gard of the same in places where it was thought most néedfull; yet at length they entred vpon them by force, Walter Bucke with his Brabanders being the first that set foot within the Ile towards Herbie. For by reason the waters in the fenes and ditches were hard frosen, so that men might passe by the same into the said Ile, they found means to enter, and spoiled it frō side to side, togither with the cathedral church, carieng from thence at their departure a maruellous great prey of goods and cattell.

The Ile of Elie spoiled. *Polydor. Bernewell.*

The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischéefes all at one time, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to séeke for releefe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it should any thing auaile them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despaire they resolued with themselues to seeke for aid at the enimies hands, and therevpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales were sent vnto Lewes the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agréed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before

The lords send to the French kings sonne, offering to him the crowne.

before is said) Blanch daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, néece to king John by his sister Elianor.

Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the reime of England, which he neuer loued, promised willinglie that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient spéed (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certeine number of armed men, vnder the leading of the chatelaine of saint Omers and the chatelaine of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Eustace de Neuille, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beamont, Giles de Hersie, Biset de Fersie, and others, the which taking the sea, arriued with one and fortie ships in the Thames, and so came to London the seauen and twentith of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse. Moreouer the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by day appointed, with an armie redie to passe ouer with all spéed vnto their succours. French men sent ouer to the aid of the barons. The saturday after the Epiphanie, saith *Rafe Cog.*

The fridaie before Candlemasse day, Sauarie de Mauleon, and other capteines of the kings side, laid siege to the castell of Colchester, but hauing intelligence that the barons which laie at London made forward with all speed to come to succour that castell, on the Wednesday after Candlemasse day, being the third of Februarie, they raised their siege, and went backe towards S. Edmundsburie. *Rafe Cog.*

In the meane while, the K. being gone (as yee haue heard) to the borders of Scotland, a brute was raised that he was dead, and secretlie buried at Reading. But this rumour had not time to worke any great alteration, for after he had dispatched his businesse in the north, as he thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the east parts about the midst of Lent himselfe in person besieged the castell of Colchester, and within a few daies after his comming thither, it was deliuered vnto him by Frenchmen that kept it, with condition that they might depart with all their goods and armour, vnto their fellowes at London, and that the Englishmen there in companie with them in that castell, might likewise depart vpon reasonable ransoms.

But although that couenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Englishmen were staied and committed to prison. Wherevpon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treason for making such composition, whereby those Englishmen that were fellowes with them in arms were secluded from so beneficiall conditions as they had made for themselues. They were in danger to haue béene put to death for their euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they should remaine in prison till the comming of Lewes, vnto whose pleasure their cause should be referred.

After this the castell of Hidingham was woone, which belonged vnto earle Robert de Vere. Then the king prepared to besiege London, but the Londoners were of such courage, that they set open their gates, and hearing of the kings approach, made readie to issue forth to giue him battell: wherof the king being aduertised, withdrew backe, but Sauerie de Mauleon was suddenlie set vpon by the Londoners, lost manie of his men, and was sore hurt and wounded himselfe.

The king perceiuing that it would not preuaile him to attempt the winning of the citie at that time, drew alongst the coast, fortified his castels, and prepared a great nauie, meaning to encounter his enimie Lewes by sea: but through tempest the ships which he had got togither from Yarmouth, Dunwich Lin, and other hauens, were dispersed in sunder, and manie of them cast awaie by rage and violence of the outragious winds.

Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduersaries the Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifieng to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring furthermore the King John once againe sendeth to the pope.

said pope by his authoritie to cause Lewes to staie his iournie, and to succour those rebels in England which he had alreadie excommunicated. This he néeded not haue doone, had he beene indued with such prudence and prowesse as is requisit to be planted in one that beareth rule, of whom it is said,

Cui si quando Deus rerum permittat habenas,
Imperijq; decus, tunc aurea secula fiunt,
Tunc floret virtus, terrásque Astrea reuisit,
Pax viget, & vitium duris cohibetur habenis,

whereas by meanes of defects in the contrarie, he bare too low a saile, in that he would be so foolified as being a king, to suffer vsurped supremasie to be cafuer of his kingdome.

An. Reg. 18. Cardinall Gualo. *Matth. Paris.* The French kings allegations to the popes legat Gualo. *Matth. West.* *Matth. Paris.*

But let vs sée the consequence. The pope desirous to helpe king John all that he might (bicause he was now his vassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to disswade king Philip from taking anie enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king John was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now sithens as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not doo without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie depriued of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogatiue roiall, to the vttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith hè) if the pope doo meane to mainteine this errour, he shall giue a perilous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to anie other potentate, whereby the Nobles should become thrall or subiect to a forren gouernour. These things were doone at Lions in the quindene after Easter.

Lewes the Frech kings sonne maintaineth his pretended title to the crowne of England.

Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, disprouing not onelie the right which king John had to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the quéene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer hereunto, that "king John had taken vpon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enimies in the holie land, wherefore he ought by decrée of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in suertie vnder protection of the apostolike sée." But Lewes replied thereto, that king John had by warre first inuaded his castels and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castell and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the fée of the said Lewes.

The priuilege of those that tooke vpon them the crosse.

Matth. Paris.

But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iournie in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to séeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

The

The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his sute made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him foorth into England, obteining yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all meanes to preuent the legat, first dispatched foorth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to excuse himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie mooued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king John, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This doone, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace surnamed the moonke had gathered and prepared there readie against his comming.

The French kings sonne sendeth to the pope.

He commeth to Calice.

Lewes therefore foorthwith imbarking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iournie, tooke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and shortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe sware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had béene their true and naturall prince.

He taketh the sea.

He landeth in Kent.

The lords doo homage vnto him.

King John about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, bicause he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, bicause he knew that they hated the French men no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the kéeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king John was retired out of Kent, passed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the castels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Matth. Paris.

At his comming to Rochester, he laid siege to the castell there, and wan it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This doone, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet doone their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he tooke an oth to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vsed them so courteouslie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beléeued him with all their harts. But alas! Cur vincit opinio verum?

Rochester castell woone.

Lewes commeth to London.

The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie being once spred through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king John, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisburie, William Marshall the yoonger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancellour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, induced thereto, bicause Lewes had alreadie sent his procurators to Rome before his comming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarell.

Noblemen reuolting fro K. John vnto Lewes.

Simon Tagton chancellor to Lewes.

But this auailed them not, neither tooke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king John had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decrée nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being aduertised

Cardinall Gualo commeth ouer into England.

tised of the procéedings of Lewes in his iournie) with all diligence hasted ouer into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king John, then soiourning at Glocester, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued, for in him king John reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his comming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fautors and complices, but speciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the maner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Geruase de Hobrug deane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had alreadie appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they tooke as void.

The more part of the straungers depart from the seruice of K. John.

At the same time also, all the knights and men of warre of Flanders and other parts beyond the seas, which had serued the king, departed from him, the Poictouins onelie excepted: and part of them that thus went from him resorted vnto Lewes, and entred into his wages; but the residue repaired home into their own countries, so that Lewes being thus increased in power, departed from London, and marching towards Winchester, he

Castels woon by Lewes.

wan the castels of Rigat, Gilford, and Farnham. From thence he went to Winchester, where the citie was yéelded vnto him, with all the castels and holds thereabout, as Woluesey, Odiham, and Beaumere.

¶ Whilest the said Lewes was thus occupied in Sussex, about the subduing of that countrie vnto his obeisance, there was a yoong gentleman in those parts named William

William de Collingham a gentleman of Sussex.

de Collingham, being of a valorous mind, and loathing forren subiection, who would in no wise doo fealtie to Lewes, but assembling togither about the number of a thousand archers, kept himselfe within the woods and desert places, whereof that countrie is full, and so during all the time of this warre, shewed himselfe an enimie to the Frenchmen, slaieng no small numbers of them, as he tooke them at any aduantage. O worthie gentleman of English bloud! And O

Grandia quæ aggreditur fortis discrimina virtus!

In like manner, all the fortresses, townes, and castels in the south parts of the realme were subdued vnto the obeisance of Lewes (the castels of Douer and Windsore onelie excepted.) Within a little while after, Will. de Mandeuille, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a great power of men of warre, did the like vnto the coun-

Castels fortified by king John.

tries of Essex and Suffolke. In which season, king John fortified the castels of Wallingford, Corfe, Warham, Bristow, the Vies, and diuerse others with munition and vittels. About which time letters came also vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had sent to the pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertised, that notwithstanding all that they could doo or say, the pope meant to excommunicate him, and did but onelie staie till he had receiued some aduertisement from his legat Gualo.

The points wherewith king John was charged.

The chéefest points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators against king John were these, that by the murther committed in the person of his nephue Arthur, he had béene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the péeres of France, and that being summoned to appeare, he had obstinatelie refused so to doo, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but also the realme of England, which was now due vnto the said Lewes as they alledged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Elianor quéene of Spaine. But the pope refelled all such allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & seemed to defend king Johns cause verie pithilie: but namelie, in that he was vnder the protection of him as supreme lord of England: againe, for that he had taken vpon him the crosse (as before yée haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

About the feast of saint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose comming, the tower of London was yeelded vp to him by appointment, after which

The Frenchmen begin to shew themselues in their kind.

the French capteins and gentlemen, thinking themselues assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former

former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Asperius nihil est humili cùm surgit in altum) *Iuuen. sat. 9.*

they did manie excessiue outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the countrie, without pitie or mercie. Moreouer they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and tooke out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and siluer, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedie souldiers, being wholie giuen to the spoile.

But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Essex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserablie spoiled the townes and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauish manner. Furthermore, at his comming to Norwich, he found the castell void of defense, and so tooke it, without any resistance, and put into it a garison of his souldiers. Also he sent a power to the towne of Lin, which conquered the same, and tooke the citizens prisoners, causing them to paie great summes of monie for their ransoms. Moreouer, Thomas de Burgh, chateleine of the castell of Norwich, who vpon the approch of the Frenchmen to the citie, fled out in hope to escape, was taken prisoner, and put vnder safekéeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Burgh capteine of Douer castell.

The castell of Norwich left for a prey to Lewes.

Lin.

Thomas de Burgh taken prisoner.

Now when Lewes had thus finished his enterprises in those parts, he returned to London, and shortlie therevpon created Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne, appointing him to go thither with all conuenient speed, that he might resist the issues made by them which did hold the castels of Notingham and Newarke, wasting and spoiling the possessions and lands belonging to the barons neere adioining to the same castels. This Gilbert de Gaunt then, togither with Robert de Ropeley, comming into that countrie, tooke the citie of Lincolne, and brought all the countrie vnder subiection (the castell onlie excepted.) After that, they inuaded Holland, and spoiling that countrie, made it also tributarie vnto the French. Likewise, Robert de Roos, Peter de Bruis, and Richard Percie, subdued Yorke and all Yorkeshire, bringing the same vnder the obeisance of Lewes. The king of Scots in like sort subdued vnto the said Lewes all the countrie of Northumberland, except the castels which Hugh de Balioll, and Philip de Hulcotes valiantlie defended against all the force of the enimie.

Gilbert de Gaunt made earle of Lincolne.

Lincolne woone.

Holland in Lincolnshire inuaded.

Yorkeshire subdued to Lewes.

And as these wicked rebels made a prey of their owne countrie, so the legat Guallo not behind for his part to get something yer all should be gone, vpon a falkonish or wooluish appetite fleeced the church, considering that,

Ἡδ' ὥρη παραμείβεται μινύθη δέ τοι ἔργον,
——μελέτη δέ τι ἔργον ὀφέλλει,

and tooke proxies of euerie cathedrall church & house of religion within England, that is to say, for euerie proxie fiftie shillings. Moreouer, he sequestred all the benefices of those persons and religious men, that either aided or counselled Lewes and the barons, in their attempts and enterprises. All which benefices he spéedilie conuerted to his owne vse, and to the vse of his chapleins.

The legat Gualo gathereth proxes.

Sequestrat. of benefices.

In the meane time, Lewes was brought into some good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de Burgh, whom he tooke prisoner (as before you haue heard) to persuade his brother Hubert to yéeld vp the castell of Douer, the siege whereof was the next enterprise which he attempted. For his father king Philip, hearing that the same was kept by a garrison, to the behoofe of king John, wrote to his sonne, blaming him that he left behind him so strong a fortresss in his enimies hands. But though Lewes inforced his whole endeuour to win that castell, yet all his trauell was in vaine. For the said Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, who were chéefe capteins within, did their best to defend it against him and all his power, so that despairing to win it by force, he assaied to obtéine his purpose, by threatening to hange the capteins brother before his face, if he would,

Lewes traueleth in vaine to take Douer. *Rafe Cog.*

would not yeeld the sooner. But when that would not serue, he sought to win him by large offers of gold and siluer. Howbeit, such was the singular constancie of Hubert, that he would not giue anie eare vnto those his flatering motions. Then Lewes in a great furie menaced that he would not once depart from thence, till he had woon the castell, and put all them within to death, and began to assaile it with more force than before he had doone.

The barons also, which at this season lay at London, making a rode to Cambridge, tooke the towne, and after went foorth into Northfolke and Suffolke (as it were to gather vp such scraps as the French had left) spoiling those countries verie pitifullie, churches and all. They constreined the townes of Yermouth, Dunwich & Gipswich, to pay to them great summes of monie by waie of ransoming. And at length returning by Colchester, they vsed like practises there. From thence they returned to London, and shortlie after, vnder the conduct of the earle of Neuers (vpon a sudden) going to Windsore, they laid a strong siege about that castell; in the which was capteine Ingelard de Athie, with sixtie valiant knights, & other men of war of their suit, the which manfullie stood at defense.

Yermouth, Dunwich, & Gipswich ransomed.

In the moneth of August, Alexander king of Scotland came through the countrie vnto the siege of Douer, and there did homage vnto Lewes, in right of his tenure holden of the kings of England, and then returned home, but in his comming vp, as he came by castell Bernard in the countrie of Haliwerkfolke (which apperteined vnto Hugh de Balioll) he lost his brother in law the lord Eustace de Vescie, who was striken in the forehead with a quarrell, as he rode in companie of the king neere vnto the same castell, to view if it were possible vpon anie side to win it by assault.

Alexander K. of Scots doth homage to K. Lewes.

Th's Eustace had married the sister of K. Alexander.

About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of Melune, a French man, fell sicke at London, and perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the citie, vpon safegard thereof, and to them made this protestation: "I lament (saith he) your destruction and desolation at hand, bicause ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne (if it shall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now doo serue vnder him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England. And bicause (saith he) you shall not haue doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point of death, doo now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduise you to prouide for your owne safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie, and kéepe this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you." After this spéech was vttered he streightwaies died.

Matth. Paris.

The vicount of Melune discouereth the purpose of Lewes.

The vicount of Melune dieth.

When these words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cause, in great doubt of themselues, for they saw how Lewes had alredie placed and set Frenchmen in most of such castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderstand, how besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holidaie openlie accursed in euerie church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king John, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue béene receiued.

The English nobilitie beginneth to mislike of the match which they had made with Lewes.

In this yeare, about the 17 of Julie, pope Innocent died, at whose death (being knowen in England) all they that were enimies to king John greatlie reioised, for they were in great hope that his successour would haue rather inclined to their part, than to the kings. But it fell out otherwise, for Honorius the third that succeeded the same foresaid Innocent, mainteined the same cause in defense of king John, as earnestlie or rather more than his predecessour

The death of pope Innocent.

Honorius the third chosen pope.

predecessour had doone, sending with all spéed his buls ouer into England to confirme Gualo in his former authoritie of legat, commanding him with all indeuour to proceed in his businesse, in mainteining the king against Lewes, and the disloiall English nobilitie that aided the said Lewes. But now to our purpose.

King John lieng all this while at Winchester, and hauing knowledge how his aduersaries were dailie occupied in most hard enterprises, as in besieging sundrie strong and inuincible places, sent forth his commissioners to assemble men of warre, and to allure vnto his seruice all such, as in hope of prey, were minded to follow his standard, of the which there resorted to him no small number. So that hauing gotten togither a competent armie for his purpose, he brake foorth of Winchester, as it had béene an hideous tempest of weather, beating downe all things that stood in his waie, sending foorth his people on ech side to wast the countries, to burne vp the townes and villages, to spoile the churches & churchmen. With which successe still increasing his furie, he turned his whole violence into Cambridgeshire, where he did excéeding great hurt. Then entring into the countries of Northfolke and Suffolke, he committed the like rage, wast, and destruction, in the lands and possessions that belonged vnto the earle of Arundell, to Roger Bigot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Cressey.

The hauocke which king John made in the possessions of his aduersaries.

Northfolke and Suffolke.

The barons in the meane time that lay at siege before the castle of Windsore, hearing of that hauocke which king John had made in the east parts of the realme, secretlie in the night season raised their camps, and leauing their tents behind them, with all spéed made towards Cambridge. But king John by faithfull espials, hauing aduertisement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, withdrew him and got to Stamford, yer they might reach to Cambridge, so that missing their purpose, after they had taken some spoiles abroad in the countrie, they returned to London. King John from Stamford, marched toward Lincolne, bicause he heard that the castell there was besieged.

The siege raised from Windsor.

But those that had besieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that king John was comming towards them, durst not abide him, but fled, and so escaped. The king then turned his iournie towards the marshes of Wales, and there did much hurt to those places that belonged to his aduersaries. After this also, and with a verie puissant armie he went eftsoones eastwards, and passing through the countries, came againe into the counties of Northfolke and Suffolke, wasting and afflicting all that came in his waie, and at length comming to Lin, was there ioifullie receiued. Then keeping foorth northwards, he spoiled the townes and abbeies of Peterburgh and Crowland, where a number of the kings enimies were withdrawne into the church, but Sauerie de Mauleon, being sent foorth to seeke them, found them in the church the morrow after S. Michaell, and drew them out by force, spoiled the house, and getting a great bootie and prey of cattell and other riches, he with his people conueied the same awaie at his departing, after he had ransacked euerie corner of the church, and other the houses and places belonging to that abbeie.

Gilbert de Gaunt fleeth from the face of King John.

Lin.

The abbeies of Peterburgh & Crowland spoiled.

Bernesell.

Thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hasted forward till he came to Wellestreme sands, where passing the washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horsses and carriages, so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile which had béene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houses, should perish, and be lost by such means togither with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some haue written, he tooke such greefe for the losse susteined in this passage, that immediatlie therevpon he fell into an ague, the force and heat whereof, togither with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new sider, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter presentlie made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced

The losse of the kings carriages.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. West.

King John falleth sicke of an ague.

Matth. Paris.

to

Laford. *Matth. West. Matt. Paris.* King John departed this life.

to staie one night at the castell of Laford, and on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where in the castell through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the ninetéenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned seauenteene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

¶ There be which haue written, that after he had lost his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineshead in Lincolneshire, and there vnderstanding the cheapenesse and plentie of corne, shewed himselfe greatlie displeased therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English people, that had so traitorouslie reuolted from him vnto his aduersarie Lewes, wished all miserie to light vpon them, and therevpon said in his anger, that he would cause all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manie daies should passe. Wherevpon a moonke that heard him speake such words, being mooued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gaue the king poison in a cup of ale, whereof he first tooke the assaie, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time.

Caxton.

Gisburn & alij.

There are that write, how one of his owne seruants did conspire with a conuert of that abbeie, and that they prepared a dish of peares, which they poisoned, three of the whole number excepted, which dish the said conuert presented vnto him. And when the king suspected them to be poisoned indéed, by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast foorth a certeine sweat as it were bewraieng the poison, he compelled the said conuert to tast and eat some of them, who knowing the thrée peares which were not poisoned, tooke and eat those three, which when the king had séene, he could no longer absteine, but fell to, and eating gréedilie of the rest, died the same night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of such as bare no good will to the K. found shift to escape, and conueied himselfe awaie from danger of receiuing due punishment for so wicked a deed.

The variable reports of writers, concerning the death of king John.

Beside these reports which yee haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of surfeting in the night, as Rafe Niger; some, of a bloudie flix, as one saith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houeden. And Rafe Cogheshall saith, that comming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Mauleon to be capteine, and to take order for the fortifieng of that towne) he tooke a surfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laske, and after his laske had left him, at his comming to Laford in Lindsey, he was let bloud: furthermore to increase his other greefes and sorrowes for the losse of his carriage, iewels and men, in passing ouer the washes, which troubled him sore; there came vnto him messengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam capteins of Douer castell, aduertising him, that they were not able to resist the forceable assalts and engins of the enimies, if spéedie succour came not to them in due time. Whereat his gréefe of mind being doubled, so as he might séeme euen oppressed with sorrow, the same increased his disease so vehementlie, that within a small time it made an end of his life (as before yée haue heard.)

The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came togither, and marching foorth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompouslie buried in the cathedrall church before the high altar, not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but bicause it was thought to be a place of most suertie for the lords and other of his frends there to assemble, and to take order in their businesse now after his decéasse. And bicause he was somewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbeie, a house of moonks of the order called Præmonstratenses, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which house was his physician.

Bernewell.

¶ How soeuer or where soeuer or when soeuer he died, it is not a matter of such moment that it should impeach the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his

his end, let it be by a surfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And suerlie, he might be thought to haue procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie anguishes & vexations, which nipt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a sore symptome or passion; all which he might haue withstood if fortune had beene so fauourable, that the loialtie of his subiects had remained towards him inuiolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shamefull apostasie withstood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himselfe had not sought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in veritie, to the preseruation of the state and the securitie of their souereigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, what happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accurssed papasie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

Here therefore we sée the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sense thought vnpossible) is atchieued, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolued. From diuision and mutinies doo issue (as out of the Troiane horsse) ruines of roialties, and decaies of communalties. The sinewes of a realme is supposed of some to be substance and wealth; of other some policie and power: of other some conuenient defenses both by water and land: but a most excellent description of a well fortified countrie is that of Plautus, set downe in most pithie words and graue sentences: no lesse worthie to be written than read and considered. The description is this.

Si incolæ bene sunt morati pulchrè munitū regnū arbitror: *Plaut. in Pers.*
Perfidia & peculatus ex vrbe & auaritia si exulent,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, sexta obtrectatio,
Septimum periurium, octaua indulgentia,
Nona iniuria, decima quod pessimum aggressu scelus:
Hæc nisi inde aberūt cētuplex murus reb. secundis parū est.

And therefore no maruell though both courtiers and commoners fell from king John their naturall prince, and tooke part with the enimie; not onelie to the disgrace of their souereigne, but euen to his ouerthrow, and the depopulation of the whole land; sith these maine bulworks and rampiers were wanting; and the contrarie in most ranke sort and detestable manner extended their virulent forces.

But we will surceasse to aggrauate this matter, sith the same is sufficientlie vrged in the verie course of the historie concerning his acts and déeds, continued to the verie day of his death, and the verie time of his buriall, whereof I saie thus much, that whether it was his will to be interred, as is aforesaid, or whether his corpse being at the disposing of the suruiuers, to elect the place as a conuenient storehouse for a princes bones, I leaue it as doubtfull, and therefore vndetermined, esteeming the lesse to labour therein, because the truth can hardlie by certeintie be winnowed out, but by coniecturall supposals aimed and shot at. Notwithstanding, in my poore iudgement it is verie likelie (first in respect of the time which was superstitious and popish; secondlie by reason of the custome of funerall rites then commonlie vsed) that he was buried in the said place for order sake, & his bodie (if I may presume so farre by warrant of mine author) wrapped in a moonks cowle and so laid in his graue or toome. For the manner was at that time, in such sort to burie their Nobles and great men, who were induced by the imaginations of moonks and fond fansies of fréers to beléeue, that the said cowle was an amulet or defensitiue to their soules from hell and hellish hags, how or in what soeuer sort they

died; either in sorrow and repentance for sinne, or in blasphemie, outrage, impatiencie, or desperation.

Humf. Lhloyd. Dauid Powell.

This forme of funerals was frequented in Wales, hauing béene first brewed and broched in England, from whence (if we may giue credit to our late Chronographers) as from a poisoned spring it spred it selfe into Wales. For the first abbeie or frierie that is read to haue béene erected there, since the dissolution of the noble house of Bangor, which sauoured not of Romish dregs, was the Twy Gwyn, which was builded in the yeare 1146. Afterwards these vermine swarmed like bées, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lowsie religion, tempered with I wot not how manie millians of abhominations; hauing vtterlie forgotten the lesson which Ambrosius Telesinus had taught them [who writ in the yeare 540, when the right christian faith (which Joseph of Arimathia taught the Ile of Aualon) reigned in this land, before the proud and bloodthirstie moonke Augustine infected it with the poison of Romish errors] in a certeine ode, a part whereof are these few verses insuing,

Gwae'r offeiriad byd,
Nys angreifftia gwyd,
Ac ny phrégetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail,
Ac ef yn vigail,
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny theidw ey dheuaid,
Rhae bleidhie Rhiefeniaid,
Ai ffon grewppa.

Thus in English almost word for word.

Wo be to that preest yborne,
That will not cleanelie weed his corne,
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that shepheard (I saie)
That will not watch his fold alwaie,
As to his office dooth belong:
Wo be to him that dooth not keepe,
From rauening Romish wolues his sheepe,
With staffe and weapon strong.

This (as not impertinent to the purpose) I haue recorded, partlie to shew the palpable blindnes of that age wherein king John liued, as also the religion which they reposed in a rotten rag, estéeming it as a Scala cœli or ladder to life; but speciallie inferred to this end, that we may fetch some light from this cléere candle (though the same seeme to be duskish & dim) whereby we may be lead to conceiue in reason and common sense, that the interrement of the king was according to the custome then in vse and request, and therefore by all likelihoods he was buried as the péeres and states of the land were woont to be in those daies, after the maner aboue mentioned.

King Johns children.

But to let this passe as a cold discourse of a coffen of bones cottered with clods of claie; you shall vnderstand that he left behind him posteritie of both sexes. For he had issue by his wife queene Isabell two sonnes, Henrie who succéeded him in the kingdome, and Richard; thrée daughters, Joane married to Alexander king of Scotland, Isabell coupled in matrimonie with the emperour Frederike the second, and Elianor whome William earle of Glocester had to wife. He had also another daughter (as some haue left in writing) called Elianor.

He was comelie of stature, but of looke and countenance displeasant and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull

doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this séemeth to be an enuious report vttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Howbeit some giue this witnesse of him (as the author of the booke of Bernewell abbeie and other) that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Marius the noble Romane, tasting of fortune both waies: bountifull and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their dailie treasons practised towards him) a great oppressour, so that he trusted more to forreners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them vtterlie forsaken.

¶ Verilie, whosoeuer shall consider the course of the historie written of this prince, he shall find, that he hath beene little beholden to the writers of that time in which he liued: for scarselie can they afoord him a good word, except when the trueth inforceth them to come out with it as it were against their willes. The occasion whereof (as some thinke) was, for that he was no great freend to the clergie. And yet vndoubtedlie his déeds shew he had a zeale to religion, as it was then accompted: for he founded the abbeie of Beauleau in the new forrest, as it were in recompense of certeine parish-churches, which to inlarge the same forrest he caused to be throwne downe and ruinated.

He builded the monasterie of Farendon, and the abbeie of Hales in Shropshire; he repaired Godstow where his fathers concubine Rosamund laie interred; he was no small benefactor to the minster of Lichfield in Staffordshire; to the abbeie of Crokesden in the same shire, and to the chappell at Knatesburgh in Yorkshire. So that (to say what I thinke) he was not so void of deuotion towards the church, as diuerse of his enimies haue reported, who of meere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices; but are plentifull inough in setting foorth the same to the vttermost, and interpret all his dooings and saiengs to the woorst, as may appeare to those that aduisedlie read the works of them that write the order of his life, which may séeme rather an inuectiue than a true historie: neuerthelesse, sith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of writers, we must content our selues with this vnfréendlie description of his time. Certeinelie it should séeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull subiects to haue assisted him in reuenging such wrongs as were doone and offered by the French king and others. *Matth. Paris. Polydor. & alij.*

Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand as well in France as elsewhere, he was constreined to make all the shift he could deuise to recouer monie and bicause he pinched their pursses, they conceiued no small hatred against him, which when he perceiued, and wanted peraduenture discretion to passe it ouer, he discouered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.

It is written, that he meant to haue become feudarie (for maintenance sake against his owne disloiall subiects, and other his aduersaries) vnto Miramumeline the great king of the Saracens: but for the truth of this report I haue little to saie, and therefore I leaue the credit thereof to the authors. It is reported likewise, that in time when the realme stood interdicted, as he was abroad to hunt one day, it chanced that there was a great stag or hart killed, which when he came to be broken vp, prooued to be verie fat and thicke of flesh; "Oh (saith he) what a plesant life this déere hath led, and yet in all his daies he neuer heard masse." To conclude, it may séeme, that in some respects he was not greatlie superstitious, and yet not void of religious zeale towards the maintenance of the cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie bestowed in building of abbeies and churches (as before yée haue hard) it may partlie appeare. *Matth. Paris.*

In

In his daies manie learned men liued, as Geffrey Vinesaufe, Simon Fraxinus aliàs Ash, Adamus Dorensis, Gualter de Constantijs first bishop of Lincolne and after archbishop of Rouen, John de Oxford, Colman surnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukesburie, Simon Thuruaie, who being an excellent philosopher but standing too much in his owne conceit, vpon a sudden did so forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the most ignorant of all other, a punishment (as was thought) appointed him of God, for such blasphemies as he had wickedlie vttered, both against Moses and Christ. Geruasius Dorobernensis, John Hanwill, Nigell Woreker, Gilbert de Hoiland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruus a moonke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Hubert Walter, first bishop of Salisburie and after archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Theologus, of whome yee haue heard before, Geruasius Tilberiensis, Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote manie treatises, Joseph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauricius Morganius, Walter Morganius, John de Fordeham, William Leicester, Joceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White aliàs Candidus that wrote an historie intituled Historia Petroburgensis, John de saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray an historiographer and bishop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger, &c. Sée Bale Scriptorum Britanniæ centuria tertia.

Bale.

Thus farre king John.

HENRIE THE THIRD,

the eldest sonne of king Iohn.

An. Reg. 1. 1216. HENRIE, The third of that name, the eldest sonne of K. John, a child of the age of nine yeres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the ninetéenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1216, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yeare of the reigne of Philip the second king of France.

William Marshall earle of Penbrooke. Immediatlie after the death of his father king John, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, generall of his fathers armie, brought this yoong prince with his brother and sisters vnto Glocester, and there called a councell of all such lords as had taken part with king John. Anon after it was once openlie knowne, that the sonnes and daughters of the late deceassed prince were brought into a place of safetie, a great number of the lords and cheefe barons of the realme hasted thither (I meane not onelie such as had holden with king John, but also diuerse other, which vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes) in purpose to aid yoong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteine.

Matth. Paris. Thither also came Vallo or Guallo the popes legat (an earnest defender of the kings cause) with Peter bishop of Winchester, & Jocelin bishop of Bath: also Ranulph earle of Chester, William Ferrers earle of Derbie, John Marshall, and Philip de Albenie, with diuerse other lords and peeres of the relme, and a great number of abbats and priors, who by and by fell to councell togither what waie should be best to take, for the good order of things now in so doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The péeres of the realme being thus assembled, William earle of Penbroke, bringing the yoong king into their presence, and setting him before them, spake these words following.

The

The earle of Penbroks short and sweet oration as it is borrowed out of maister Fox.

BEHOLD Right honourable and well beloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yoong prince for his euill demeanor, and worthilie, yet this yoong child whome heere you see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his fathers dooings. Wherefore, in so much as euerie man his charged onelie with the burthen of his owne works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yoong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as yee see. And now, for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our souereigne king, and successour in this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king & gouernour, let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kings sonne, and suppresse his people, which are a confusion and shame to our nation: and the yoke of their seruitude let vs cast from off our shoulders.

When the barons had heard this earles words, after some silence and conference had, they allowed of his saiengs, and immediatlie with one consent, proclaimed the yoong gentleman king of England, whome the bishops of Winchester and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due solemnities at Glocester, vpon the day of the feast of the apostles Simon & Jude, in presence of the legat. Being thus crowned he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in law, the foresaid William Marshall earle of Penbroke, who to win the good will of the people towards the yoong king, sent foorth messengers with letters into all parts of the realme, to signifie the newes of the kings coronation, with an offer also of pardon to all such of the barons side as would turne to his part: and likewise of great rewards to those which hauing hitherto continued faithfull, would so remaine vntill this trouble should be ouerpast. By this means it came to passe, that his freends greatlie reioised at these newes, and manie of those which till that time had aided the Frenchmen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and reward turned to king Henrie.

It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession, which the * viscount of Melune made at the houre of his death, was the principall. The order whereof, in the later end of the life of king John, yée haue heard. Truelie how little good will inwardlie Lewes and his Frenchmen bare towards the English nation, it appéered sundrie waies. And first of all, in that they had them in a manner in no regard or estimation at all, but rather sought by all means to spoile and keepe them vnder, not suffering them to beare anie rule, nor putting them in trust with the custodie of such places as they had brought them in possession of. Secondlie, they called them not to councell, so often as at the first they vsed to doo, neither did they procéed by their directions in their businesse, as before they were accustomed. Thirdlie, in all manner of their conuersation, neither Lewes nor his Frenchmen vsed them so familiarlie, as at their first comming: but (as their maner is) shewing more loftie countenances toward them, they greatlie increased the indignation of the English lords against them, who might euill abide to be so ouer-ruled.

* See pag. 334.

The pride of the Frenchmen procureth them hatred.

To conclude, where great promises were made at their entring into the land, they were slowe inough in performing the same, so as the expectation of the English barons was quite

quite made void: for they perceiued dailie that they were despised & scoffed at for their disloialtie shewed to their owne naturall prince, hearing now and then nips and tawnts openlie by the Frenchmen, that as they had shewed themselues false and vntrustie to their owne lawfull king, so they would not continue anie long time true vnto a stranger. Thus all these things laid togither, gaue occasion to the English barons to remember themselues, and to take iust occasion to reuolt vnto king Henrie, as before we haue mentioned. But now to the purpose of the historie.

Ye haue heard how Lewes had spent long time in vaine about the besieging of the castell of Douer, for although he plagued them within verie sore, yet Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Sotigam bare themselues so manfullie, and therewith so politikelie, that their aduersaries could not come to vnderstand their distresse & danger within the castell, in so much that despairing to win it in anie short time, euen before the death of king John was knowne (as some write) Lewes was contented to grant a truce to them that kept this castell, till the feast of Easter next insuing: but (as it appeareth by other) this truce was not concluded till after the death of king John was signified to Lewes, who greatlie reioising thereat, supposed now within a short time, to bring the whole realme vnder his subiection: and therefore raising his siege from Douer, in hope to compasse enterprises of greater consequence, he came backe vnto the citie of London.

When they within the castell of Douer saw the siege remooued, they came foorth, and burnt such houses and buildings as the Frenchmen had raised before the same castell, and comming abroad into the countrie, got togither such vittels and other necessarie prouision, as might serue for the furnishing of their fortresse for a long season. After that Lewes was returned vnto London, he remained not long there, but with a great armie marched foorth vnto Hertford, where he besieged the castell, which was in the keeping of Walter de Godardule seruant in household vnto Fouks de Brent, who defended the place from the feast of S. Martine, vntill the feast of S. Nicholas, and then deliuered it by composition, that he and his people might depart with all their goods, horsse and armour. From thence Lewes went vnto Berkehamstéed, and besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by a Duch capteine named Waleron, who with his people behaued himselfe so manfullie, that a great number of Frenchmen and other of them without, were left dead in the ditches. At an issue also made vpon the side, towards the north where the barons lay, they spoiled the carriage and trusse of the said barons, and tooke therewithall the standard of William Mandeuile. Finallie about the 20 day of December, they yet yéelded the place vnto Lewes, bicause they were no longer able to keepe it; their liues, goods, horsse and armour saued.

Matth. Paris.

Hertford castell deliuered to Lewes.

The castell of Berkehamstéed surrendred.

Lewes hauing furnished this castell with a sufficient garrison, returned backe towards London, and comming to S. Albons, constreined the abbat to giue vnto him foure score marks of siluer, for a fine, in recognisance of dooing his homage till the feast of the purification of our ladie next insuing. Which poore abbat was made to beléeue, that he ought to take this dealing to be an act of great courtesie, the earle of Winchester being an earnest meane for him that he might so easilie escape. About the same time was a generall truce taken betwixt the king and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the 20 day after Christmasse, for the obteining of which truce (as some write) the castell of Berkehamstéed was surrendered vnto the same Lewes, as before ye haue heard.

Matth. Paris.

Bernewell.

A truce.

1218. After Christmasse, and whilest the truce yet dured, Lewes and the barons assembled at the councell which they held at Cambridge, & the lords that tooke part with the king met likewise at Oxford, and much talke there was, and great trauell imploied to haue concluded some agréement by composition betwixt the parties, but it would not be, nor yet anie longer truce (which was also sought for) could be granted: wherevpon Lewes besieged the castell of Hidingham, the which togither with the castels of Norwich, Colchester, and Oxford, were surrendered vnto him, to haue a truce granted vntill a moneth after Easter next insuing. And so by this meanes all the east part of the realme came vnto

vnto the possession of Lewes. For the Ile of Elie was woon by his people a litle before the last truce, whilest he himselfe lay in siege at Berkehamstéed, except one fortresse belonging to the same Ile, into the which the souldiers that serued there vnder the king were withdrawen. But yet although Lewes might seeme thus partlie to preuaile, in hauing these castels deliuered into his hands, yet being aduertised that dailie there reuolted diuerse of the barons of England vnto king Henrie, which before had taken part with him: he stood in great doubt and feare of the rest, and therefore furnished all those castels which he had woone with conuenient garrisons, and namelie the castell of Hertford, and after went to London, there to vnderstand what further trust he might put in the rest of the English lords and barons: for as diuerse had alreadie forsaken him, as it is said, so the residue were doubtfull what they were best to doo. *Polydor.*

The perplexitie in which the barons stood.

For first they considered, that the renouncing of their promised faith vnto Lewes, whome they had sworne to mainteine as king of England, should be a great reproch vnto them: and againe they well saw that to continue in their obedience towards him, should bring the realme in great danger, sith it would be hard for any louing agréement to continue betwéene the French & Englishmen, their natures being so contrarie. Thirdlie, they stood somewhat in feare of the popes cursse, pronounced by his legat, both against Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other side, to reuolt vnto king Henrie, though the loue which they did beare to their countrie, and the great towardnesse which they saw in him greatlie mooued them; yet sith by reason of his yoong yeares, he was not able either to follow the wars himselfe, or to take counsell what was to be doone in publike gouernement, they iudged it a verie dangerous case. For whereas in wars nothing can be more expedient than to haue one head, by whose appointment all things may be gouerned: so nothing can be more hurtfull than to haue manie rulers, by whose authoritie things shall passe and be ordered.

Wherefore these considerations staied and kept one part of the English lords still in obedience to Lewes, namelie, for that diuerse of the confederats thought that it stood not with their honours so to forsake him, till they might haue some more honorable colour to reuolt from their promises, or that the matter should be taken vp by some indifferent agréement to be concluded out of hand betwixt them. Hervpon they resorted in like maner vnto London, and there with Lewes tooke councell what was to be doone with their businesse touching the whole state of their cause. ¶ Here ye shall note, that before the concluding of this last truce, Fouks de Brent the capteine of the castell of Bedford gat togither a number of souldiers out of the garrisons of the castels of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windsor, and coming with them to S. Albons the 22 of Februarie, he spoiled the towne & abbie, in like maner as he had doone all the townes and villages by the way as he passed through the countrie, from Bedford vnto S. Albons.

S. Albons destroied.

The messengers which Lewes had remaining in the court of Rome, signified vnto him about the same time, that except he departed out of England, the sentence of excommunication, which Gualo or Walo the legat had pronounced against him, should be confirmed by the pope on Maundie thursdaie next insuing. Wherevpon Lewes was the more inclined to yéeld to the truce before mentioned, that he might in the meane time go ouer into France to his father, who had most earnestlie written and sent in commandement to him, that in any wise he should returne home to talke with him, and so about midlent after the truce was concluded, he prepared himselfe, and sailed ouer into France, and as Polydor saith (but with what authoritie I know not) the king of Scots went also with him.

After his departure ouer, William earle of Salisburie, William earle of Arundell, William earle Warren, and diuerse other reuolted to king Henrie. Moreouer, William Marshall earle of Penbroke so trauelled with his son William Marshall the yoonger, that he likewise came to take part with the yoong king: whereby the side of Lewes and his Frenchmen was sore weakened, and their harts no lesse appalled for the sequele of their

Matth. Paris. Noble men reuolting frõ Lewes.

affaires. Lewes returned yet into England before the truce was expired. The lords that held on the kings part in the absence of Lewes, were not forgetfull to vse opportunitie of time: for beside that they had procured no small number of those that before time held with Lewes to reuolt from him to the kings side, they at one selfe time besieged diuerse castels, and recouered them out of their aduersaries hands, as Marlebrough, Farneham, Winchester, Cicester, and certeine other, which they ouerthrew and raced, bicause they should not be taken and kept againe by the enimie. For ye must vnderstand, that the going ouer of Lewes now at that time, when it stood him most vpon to haue beene present here in that troublesome season (which he ought to haue regarded with singular circumspection, and warilie to haue watched, for

Virtus est, vbi occasio admonet, dispicere)

brought no small hinderance to the whole state of all his businesse, in so much that he was neuer so highlie regarded afterwards among the Englishmen as before.

Matth. Paris. The earle of Chester.

About the same time Ranulfe earle of Chester, William earle of Albermarle, William earle Ferrers, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Lisle, William de Cantlow, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Fouks de Brent, & others assembled their powers, and comming to Mountsorell beside Loughborough in Leicestershire, besieged the castell there, the capteine whereof was one Henrie de Braibroke. This Henrie defended the place right manfully, and doubting to be in distres by long siege, sent with all speed to the earle of Winchester, Saer de Quincie as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to send some succour to remoue the siege. Herevpon the earle of Winchester, to whom that castell belonged, required Lewes that some conuenient power might be sent, whereby the siege might be remooued. Wherefore vpon councell taken with deliberate aduise, it was ordeined that an armie should be sent thither with all speed, not onlie to raise the siege, but also to subdue that countrie vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herwith there went out of London 600 knights, and with them aboue twentie thousand men in armour, greedie (as it seemed) to haue the spoile of other mens goods.

The castell of Mountsorell besieged. Henrie Braibroke.

Saer de Quincie erleof Winchester.

Their chiefe capteins were these: Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, Robert Fitzwater, and others, and they did set forward vpon the last of Aprill, which was the mondaie before the Ascension daie, passing through S. Albons, where they lodged the first night, and so to Dunstable, and by the waie such souldiers as were vsed to spoile and pillage, plaied their parts, not sparing to rob and ransacke as well religious houses as other. From Dunstable keeping on their iournie northwards, at length they came to Mountsorell, but the earle of Chester and the other lords, aduertised of their approch, were retired before to Notingham, determining there to abide, till they might vnderstand what waie the enimies would take.

The earle of Chester raiseth his siege.

In the meane time the earle of Winchester and the other barons, finding their enimies departed and the siege raised, determined foorthwith to go vnto Lincolne, where Gilbert de Gaunt and other had kept siege a long time before the castell, but yet in vaine. For there was a noble ladie within that castell named Nichola, who demeaned hir selfe so valiantlie in resisting all assaults and enterprises, which the enimies that besieged hir could attempt by anie meanes against hir, that they rather lost than wan honour and estimation at hir hands dailie. Therefore Robert Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armie, to the end they might get that castell out of hir and other their enimies hands, tooke their iournie forward, and passing through the vale of Beauuere, all things there that came to sight fell into the hands of the greedie souldiers. For the French footmen, which were as it had beene the scum & reffuse of their countrie, leaft nothing vntouched that they might lay hands vpon, not sparing church or churchyard, nor hallowed place more than common or prophane. For they were so poore and ragged, that they had scarse anie tatters to couer their priuie parts withall. Finallie comming vnto Lincolne, they assaulted the castell with all maner of engins, and assaied by all waies possible whereby they hoped to aduance their purpose.

Bernewell.

Thepoore estate of the French soldiers.

Thus

Thus whiles the barons with the Frenchmen were much busied about the siege of Lincolne castell, W. Marshall earle of Penbroke, by the aduise of the legat Gualo or Walo, and of Peter bishop of Winchester, and other of the councell with king Henrie, caused summons to be giuen to all capteins and chateleins on the kings part, to be at Newarke vpon mondaie in Whitsunwéeke, with such power as they might make, from thence to march to Lincolne, there to raise the siege, and deliuer the countrie from imminent oppression. Wherevpon there assembled at the daie and place prefixed, a great puissance of people desirous to fight for the defense of their countrie against the Frenchmen and other aduersaries, rebels to the pope, and excommunicated persons, so that when the muster was taken, there was numbered 400 knights, 250 crossebowes, besides demilances and horssemen in great numbers, which for néed might haue supplied and serued in stéed of men of armes, being verie well furnished for the purpose, and armed at all points.

Summons to raise an armie for the king.

The chiefe capteins of this companie were these: William Marshall earle of Penbroke, and his son William Marshall the yonger, Peter bish. of Winchester, a man right skilfull in feats of warre, Ranulph earle of Chester, William earle of Salisburie, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, besides barons, as William de Albenie latelie released out of captiuitie, Iohn Marshall, William de Cantlow, and William his sonne, Fouks de Brent, Thomas Basset, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie, Philip de Albenie, with manie other chateleins and constables of sundrie castels.

The capteins of the kings armie.

The legat being there present also on the fridaie in the Whitsunweeke aforesaid, reuested in a white albe, accompanied with the clergie, accursed in solemne wise Lewes the French kings sonne, with all his fautours and complices, & especiallie those which held siege before the castell of Lincolne, with all the citie: and the more to incourage all those that should passe foorth in this armie, to raise the siege, he granted to them free remission of all their sins, whereof they were trulie confessed, and by authoritie which he had from almightie GOD, and the apostolike sée, he promised to them the guerdon of euerlasting saluation. Herewith when the armie had receiued absolution, and the legats blessing, euerie man marched foorth in his order and place appointed, and comming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, they lodged there all night.

The legat accurseth Lewes & his complices.

In the morning they passed foorth towards Lincolne, vnder the conduct of the said earle of Penbroke as generall of the whole armie, who being come thither, compassed about the citie with his armie. And to cause the enimie the sooner to leaue the siege of the castell, he assaulted the gates of the citie, inforcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceiuing all the danger to be about the gates, withdrew a little from the assailing of the castell, and resorting to the walles of the citie, did their best with shooting and casting of stones and other things, to driue their aduersaries from the gates.

Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Brent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backeside, and a great number of souldiers with him, and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce battell with the citizens within the citie: which when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noise and crie raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, dooing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Foukes de Brent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, a Poictouin (of whom you haue heard in the life of king Iohn) brake open the gates and entred the citie. Then the fight was sore increased and mainteined for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English lords that were with them, being sore laid at on ech side, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs and so fled awaie but being beset round about with the kings horssemen, they were streightwaies either slaine or taken for the most part of them.

Fouks de Brent.

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

Amongst other that were there slaine, the earle of Perch a Frenchman was one, who being gotten into a churchyard manfullie defended himselfe till his horsse was killed vnder him,

The earle of Perch slaine.

Noble mē taken prisoners.

him, and lastlie himselfe was also beaten downe and slaine. There were taken of Englishmen, Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, and Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford,

Gilbert de Gaunt by the gift of Lewes.

Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne by the gift of Lewes, Richard de Montfichet, William de Mowbraie, William de Beauchampe, William de Manduit, Oliuer de Harecourt, Roger de Cressie, William de Coleuill, William de Roos, William de Ropeley, Ralfe Chanduit, and diuerse other: so that of knights there were taken to the number of foure hundred, beside such multitude of demilances, and other horssemen and footmen, as could not well be numbered. Moreouer, all the prouision, trusse, and baggage loden in carts, clothsackes, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the citie was spoiled, rifled and sacked.

Lewes his faire.

This enterprise and discomfiture at Lincolne, which was in derision called Lewes his faire, chanced the 14 kalends of Iune, being saturdaie in the Whitsunwéeke. Manie honest matrons of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to auoid the danger of their persons, wanting skill how to guide the same boates. The earle of Penbroke the same daie before he receiued any repast, rode backe in post to the king, whom he had left at Stow, and there declared the ioifull newes of his good speed, in vanquishing of the enimies. On the next morrow, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the castell of Mountsorell were fled out of the same, and had left it void. Wherevpon

The K. commandeth ye castell of Mountsorell to be raced.

immediatlie he sent in commandement vnto the shiriffe of Notinghamshire, that going thither in his owne person, he should ruinat the said castell, & make it plaine with the ground.

The Frenchmen which escaped with life from the slaughter of Lincolne, as the Marshall of France, the chateleine of Arras, with others, made towards London with all possible speed, in hope to escape so well as they might: but manie of them, and namelie the footmen were slaine by the countrie people where they passed, and that in great numbers: for the husbandmen fell vpon them with clubs and swords, not sparing those whom they got at aduantage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) getting

Milites.

to London, presented vnto Lewes the sorowfull report of their misaduenture, and were of him not moaned, but blamed and sore rebuked, for that they had fled, and shamefullie left the residue of their companies to be distressed, taken, and slaine by the aduersaries, where if they had manfullie stood to it, they might happilie haue saued their fellowes, and obteined victorie.

Chr. Dunstab.

¶ The chronicle of Dunstable sheweth indéed that Simon de Peschie and Henrie Braibroc, perceiuing that Fouks de Brent was entered into the citie, and that they were now assailed both afront, and on the backes, they withdrew, and getting togither 80 French knights or men of armes (if we shall so call them) departed out of the citie, and fléeing through the countrie by Lin and saint Edmundsburie, at length got through to London. Howsoeuer they were welcomed of Lewes, certeine it is, that the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, were put in no small hope by the atchiuing of this so great a victorie, to bring within a short time all the realme to the obedience of king Henrie: and herevpon marching foorth into the countrie, put the people in such feare, that they submitted themselues vnto the gouernment of king Henrie in all places wheresoeuer they came.

On the other part, Lewes who all this season remained at London, being sore dismaied for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betraied and deliuered into his enimies hands. Therefore he

Lewes sendeth to his father for aid.

went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortifieng the citie, sent messengers into France, to require his father to send him more aid. His father sorie to heare of his sons distress, and loth that he should take the foile, caused his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of hir husband. For the French king himselfe would not séeme to aid his sonne, bicause he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and

commission

commission thereto, gat togither three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the moonke had prouided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon. An armie prepared in Frãce to come to the succour of Lewes.

In the meane time the earle of Penbroke approched towards London, purposing to assaile the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting passe no occasion that might further his procéedings, night and day studieng how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to set the same at libertie: so that what was to be deuised, he did deuise, and what was to be doone, that he did, not forslowing anie occasion or opportunitie that might be offered. The English barons also calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their most need, sought now by all means possible, some waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the said Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themselues, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courtesie bountifullie shewed in a case of extremitie, which bicause it was obteined in a wished time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had beene the lesse welcome, as one saith, *Polydor.* The diligence of the earle of Penbroke.

Gratia quæ tarda est ingrata est, gratia námq; *Auson. in epig.*
Quùm fieri properat, gratia grata magis.

Hervpon they caused dailie new articles of agreement to be presented in writing vnto the said Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while these things were a dooing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement, that a new supplie of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the comming of the aduersaries, that they might kéepe them from landing, who on saint Bartholomews day set forth frõ Caleis, in purpose to arriue in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh capiteine of the castell of Douer, togither with the said Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall, with other such power as they could get togither of the cinque ports, hauing not yet aboue the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discouering of the French fleet, which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed, made foorth to the sea. And first coasting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to assaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their crossebowes and archers at the first ioining, made great slaughter of their enimies, and so grapling togither, in the end the Englishmen bare themselues so manfullie, that they vanquished the whole French fléet, and obteined a famous victorie. *Matth. Paris.* Hubert de Burgh assaileth the French fléet. The French fléet is vanquished.

Eustace the moonke was found amongst the capteins, who although he offered great summes of gold for his ransome, so that he might haue had his life saued, and also to serue king Henrie, yet the English capiteins would none of that: but Richard the bastard sonne of king Iohn, tooke him, and cut off his head, and sent it vnto king Henrie his brother, as a witnesse of this their atchieued victorie. This Eustace was a Fleming borne, and somtime a moonke, but renouncing his cowle to receiue such heritage as fell to him by the death of his brethren, deceassing without issue, he became a notable pirat, and had doone in his dais much mischeefe to the Englishmen, and therefore was now rewarded according to his demerits. For *Matth. Paris.* Eustace the moonke taken and beheaded. Richard base sonne to king Iohn. Eustace the mõonke what he was.

Rarò antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo. *Hor. lib. 3. car. od. 2.*

The spoile and prey of the French ships was verie rich, so that the Englishmen being loden with riches and honour, vpon their safe returne home were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. But Lewes, after he vnderstood of this mischance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time héerafter: wherfore he inclined the sooner vnto peace, so that at length he tooke such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum A rich spoile.

of

An accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, togither with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris doo also agree) affirmeth that he receiued fiftéene thousand marks. Moreouer, the popes legat absolued Lewes and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the warre against the popes commandement.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds. *Matth. Paris.*

Then Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicated sware vpon the holie euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thenceforth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him laie, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

On the other part, king Henrie tooke his oth togither with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was mooued betwixt the late king Iohn and his barons. Moreouer, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paieng anie ransome: yea and those which had couenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and diuerse of the spiritualtie with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did méet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as apperteined, and there tooke leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.

King Henrie by this meanes being put in full possession of the relme, according to the prescript of that article conteined in those conditions of the peace latelie specified, pardoned all those that had aided his aduersarie Lewes during the wars, except certeine of the spiritualtie, which were put to such fines, that they were compelled to laie all that they had to pledge, to leuie such summes of monie, as they might with the same obteine the kings fauour again: and beside that, to sue to Rome for their entier absolution at the popes owne hands. Amongst other, Hugh bishop of Lincolne returning into England, was compelled to paie a thousand marks to the popes vse for recouerie of his bishoprike, & an hundred marks also to the legat of good and lawfull monie. Such cheuance made the legat amongst them of the church, as well persons secular as regular, that he got togither twelue thousand marks towards his charges, whereby it appeared, that he lost no time in England. But to procéed.

The prelats are fined.

AnnoReg. 2.

What cheuance the legat made.

The realme now being quiet and in all outward felicitie, a number of vnrulie persons, such as delighting in idlenesse, knew not how to liue in time of peace, assembled themselues togither and (appointing Fouks de Brent, who was a man of great stomach and more rashnesse, to be their capteine and ringleder) began to make warre against the king, and to spoile the townes and countries about them, so that their euill doings might haue caused no small perill to haue insued by some great ciuill sedition, if the earle of Penbroke had not in time preuented their attempts. For he assembling the kings power, hasted towards the rebels, and what by his owne authoritie, and by the reuerend regard

Fouks de Brent.

of

of some bishops in his companie; more than by vsing any force of armes, he staid the matter for that time, so that no further mischeefe followed of this mutinie. *Matth. Paris.*

Besides the foresaid Fouks de Brent, there were other of the Nobilitie also which practised the like disorder, as William earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Balioll, Philip de Marc, and Robert de Gaugi, the which Robert withheld the castell of Newarke that belonged to the bishop of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it, till the king with William Marshall erle of Penbroke had laine at siege before it an eight daies, in the end of which terme by mediation of frèends the matter was taken vp, and the bishop recouered his castell, paieng to the said Robert de Gaugi an hundred pounds sterling for the victuals which he left within the same castell.

The castell of Newarke restored to the bishop of Lincolne.

Soone after this, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the holie land by king Henrie, with a goodlie companie of souldiers and men of warre, to aid the christians there against the infidels, which at the same time had besieged the citie of Damieta in Aegypt, in which enterprise the valiancie of the same earle after his comming thither, was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that iournie Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, William de Albenie earle of Arundell, besides diuerse barons, as the lord Robert Fitz Walter, Iohn constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer Fitzroie sonne to the king of England, and diuerse other. *Matt. Paris.*

The earle of Chester goeth into the holie land.

Sonne to K. Iohn belike.

AnnoReg. 3.

1219.

The next yeare, which was after the birth of our lord 1219, William Marshall the foresaid earle of Penbroke died, gouernour both of the realme and also of the kings person, a man of such worthinesse both in stoutnesse of stomach and martiall knowlege, as England had few then liuing that might be compared with him. He was buried in the new temple church at London vpon the Ascension day. The same yeare also Wallo or Guallo the legat returned to Rome, and Pandulph, who (as before is expressed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent to king Iohn, was also made bishop of Norwich.

The deceasse of the earle of Penbroke.

He is buried in the temple church.

Pandulph made bishop of Norwich.

Moreouer, the gouernement of king Henrie after the death of William Marshall the elder, earle of Penbroke, was committed vnto Peter bishop of Winchester; for the yoong king was almost destitute of any of his kindred that were worthie to haue the rule of him; forasmuch as his mother queene Isabell was latelie maried to Hugh Brune the earle of Marsh in France, vnto whome she was promised before king Iohn tooke hir to wife, as in the life of the same king Iohn is mentioned.

The bishop of Winchester gouernour to the king.

Quéene Isabell married to the earle of Marsh.

The bishop of Winchester being now in the possession of the kings person, doubting least he had taken a greater charge vpon him than he might well answer, caused diuerse sage and honourable personages to be admitted of the kings councell, to assist him in the administration of the common-wealth and good gouernance of the realme. Which being doone, a parlement was holden at London, wherein a subsidie was granted to the king of two shillings to be gathered and leuied of euerie ploughland within his dominions, towards the relieuing of the great charges which he had susteined by the warres against the foresaid Lewes.

A parlement and a subsidie. *R. Fabian.*

About the same time also he began the building of the new worke of the church at Westminster. In which meane time the citie of Damieta afore mentioned, was woone by the christian princes, and Ranulph earle of Chester returned home, leauing the earle of Arundell with a great number of souldiors behind him there in aid of the christians against the Saracens, which dailie attempted the recouerie of the same. Moreouer, in the yeare insuing, which was of our lord 1220, and vpon the seauenteenth day of Maie being Whitsunday, the king was eftsoones solemnelie crowned at Westminster, to the end it might be said, that now after the extinguishment of all seditious factions, he was crowned by the generall consent of all the estates and subiects of his realme.

The new church of Westm. begun. AnnoReg. 4. *Matth. West.*

The earle of Chester returneth home. *Polydor.*

1220.

The K. crowned the second time.

The same yeare also was the bodie of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie translated, and Hugh bishop of Lincolne canonized for a saint. In like manner in the vigile of Peter and Paule, the king finding the castels of Rokingham and Sauueie at that present vnpurueied of victuals, tooke the same into his hands against the will of William of Albemarle *Matth. Paris.* *Matth. Paris.*

Ran. Higd. A proclamation to auoid strangers.

Albemarle which before held the same. ¶ This yeare also was a proclamation made in London, and throughout all the realme, that all strangers should auoid the land before the feast of saint Michaell then next following except those that came with merchandize. Furthermore Ranulph earle of Chester, after he was come from the holie land, began to build the castels of Chartleie and Béeston, and afterward he also builded the abbeie of Dieu Lencresse, commonlie called Delacresse of the white order. Toward his charges susteined about the building of which castels and abbeie, he tooke toll throughout all his lordships of all such persons as passed by the same with any cattell, chaffre or merchandize.

The castles of Chartley & Béeston built. *Ran. Higd.*

An. Reg. 5. 1221.

This yeare deceassed Henrie de Boun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester in their iournie which they made into the holie land. Also the same yeare the preests or canons that inhabited within the kings castell of old Salisburie, remooued with the bishops sée vnto new Salisburie, which by the king was made a citie. The bishop Richard procured this remoouing, through the kings helpe, who was verie willing therevnto, as it séemed by his charters largelie granted in that behalfe. After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Oxenford, at what time William de Fortz earle of Albemarle meaning to trouble the kings peace, and to set things in a new broile, departed from the court in the night season, without leaue or licence, and hasted with all spéed vnto the castell of Biham, where he assembled a sort of youthfull persons, giuen to lewd demeanor, and wearie of quietnesse (as to whome theft and robberies were verie pleasant) by whose helpe he spoiled diuers townes and villages about him, as Tenham and Deping, with others.

Salisburie.

Matth. Paris. The earle of Albemarle.

The castell of Biham.

There were of counsell with him also (as was thought) Fouks de Brent, Philip de Marc, Peter de Mauleon, Engellard de Athie, and manie other, who priuilie sent men to his aid, and furthered him in his tumultuous affaires, that they might participat with him the sweetnesse of the spoile, which is the marke whereat euerie one shooteth that is

———iners' & inops, qui viuere luxuriosè
Vult quamuis nequeat, non respondente crumena,
Proinde animam vendit pretio, seséque periclis
Objicit, vt raptis alienis victor ouánsque
Ad proprios referat prædam & spolia ampla penates.

In the meane time the countrie people withdrew to the churches, and gat their goods into the churchyards. Moreouer, the péeres of the realme assembled themselues in councell at Westminster where the king was present, whither the earle of Albermarle was summoned to come, who faining as though he had meant to haue gone thitherward directlie, turned suddenlie his waie to the castell of Fodringhey, and tooke it vpon the sudden, furnishing it also with a garrison of souldiers, to be kept hereafter to his owne vse. That castell was in the kéeping of the earle of Chester, who at that instant had but few souldiers there in garrison, wherby it was the sooner surprised. When these newes were brought to the king, he raised a power and came with all spéed to the castell of Biham, vpon the wednesdaie next after the feast of Candelmasse, and then compassing the same about with a strong siege, he constreined them within by force of such engins as they vsed in those daies, that finallie on the eight daie of Februarie they came foorth, and submitted themselues and all that they had vnto the kings pleasure. Who caused them to be safelie kept, till he might take further aduisement what should be doone with them.

The castell of Fodringhey.

The castell of Biham yéelded.

In the meane while also came the earle of Albemarle, who by the helpe & means of the archbishop of Yorke, and the legat Pandulph, purchased peace at the kings hands, the rather indeed bicause he had faithfullie serued both the king and his father king Iohn in their wars, before that time. All those men of armes & souldiers also, which had submitted themselues and remained as prisoners were pardoned. Which ouer-great clemencie caused other vnrulie persons to attempt the like offense of rebellion shortlie after. At the very selfe same time the Welshmen began to sturre, and vnder their prince and leader

Matth. Paris. Old seruice remembred.

The Welshmē begin to stur.

leader Leolin they entered vpon the English marshes, and with great crueltie spoiled and robbed the same, wherevpon it was determined by the councell, that the king (as he was comming toward the castell of Biham) should diuide his armie, and so he did, sending one part thereof against the Welshmen: whervpon Leolin, after he vnderstood that the kings power came toward him, as one not able to resist the same, cast off his armour, and submitted himselfe to his mercie. *Polydor.*

There be which write, that where prince Leolin had besieged the castell of Buet belonging to Reginald de Breuse, the same Reginald besought the K. to helpe to remooue that siege. The king contented with his request, came with a puissant armie into those parts, and therewith the siege was raised, for the Welshmen (according to their accustomed maner) fled. The king then entring further into the countrie, came to the place where Mountgomerie now standeth, and perceiuing the site of the same to serue well for fortification, he caused a castell to be builded there, to restreine the Welshmen from their accustomed trade of harrieng the countrie. And so after he had foraied those quarters, and taken order for the full accomplishment of that castell, he returned, the Nobles granting to him of euerie knights fée two markes of siluer. *Matth. Paris.* Reginald de Breuse. Mountgomerie castle built. Escuage paid.

Things being thus in quiet, the king (who by dailie experience of matters grew to more knowledge from time to time) began now of himselfe to order his affaires for his owne behalfe, namelie touching the estate of his kingdome: and bicause he was minded to assaie the recouerie of those places which his father had lost in France, he ordeined Sauerie de Mauleon to be his lieutenant in Guien, whereof a great part as yet remained in his hands, and moreouer sent ambassadours vnto the French king, requiring of him restitution of those places which he had taken from his father. *Polydor.* K. Henrie requireth restitution of his right of the Frech king.

These oratours being come into France, and admitted to the kings presence, receiued answer, that nothing ought to be restored, which by law of armes was rightlie conquered: and other redresse at that time would none be granted. ¶ But a maruell it was to consider here at home, in how short a space the state of the English common-wealth was changed, and from a troubled fourme reduced to a flourishing and prosperous degrée: chiefelie by the diligent heed and carefull prouision of the king himselfe. So much auaileth it to haue him that ruleth, to attend that which belongeth to his office. The French kings answer.

After this, to the intent that whiles he might be occupied in warres abroad, he should not be troubled with ciuill discord at home, he deuised to ioine in affinitie with the Scots, giuing his sister Ione in mariage vnto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other side married the sister of the same Alexander called Margaret. These marriages were solemnized at Yorke on the morrow after the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, in the presence of a great number of the Nobles both of England and Scotland. A councell also was holden by the archbishop of Canturburie at Oxford for reformation of the state ecclesiasticall and the religion of moonks. ¶ In which councell two naughtie felowes were presented before him, that of late had beene apprehended, either of them naming himselfe Christ, and preached manie things against such abuses as the cleargie in those daies vsed. Moreouer, to proone their errour to haue a shew of truth, they shewed certeine tokens and signes of wounds in their bodies, hands and féet, like vnto our sauiour Iesus that was nailed on the crosse. In the end being well apposed, they were found to be but false dissemblers, wherefore by doome of that councell, they were iudged to be nailed vnto a crosse of wood, and so those to whom the execution was assigned, had them foorth to a place called Arborberie, where they nailed them to a crosse, and there left them till they were dead. The one of them was an Hermophrodite, that is to say, both man and woman. Also there were two women condemned, of whom the one had taken vpon hir to be that blessed virgine Marie, and the other fained hir selfe to be Marie Magdalene. *Matt. Westm.* *Matth. Paris.* Marriages concluded. An. Reg. 6. 1222. A councell or synod at Oxford. Two dissembling persons apprehended. They are executed. Two women counterfeiting themselues to be, the one our ladie, the other Marie Magdalene.

Ralfe Coglshall sheweth this matter otherwise, and saith, that there were two men and two women brought before the archbishop at this councell, of the which one of the men being *Ralfe Cog.*

being a deacon, was accused to be an apostata, & for the loue of a woman that was a Iew, he had circumcised himselfe: & being herof conuicted & disgraded, he was committed to the secular power, & so burnt by the seruants of Fouks de Brent. The other being a yoong man, was accused of contemning the sacraments of the church, & that he suffered himselfe to be crucified, hauing the prints of the fiue wounds appearing in his bodie, and counterfeiting himselfe to be Christ, reioised to haue the two women giue out and spread the rumour abroad, that he was Christ in déed, one of the which women being verie aged, was also accused of witcherie, hauing with hir sorcerie and witchcraft brought that yoong man vnto such wicked follie and madnesse. They two being hereof conuicted, were closed vp betwixt two walles, where they remained till they died, the other woman being sister to the yoong man, was pardoned and let go, bicause she had reuealed the diuelish practise of the other.

Matth. Paris. This yeare also was the building of the stéeple belonging to the church of S. Paule in London finished. And this yeare also vpon saint James day the citizens of London kept a plaie of defense and wrestling at the hospitall of saint James, against other their neighbours of the suburbes, and the quarters next adioining. In the end whereof it so fortuned, that the Londoners had the vpper hand: and amongst other that were put to the foile, the steward of the abbat of Westminster with his folkes went awaie with the worst, to their great gréefe. Wherevpon the same steward deuised an other game of wrestling to be holden at Westminster on Lammas day next following, and that whosoeuer could get the vpper hand there, should haue a ram for the price, which the steward had prepared.

Matt. Paris. Matth. West.

A bell-wedder some saie.

At the day appointed, there was a great assemblie, and the steward had got togither out of all parts the best wrestlers that might be heard of, so that there was hard hold betwixt them and the Londoners. But finallie, the steward vpon desire of reuenge, procured them to fall togither by the eares without any iust cause, so that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and constreined to flée backe to the citie in great disorder. The citizens sore offended to see their people so misused, rose in tumult, and rang the common bell to gather the more companie to them. Robert Serle maior of the citie would haue pacified the matter, persuading them to let the iniurie passe, till by orderlie plaint they might get redresse, as law and iustice should assigne. But a certeine stout man of the citie named Constantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good authoritie amongst them, aduised the multitude not to harken vnto peace, but to seeke reuenge out of hand (wherein he shewed himselfe so farre from true manhood, that he bewraied himselfe rather to haue had a womans heart,

A riot committed vnder pretense of wrestling.

Robert Serle maior of London.

Constantine, a citizen of London procureth the citizens to reuenge their cause by waie of rebellion.

Matth. Paris.

——quòd vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quàm fœmina)

still prosecuting the strife with tooth and naile, and blowing the coles of contention as it were with full bellowes, that the houses belonging to the abbat of Westminster, and namelie the house of his steward might be ouerthrowne and beaten downe flat with the ground.

This lewd counsell was soone receiued and executed by the outragious people, & Constantine himselfe being cheefe leader of them, cried with a lowd voice, Mount ioy mount ioy, God be our aid and our souereigne Lewes. This outragious part comming to the notice of Hubert de Burgh lord chéefe iustice, he gat togither a power of armed men, and came to the citie with the same, and taking inquisition of the cheefe offendors, found Constantine as constant in affirming the déed to be his, as he had before constantlie put it in practise, wherevpon he was apprehended and two other citizens with him. On the next day in the morning Fouks de Brent was appointed to haue them to execution: and so by the Thames he quietlie led them to the place where they should suffer. Now when Constantine had the halter about his necke, he offered fifteene thousand marks of siluer to haue béene pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephue named also Constantine, and one Geffrey, who made the proclamation deuised by the said

The lord chéefe iustice taketh inquisition of the riot.

Constantine apprehended.

He is executed.

said Constantine. The crie also which Constantine vsed to the setting forward of his vnlawfull enterprise in the name of Lewes most of all offended the kings frẽends, as the lord cheefe iustice and others, who not satisfied with the death of the three before remembred persons, but also entring the citie againe with their bands of armed men, apprehended diuerse of those whome they tooke to be culpable, not onelie putting manie of them into prison, but also punishing other of them, as some with losse of a foot, some of an hand, and other of their eie-sight. The king furthermore to reuenge this matter, deposed all the magistrats of the citie, and ordeined new in their roomes. Which caused great hartburning against diuerse of the Nobilitie, but cheefelie the lord Hubert and Fouks de Brent, on whome in time they hoped to haue reuenge.

As this broile vexed the citie of London, so in this yeare there chanced great tempest of thunder, lightning and raine, whereby much hurt was doone in diuerse parts of the realme, and at sundrie times, as by throwing downe of steeples, churches, and other buildings, with the rootwalting of trées, as well in woods as orchards, verie strange to consider, chéefelie on the eight day of Februarie at Grantham in Lincolneshire, where there chanced (beside the thunder) such a stinke and filthie sauour to follow in the church, that the people fled out, for that they were not able to abide it. Likewise in the day of the exaltation of the crosse, a generall thunder happened throughout the realme, and thervpon followed a continuall season of foule weather and wet, till Candelmas next after, which caused a dearth of corne, so as wheat was sold at twelue shillings the quarter. Likewise on the day of saint Andrew an other terrible tenipest of thunder happened through the realme, throwing downe and shaking buildings in manie places, in so much that at Pillerdeston in Warwikeshire, in a knights house, the ladie thereof and six other persons were destroied by the same. And a turbarie thereby compassed about with water and marresse was so dried vp, that neither grasse nor mire remained, after which insued an earthquake. Moreouer on the euen of saint Lucie, a mightie wind raged, which did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Furthermore, about this time there appeared in England a woonderfull comet or blasing starre. The sea also rose with higher tides and springs than it had beene accustomed to doo. All which woonders were afterward iudged to betoken and signifie the losse which the christians susteined the same yeare in Aegypt, when they were constreined to surrender the citie of Damieta into the Saracens hands, which latelie before (as yée haue heard) they had woone with long and chargeable siege. After the yéelding vp of Damieta, William de Albenie earle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe earle of Chester left behind him in the holie land) with manie souldiers and men of warre (when he returned from thence) came now homewards towards England, and died by the waie.

Great tempest.
A generall thunder.
Great dearth of corne.
An other tempest of thunder.
Polydor.
A comet or blasing star.
The losse of the citie of Damieta.
William de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life.

About the same time Iohn the sonne of Dauid earle of Anguish in Scotland, sisters sonne vnto Ranulfe earle of Chester, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it were to procure a finall accord betwéene the said Leolin and Ranulfe. After which marriage, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Oxenford, and shortlie after the twelftide came to London: where assembling a councell of his barons, he was earnestlie required by the bishop of Canturburie and other peeres, to confirme the liberties, franchises, and frée customes of the realme, for which the warres in his fathers time had béene mooued: which to denie (as the archbishop seemed to alledge, & shuld haue béene ashamed so to open his mouth, to the disaduantage of his souereigne, but that it is likelie he forgat the old posie, namelie that,

Imago rex est animata Dei.)

he might not with anie reason, sith he had couenanted (and all the baronage with him) to sée the same obserued, by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the same Lewes departed the realme.

An. Reg. 7.
John Scot marrieth the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales.
1223.
A councell at London.
Note the rediculous nesse of this bish. to broch new contention.

Herevpon William Brewer one of the kings councell, hearing the archbishop so earnest in these matters, told him, that sith these liberties were procured & extorted rather by

The answer of William Brewer to the archbishops demand.

force than otherwise, of the king being vnder age, they were not to be obserued. Wherevnto the archbishop replied, that if he loued the king, he would be loth to séeke to trouble the quiet state of the realme. The king perceiuing the archbishop to be chafed, & taking the tale himselfe, made a courteous answer, and further aduise had in the matter, sent foorth writs to the shiriffe of euerie countie, commanding them by inquirie of a sufficient iurie impanelled, to make certificat within the quindene of Ester, what were the liberties in times past of his grandfather K. Henrie, vsed within the realme of England.

Ahab accuseth Helias.

An inquisition.

Matth. Paris.

The same yeare, whiles William Marshall earle of Penbroke was busie in Ireland in war against Hugh Lacie, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as some haue intitled him, tooke by force two castels that belonged to the same earle: whereof when he was aduertised, with all spéed he returned out of Ireland, raised an armie, and recouered the said castels, putting to death all such as he found in the same, to requite Leolin with the like damage as he had shewed him before in his absence. This doone he entered into the land of Leolin, wasting and spoiling the same, whereof when the said Leolin was informed, he assembled an host of Welshmen, and comming into the field gaue battell, but the victorie rested on the earle of Penbroks side: so that there were taken and slaine in this bickering to the number of 9000 Welshmen. There was in this yeare a conspiracie also begun by the earle of Chester, and other Noble men, against Hubert de Burgh lord chiefe iustice of England, by whose counsell (as it was thought) the king was more streict towards the nobilitie and other his subiects, in staieng his grant to confirme the charter of liberties, than otherwise he would haue beene, if the same Hubert and other had not aduised him to the contrarie.

The earle of Penbroke recouereth his castels taken by the prince of Wales.

The prince of Wales discomfited.

A conspiracie against the lord chiefe iustice.

Matt. Paris.

In this season also Iohn de Brena king of Ierusalem, and the lord great maister of the knights hospitallers came into England, where they were honorablie receiued of king Henrie, and liberally rewarded. The cause of their comming was to require aid of the king for the recouerie of the holie land out of the possession of the Saracens. In like maner about the same time Leolin prince of Northwals, with certeine English lords, as Hugh Lacie and others, vpon an hatred which they bare towards king Henrie for his fathers sake, supposing that so euill a stocke as they tooke him to be, could not bring foorth anie good branch, sought by open warres to bring William Marshall earle of Penbroke and other barons that were faithfull friends to the king vnto their purpose: but the whole countrie rising against them, they were disappointed to their owne confusion, and so they could neuer bring that to passe which they so earnestlie intended.

The king of Ierusalem commeth into England.

The death of French king.

In this yeare Philip the French king departed this life, and after him succéeded Lewes his sonne, vnto whom king Henrie sent in ambassage the archbishop of Canturburie with three other bishops, to require, that (according to his oth made and receiued at his returne out of England) he would restore and deliuer vp to him the dukedome of Normandie, with other such lands and possessions as his father in times past had taken from king Iohn, and still did wrongfullie withhold. K. Lewes answered herevnto, that he held Normandie & the other lands by good right and iust title, as he could well prooue and iustifie, if king Henrie would come to the parlement in France to hear it. And as touching the oth which he had sworne in England, he affirmed that the same was first broken by king Henrie, both in that his men which had béene taken at Lincolne were put to greeuous ransoms, and also for that their liberties for which the warre first began, were not obserued, but denied to the English subiects, contrarie to that which was concluded at the agréement betwixt them at the same time made.

Ambassadors sent into France.

Moreouer, king Henrie sent other ambassadours to Rome, who purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was adiudged to be of age sufficient to receiue the gouernement of the kingdome of England into his owne hands, thereby to order and dispose all things at his pleasure, & by the aduise of such councellours as he should elect and choose to be about him. Wherevpon after the said ambassadours were returned, all those earles,

barons

barons and nobles, which held anie castels, honors, manors or places apperteining to the king, were commanded to deliuer and resigne the same to his vse, which caused much trouble, as after shall appeare. For diuerse Noble men, whose harts were filled with couetousnesse, would not obeie the popes order herein, but sore repined; yet not so much against the king as against the lord Hubert de Burgh, by whose councell the king was most led and ruled. And therefore they did put him in all the blame, as one that should set the king against them, and staie him from suffering them to inioy those liberties, which they from time to time so much laboured to haue had to them granted and confirmed. An. Reg. 8.

Vpon this occasion therfore, they sued to the king for the restitution of the ancient lawes according to his promise, who to pacifie them for the time, gaue them a gentle answer, assuring them, that he would perfourme all that he had promised, so soone as opportunitie would permit and suffer him so to doo. Howbeit, afterwards by the aduise of certeine old councellours, which had béene of the priuie councell with king Iohn his father, he found a shift to disappoint them of their demands, by requiring them on the other side, to restore vnto him those things which they had in times past receiued of his ancestors. Furthermore, bicause he would the more easilie obteine his purpose, and make the residue afraid to follow a suit so displeasant and irkesome, he thought best to begin with the chiefe authors and first procurers of the said petitions, and to take from them whatsoeuer they held belonging to his crowne. *Polydor.* The king giueth a gentle answer to his lords.

Herevpon therefore assembling a great power about him, he demanded of Ranulph earle of Chester the restitution of certeine lordships which ancientlie apperteined to the crowne of the realme, which earle not being as then able to resist, readilie obeied the kings pleasure, and resigned them all. By this entrance of the king into the execution of his purpose, diuerse of the rest of the barons were brought into such feare, that they were contented also to doo the like, so that by this meanes the lords being cut short and weakened in power, surceased as then from molesting the king anie further with the demand of other lands or liberties. 1224. The king demanded restitution of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne.

The archbishop of Canturburie also threatened them with the dart of excommunication, if they went about to disquiet the realme with anie ciuill commotions, though no man was more desirous to haue that matter go forward than he, as appéered by his diligent trauell therein (hoping as now in short processe of time, and that by courteous meanes, to persuade the king to his purpose) but the king droue him off with faire words, and minded nothing lesse than to alter anie one of the lawes which he knew to be profitable to himselfe and his successours after him. Wherevpon diuerse misliking his dealing herein, withdrew themselues secretlie, some into one place, and some into an other, to the intent they might auoid the dailie sight of such abuses, as they for the most part could not well abide to beare.

Whilest king Henrie thus politikelie prouided for his affaires at home, Sauerie de Mauleon made prouision in Guien to withstand such perils and dangers as he saw most likelie to insue by the practises of the Frenchmen. But as he was most busilie occupied about the purueiance of such things as should be verie necessarie for his doings, there sprang a great dissention betwixt him and William the earle of Salisburie, who was sent ouer into that countrie with commission to surueie the state thereof, and by colour of the same commission, tooke vpon him to order all things at his owne pleasure. Whereas the foresaid Sauerie de Mauleon (being a man of high parentage in those parts where he was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothing standing with his honour, that another man should order things at his will and commandement within the countrie, whereof he himselfe had the chiefe charge, as the kings lieutenant; and therefore determined not to suffer it anie longer. Discord betwixt Sauerie de Mauleon and the earle of Salisburie.

Herevpon verelie arose the contention betwixt them, which the English souldiers that were there, did greatlie increase, fauouring the earle as the kings vncle, and contemning the

the lieutenant as a stranger borne, by meanes whereof the foresaid Sauerie doubting least if he should fight with his enimies, and through such discord as was now amongst them, be put to the worse, the fault should be laid wholie on his necke: he secretlie departed and fled to Lewes the French king, who was latelie come to the crowne of France by the death of his father king Philip, as you before haue heard: wherein he dwelt wiselie in respect of safetie. For

Sauerie de Mauleon reuolteth to the French king.

Quid poterit iusta tutius esse fuga?

Matth. Paris. Matt. Westm. Fouks de Brent an enimie to rest and quietnesse.

About the same time Fouks de Brent, being a man of an vnquiet mind, readie to mischiefe and loth to liue in peace (as some saie) conspired against the king of England, and aduertised the king of France that if he would boldlie begin the warres against king Henrie in France, he would not faile but raise warre against him here in the middest of his realme of England, hauing diuerse noble men in a readinesse, that would willinglie take his part. But howsoeuer it fell out, certeine it is that this Fouks hauing fortified his castell of Bedford, attempted manie enterprises greatlie to the preiudice of the kings peace, aswell in robbing and spoiling the countrie about him, as otherwise.

Matth. Paris. Henrie Braibroke taken by Fouks de Brent, and imprisoned.

And now fearing to be punished therefore by order of law, he shewed his malice against such as had the execution of the same lawes chieflie in their hands. Herevpon he tooke prisoner Henrie Braibroke, one of the kings iustices of his bench, and led him to his castell of Bedford, and there shut him vp close as his lawfull prisoner. Indeed the said Henrie de Braibroke, with Martine de Pateshull, Thomas de Multon, and other of the kings iustices were come to kéepe their circuit at Dunstable. Where, vpon information giuen and presented before them, Fouks de Brent was condemned to the king in great summes of monie. Wherewithall this Fouks tooke such indignation and displeasure, that he commanded his men of warre which laie in the castell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunstable, and there to apprehend the said iustices, and to bring them vnto Bedford, where (as he said) he meant to commen further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpose, fled quicklie out of the towne, séeking to escape euerie man which waie he might best deuise. Howbeit, the souldiers vsed such diligence, that Henrie de Braibroke fell into their hands, & and so was brought captiue to Bedford as their maister had commanded them.

Bedford castell besieged.

The king aduertised hereof by the gréeuous complaints of his subiects, was as then at Northampton (where he had assembled his parlement) and thervpon hauing gathered speedilie a power, with all expedition he hasted towards Bedford. At his comming thither, he besieged the castell on ech side, and at length after two moneths, though not without much adoo, he wan it, and hanged them all which taken within, being in number 80 or aboue: and amongst other William de Brent, the brother of the said Fouks was one. There were but thrée that escaped with life, who were pardoned, vpon condition they should passe into the holie land, there to serue among the Templers. The siege began on the Ascension eeuen, and continued till the 15 daie of August, being the feast daie of the assumption of our ladie.

He was in the borders of Wales, where the earle of Chester was lord.

Fouks himselfe, whilest the siege continued, laie aloofe in Cheshire, and on the borders of Wales, as one watching to doo some mischiefe: but after the castell was woone, he got him to Couentrie, and there was yer long apprehended, and brought to the king, of whom he obteined pardon of life, but yet by the whole consent of the nobles and péeres of the realme, he was exiled the land for euermore, and then went to Rome, where he knew to purchase his pardon easilie inough for mony, of crime whatsoeuer he should be iudged culpable. His wife, bicause she neuer consented to his dooings, nor yet willinglie to the marriage had betwixt hir and him, was acquited of all blame, and so likewise was his sonne Thomas.

The end of Fouks de Brent.

Howbeit at length the foresaid Fouks, hauing obteined his purpose at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Paslew an Englishman, who was his sollicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare insuing, was poisoned and died by the waie, making

making so an end of his inconstant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of discretion was neuer bent to quietnes. Which may be reported of him not to his honour or renowme (for alas what fame is gotten by giuing occasions of euill) but to his euerlasting shame and infamie, for the same shall neuer die, but remaine in perpetuall memorie, as one saith right well,

Hominum immortalis est infamia, *Plaut in Persa.*
Etiam tunc viuit cùm esse credas mortuam.

But now to leaue these things and returne to the dooings in France where we left. Ye shall vnderstand, that after Sauerie de Mauleon was reuolted to the French king, the said king with all spéed determined to make warre vpon king Henrie, and to win from him certeine townes and fortresses within the countrie of Poictou.

The French writers affirme, that king Lewes recouered out of the Englishmens hands the townes of Niort, S. Iohns d'Angeli, & Rochell, before Sauerie de Mauleon reuolted from the French part. In deed, the chronicle of Dunstable saith, that after the truce *Dunstable.* tooke end, this yeare the French king raised an armie, and tooke Niort, and after they of S. Iohn d'Angeli submitted themselues vnto him. From whence he went to Rochell, within the which at that present was the said Sauerie de Mauleon with seuentie knights, and Richard Graie, with Geffrey Neuill, who had in their retinue sixtie knights. These with the forces of the towne sallied foorth, & encountring with the French armie, slue manie of their aduersaries, and lost some of their owne people. Yet after this, the French K. besieged the towne, and in the end wan it, whilest the king of England being occupied about the besieging of Bedford castell, neglected to send them within Rochell necessarie succours.

The Poictouins send to king Henrie.

But Polydor Virgil writeth, that now after that Sauerie de Mauleon was become the French king his man, the Poictouins sent vnto king Henrie, signifieng, that they were readie to reuolt from the French kings subiection, and yéeld themselues vnto him, if he would send vnto them a power of men to defend their countrie from the French men. Now king Henrie hauing receiued these letters, interteined them that brought this message verie courteouslie, and promising them to send ouer aid with all expedition, he caused his nauie to be made readie for that voiage. In the meane time the French king sent foorth an armie vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, who then tooke Niort and Rochell, placing in the same sundrie garrisons of souldiers, but chéefelie he fortified Rochell woon. Rochell, which had beene long in the Englishmens hands, and alwaies serued them to verie good purpose, for the handsome landing of their people, when any occasion required. The French king therefore hauing got it, fortified it, and meant to kéepe it, to the intent the Englishmen should not haue hereafter in time of warre, so necessarie a place for their arriuall in those coasts.

Matth. Paris. An. Reg. 9. A parlement. 1225.

King Henrie holding his Christmasse at Westminster, called his high court of parlement there the same time, and demanded a relécfe of monie, toward the maintenance of his warres in France, and had granted to him the fiftéenth penie in value of all the moueable goods to be found within the realme, as well belonging to the spiritualtie as temporaltie, but vnder condition that he should confirme vnto his subiects their often demanded liberties. The king vpon desiré to haue the monie, was contented to condescend vnto their requests, and so the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled Magna Charta, & the other Chart de Forresta. Thus at this parlement were made and confirmed these good lawes and laudable ordinances, which haue beene from time to time by the kings and princes of this realme confirmed, so that a great part of the law now in vse dependeth of the same. The same charters also were directed and sent foorth into euerie countie within the realme to be proclaimed.

A fiftéenth granted to the king.

Magna Charta and Charta de Forresta confirmed.

It was moreouer decreed, that at a certeine daie after Easter, there should be an inquisition taken by the inquest of a substantiall iurie, for the seuering of forrests, the new from the old, so as all those grounds which had beene made forrests, since the daies of

Forrests.

king Henrie the grandfather of this Henrie the third, should be disforrested. And therevpon after Easter, Hugh de Neuill, and Brian de Lisle, were sent foorth as commissioners, to take that inquisition. By force whereof, manie woods were asserted and improoued to arable land by the owners, and so not onelie men, but also dogs, which for safegard of the game were accustomed to lose their clawes, had good cause to reioise for these confirmed liberties.

In the meane time, and about the feast of the purification, king Henrie (hauing iust occasion to pursue the warre, for recouerie of those townes taken, as before you haue heard by the Frenchmen) sent ouer his brother Richard, whom he had made earle of Cornewall and Poictou, with a mightie nauie of ships vnto Gascoigne. This earle, hauing in his companie the earle of Salisburie, Philip de Albenie, and others, with prosperous wind and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred sailes, and there landing his men, went straight vnto the towne of saint Machaire, situated vpon the banke of Garon, where, vpon his first comming, he gat the castell, and sacked the towne, and then passing further, wan diuerse other townes, as Longuile, Bergerat, and other, and after went with great diligence to besiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Rioll. The French king aduertised of the earls arriuall, and of these his atchiued enterprises, sent foorth by and by the earle of Champaigne with a mightie armie into Guien to aid his people there.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Three hundred saith Gaguin.

Townes woon by the Englishmen.

The earle of Marsh, saith *Matth. Paris.*

The earle of Cornewall vnderstanding of the comming of that French armie, tooke a part of his host, and therewithall went to méet his enimies, and lieng in ambush for them by the way, had them at a good aduantage, and slue great numbers of them. After this, the earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and campe, without attempting anie other exploit, the earle of Cornewall thought it sufficient, if he might keepe the Gascoignes in obedience, which had alreadie practised a rebellion, by sending letters and messengers for the same intent vnto the French king, and therefore breaking vp his siege before the Rioll, he staied a while from exploiting any further enterprise. About the same time, the earle of Salisburie returning homwards out of Gascoigne, was so tossed and turmoiled on the seas by tempests of weather, that he fell sicke therof, and within a few daies after his arriuall died.

The Frenchmen taken at aduantage.

The earle of Cornewall raiseth his siege from the Rioll.

The death of the earle of Salisburie. *Matth. Paris.*

¶ This yeare also, there came foorth a decrée from the archbishop of Canturburie, and his suffragans, that the concubines of préests and clearkes within orders (for so were their wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) should be denied of christian buriall, except they repented whilest they were aliue in perfect health, or else shewed manifest tokens of repentance at the time of their deaths. The same decree also prohibited them from the receiuing of the pax at masse time, & also of holie bread after masse, so long as the preests kept them in their houses, or vsed their companie publikelie out of their houses. Moreouer, that they should not be purified when they should be deliuered of child, as other good women were, vnlesse they found sufficient suertie to the archdeacon, or his officiall, to make satisfaction at the next chapter or court to be holden, after they should be purified. And the préests should be suspended, which did not present all such their concubines as were resiant within their parishes. Also, all such women as were conuict to haue dealt carnallie with a preest were appointed by the same decree to doo open penance. Where the question may be asked, whether this decree was extended to preests wiues or no? Wherevnto answer may be made, that as a quadrangle in geometrie compriseth in it a triangle, and a quaternion in arithmetike conteineth a ternion; so in logike a vniuersall proposition comprehendeth a particular. But it is said here, that all such women as had carnal knowledge with a préest, were to be punished, therefore some, and consequentlie all préests wiues. But yet this seemeth not to be the meaning of that decrée, for préests were allowed no wiues, naie Sericius the pope iudged that all such of the cleargie as had wiues could not please God, bicause they were in carne, which words he and the residue of that litter restreined to marriage,

Préests concubines forbidden christian buriall.

admitting

admitting in no case that churchmen should inioy the rights of matrimonie. Wherin they offer God great iniurie, in seeking to limit that large institution of wedlocke, wherein all estates are interressed; and they seeme likewise to bridle nature, and to compell hir within certeine precincts, wherein they offer intollerable iniurie to all mankind, considering that

——ad venerem compellimur exercendam
Non modò nos, verùm omne animal, terræq; marisq;
Naturæ imperio: facias peiora necesse est,
Si non fœminei sorberis ab ore barathri.

This yeare, or (as some saie) in the next, the king granted to the citizens of London frée warren, that is to saie, libertie to hunt within a certeine circuit about London, & that all weires in the Thames should be plucked vp and destroied. Also in this tenth yeare of his reigne, king Henrie granted to the citizens of London, that they might haue and vse a common seale. About the time of the making of which ordinances, Otho the cardinall of S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano came as legat from pope Honorius into England to king Henrie, presenting him with letters from the pope. The tenour whereof when the king had well considered, he declared to the legat, that without the whole assent of the estates of his realme, he could doo little in that which the pope as then required. An. Reg. 10. A legat from the pope. *Matth. Paris.*

Herevpon therefore he caused a parlement to be summoned at Westminster, there to be holden in the octaues of the Epiphanie: this legat also mooued the king in the behalfe of Fouks de Brent, that he might be restored to his possessions, and inioy his wife as before time he had doone: but the king declared that for his manifest treason committed he was iustlie exiled, and not onlie by his, but by the sentence of the nobles and other estates of the whole realme: which answer when the legat had heard, he left off to solicit the king for Fouks, and from thencefoorth talked no more of that matter. Shortlie after by waie of proxie, the said legat gathered a dutie which he claimed of the spiritualtie, that was of euerie conuentuall church within the realme two markes of siluer. A parlement called.

In this yeare the king held his Christmasse at Winchester, and after comming to Marlebridge, chanced there to fall sicke, so that he laie in despaire of life for certeine daies togither. In the meane time also came the daie appointed for the parlement to begin at Westminster, where the legat and other of the spiritualtie and temporaltie being assembled, the said Otho shewed the popes letters, and according to the tenour and purport of the same, was earnestlie in hand to haue the priests to grant the yearlie paiment of a certeine pension or tribute to the pope, towards the maintenance of his estate, which they generallie denied. When he saw that this bait would not take, he onelie demanded a tenth part of all their spirituall liuings for maintenance of the wars against the Saracens, which was easilie granted, as more reasonable than the first. 1226. The king is sicke.

¶ Here by diuerse credible writers of good credit, it should appeare, that the pope demanded to haue assigned vnto him out of euerie cathedrall church two prebends, one out of the portion belonging to the bishop, & an other out of the portion belonging to the deane and chapiter: and likewise of the abbeies, where there were seuerall portions, that is to saie, so much of the conuent as belonged to the finding of one moonke, and as much also of euerie abbats liuing as should counteruaile the same. The cardinall vsed iollie persuasions to induce the prelats to assent to this grant, alledging that the church of Rome was run in great slander for taking of monie in dispatch of suiters causes, which arose by meanes there was no maintenance of liuing sufficient for the churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall children to releeue the necessitie of their louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well disposed persons were shortlie extended, they should want necessarie maintenance for the sustentation of their liues, which shuld be altogither an vnseemlie thing for the dignitie of the Romane church. *Matt. Westm. Matth. Paris.* The cardinals request.

The clergie resorting togither to take aduise what answer they should make, at length vpon

The answer of Iohn the archdeacon of Bedford.

vpon their resolute determination, Iohn the archdeacon of Bedford was appointed to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the cardinall, declared boldlie vnto him, that the demand which he had proponed, touched the king especiallie, and generallie all the nobilitie of the realme, which were patrons of anie churches. He added furthermore, how the archbishops and bishops, and manie other of the prelats of England (sithens the king by reason of his sicknesse could not be there) were also absent, so that they which were there present, being but as it were the inferiour part of the house, neither might nor ought to make anie resolute answer as then in this matter. Immediatlie herewith also came the lord Iohn Marshall, and other messengers from the king vnto all the prelats that held anie baronies of the king, streightlie commanding them, that they should in no wise bind and indanger his lai fée vnto the church of Rome, whereby he might be depriued of his due and accustomed seruices, and so euerie man herevpon departed and went home.

Fabian.

This yeare, the plées of the crowne were pleaded in the tower of London. And on the sixtéenth daie of March in this tenth yeare of his reigne, the king granted by his charter insealed, that the citizens of London should passe toll frée through all England, and if anie of them were constreined in anie citie, borough or towne within the realme, to paie toll, that then the shiriffes of London might attach anie man of the said citie, borough or towne, where such toll was exacted, being found within the liberties of London, and him reteine with his goods and cattels, till the citizens that paid such toll were satisfied, by restitution of the same, with all costs and charges susteined in the suit.

A grant to the citizens of London.

Matth. Paris.

Howbeit, about the same time, the king constreined the Londoners to giue vnto him the summe of fiue thousand marks as a fine, for that they had aided and succoured his aduersarie Lewes against him, and lent to the said Lewes at his departure out of the realme a like summe. But it may rather be thought they gaue vnto the king the said fiue thousand marks for his fauour shewed in granting vnto them the aboue mentioned frée-dome and liberties. At the same time, he had also twelue hundred pounds of the burgesses of Northampton, besides the fifteenth, which not onelie they, but also the Londoners, and all other generallie through the realme, paid accordinglie as it was granted.

An. Reg. 11. 1227.

In Februarie, the king called a parlement at Oxford, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the assemblie, that he was now of lawfull age to gouerne of himselfe, without anie to haue rule ouer him, and so whereas before he was gouerned first by the earle of Penbroke lord protectour, whilest he liued, & after by the bishop of Winchester and others, he now remooued them from him by the counsell of the lord chéefe iustice, taking the regiment wholie to himselfe, & to such as should please him from thencefoorth to appoint. Also in the same parlement, he did cancell and disanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the same had béene vsed through the realme for the space of two yeares, pretending them to be of no value sith they were sealed and signed whilest he was vnder age. This déed of the king was gréeuouslie taken, and all the blame put in the lord chiefe iustice. Herewith all such also as claimed anie manner charters of liberties, were appointed to remoone the same (a practise onelie to get monie) and to get them confirmed with the kings new seale, the old being made void and pronounced of none effect.

A parlement at Oxford.
The king of lawfull age.
Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
The charters cancelled.

The death of Lewes the French king.

In this yeare died the French king Lewes the eighth, and his son Lewes the ninth succeeded him, a child of twelue yeares of age, by reason of whose infancie diuerse peeres of the realme began to withdraw their obedience from him, as Theobald earle of Champaigne, Hugh earle of Marsh, and Peter duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the earle of Champaigne was easilie reduced againe to his former obedience, by the high wisedome and policie of the quéene mother, who had the gouernement of hir sonne the yoong king and his realme committed vnto hir. But the earle of Marsh constant in his purpose, came ouer to king Henrie, whose mother he had married, and declared vnto him, that now was the time for him to recouer those places, which king Philip had vniustlie taken from his father king Iohn: and to bring the same to passe, he offered himselfe and all

The earle of Marsh commeth ouer to the king and offereth him his seruice.

that

that he could make, in the furthering of this voiage. The K. being thus pricked forward with the earle of Marsh his words, determined without delaie to take in hand the warre. *Polydor.*

¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that king Henrie sent ouer certeine persons, as the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Careleill, and the Lord Philip Dalbenie, to vnderstand the minds of the Normans, the Britains and Poictouins. And for that those that were sent, brought word againe that the said people were not greatlie minded to forsake the French gouernment, he surceassed from attempting any exploit at that time. Other write, that gathering a great summe of monie of his subiects, towards the maintenance of his charges, he prepared a nauie of ships, and sailed ouer with the said earle of Marsh into Britaine, and there wasted the confines of the French dominions, and that when the French king was readie with an armie to succour his subiects, he suddenlie retired to his ships, and returned into England, without atchiuing anie enterprise worthie of remembrance, so that whether he went himselfe or sent, it forceth not: for certeine it is that he profited nothing at that seson, either by sending messengers to procure him fréendship, or by going ouer himselfe to make an entrie to the warres. *Matth. Paris.* Ambassadors sent into France. *Polydor.*

When the French affaires were thus at a staie, within a few moneths after, Richard earle of Cornewall returned foorth of Gascoigne into England, and shortlie after, bicause he heard and was crediblie informed, that a certeine manour place which Walerane the Duchman, capteine of Berkhamstéed castell held, by the gift and assignement of king Iohn, apperteined to his earledome of Cornewall, he seized the castell into his hands. So that Walerane being thus dispossessed, exhibited his bill of complaint to the king, who incontinentlie sent to the earle, commanding him to make restitution, which he vtterlie refused to doo. But foorthwith, comming to the king, and without reteining any aduocate, he declared his right which he offered to auerre in open presence, & in any of the kings courts, before whatsoeuer péeres of the realme should be there assembled. The earle of Cornewall returneth home. *Matth. Paris.* The earle of Cornewall.

This addition [the peeres of the realme] nothing pleased the king and his councell, namelie the lord chéefe iustice, by whose aduice the king meant to haue apprehended the earle the same night, after he was withdrawne to his lodging. But the earle warned thereof, secretlie departed, accompanied onelie with one man, and neuer drew bridle out of his horsses mouth, vntill he came to Reading (whither his seruants resorted to him) and from thence he rode straight to Marlebridge, where he found his deare freend William earle Marshall, to whome he did impart the danger likelie to haue befallen him. Then they drew to the earle of Chester, & taking order with him for the raising of an armie, there met shortlie after at Stamford the persons whose names hereafter insue; Ranulfe earle of Chester, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, Gilbert earle of Glocester, William earle Warren, Henrie earle of Hereford, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Warwike, and diuerse barons, lords and knights, hauing there with them a great puissance of warlike personages. He departeth from the court secretlie. He ioineth himselfe with the earles of Chester and Penbroke and others. They méet at Stamford with an armie.

The king hauing vnderstanding as well of their demeanor, as also what they required by their letters and messengers to him dailie sent, thought good for a time to pacifie their furie, and therevpon appointed a day at Northampton, where he would méet, and minister such iustice vnto them, as should be thought reasonable, and to stand with their good willes and contentation. Wherevpon, the parties comming to Northampton at the day assigned, he granted to the earle his brother (at the instant desire of the lords) all his mothers dowrie, with all those lands which belonged to the earle of Britaine within England, and withall, those lands also that apperteined to the earle of Bullongne deceassed. Thus the matter being pacified, euerie man departed to his home, whereas if the king had béene froward (as he was mild and patient, knowing that A day appointed to méet at Northampt5, for a treatie of pacification. The kings grant to his brother.

——— non solis viribus æquum
Credere, sæpè acri potior prudentia dextra) *Val. Flac. lib. 4.*

warres had immediatlie béene raised betwixt them, namelie, bicause manie of the lords bare a secret grudge towards the king, for that he had reuoked certeine liberties which in the begining of his reigne he had granted to be holden, though now to take awaie the enuie which might be conceiued towards him for his dooing, he alledged, that he did not infringe any thing that he had then granted, but such things as his gouernours had suffered to passe whilest he was vnder age, and not ruler of himselfe: he caused them therefore to redéeme manie of the same priuileges, whereby he gained great finance for the setting to of his new seale (as before yee haue heard declared.)

The pope exhorteth the christiáns to make a iournie against the Saracens.

Moreouer, in this yeare there were sent certeine persons from pope Gregorie the ninth (that succéeded Honorius) into all the parts of Europe, to mooue by preaching the christian people to make a iournie into the holie land against the Saracens. Such a multitude by means hereof did assemble togither from all parts, and that within a short time, as the like had sildome times beene heard of. It is said, that amongst them there should be to the number of fortie thousand Englishmen, of whome Peter bishop of Winchester, and William bishop of Excester were the cheefe. Capteins also of that great multitude of crossed souldiers that went foorth of sundrie countries were these, Theobald earle of Champaigne, and Philip de Albenie, through whose negligence the sequele of this noble enterprise came but to small effect. But to proceed.

Matth. Paris. sixtie thousād.

Polydor.

An. Reg. 12. 1228.

About this time the king minding the benefit of the commonwealth, caused the weights and measures generallie within the land to be reformed after one standard. Furthermore, he created Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent, the which Hubert how much praise so euer he got at the beginning for his valiancie shewed in the defending of Douer castell, and in vanquishing the French flēet that was comming to the succour of Lewes by battell on the sea, it is certeine, that now he purchased himselfe double as much hatred and euill will, bicause that being of secret councell with the king, and thereby after a sort sequestred from the lords, he was knowne to dissuade the said prince from restoring of the ancient lawes and customes vnto the people, which the barons oft required: whereby it came to passe, that the more he grew in fauour with the prince, the further he came into the enuie of the Nobilitie, and hatred of the people, which is a common reward to such as in respect of their maister doo little regard the profit of others, as the prouerbe saith,

Matth. Paris. Weights and measures.

Polydor. Hubert de Burgh created earle of Kent.

Plus quis honoratur hostis tum multiplicatur.

Stephan archbishop of Canturburie departed this life.

Furthermore, vpon the ninth of Iulie Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie died, after he had gouerned that sée the terme of 21 yeares, after whome succéeded Richard Wethersheid deane of Paules, who was the thrée and fortith archbishop of that sée.

Richard Wethersheid elected in his place.

The moonks of Canturburie had first elected one of their owne conuent, named Walter de Helmesham: which election was made by the same moonks the third daie of August next insuing the death of their said archbishop Stephan, but the king would not consent that he should haue the place for diuerse causes, which he obiected: as first, for that he knew him to be such a man as should be vnprofitable, both to him and to his kingdome. Secondlie, bicause his father was a theefe, and thereof being conuict, suffered death vpon the gallowes. Thirdlie, for that he himselfe had stood against king Iohn in time of the interdiction.

Matth. Paris. Walter Helmesham.

On the other side, the bishops suffragans to the church of Canturburie obiected also against him, that he had vsed the familiar companie of a nunne, and begot of hir certeine children. Moreouer they alledged, that no election without their consent, could be good, nor ought to take place. But the moonke making his appeale, stood in it, and taking with him certeine of his fellow moonks of Canturburie, went to Rome, and there made supplication to the pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified and confirmed. Whereof the king and the other bishops being aduertised, did put their obiections in writing vnder their seales, & sent the same to Rome to be exhibited to the pope by the bishops of Westchester and Rochester, and Iohn the archdeacon of Bed-

A new trouble about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie.

ford, who vsed such means, that his election was iudged void, & then the said Richard Wethersheid was out of hand elected & confirmed. In that yeare also, a grant was made to the citizens of London, that they should haue and vse a common seale. *Fabian.*

In this meane while, Hugh the earle of March so laboured with the Normans and Poictouins in the behalfe of the king of England, that they began to incline to his purpose: wherevpon he sent his letters by secret meanes vnto king Henrie, signifieng to him, that if it would please him to come ouer with an armie to make warre against the French king, they would be readie to turne vnto his side, and receiue him as their souereigne. King Henrie taking aduise what to answer and doo herein, with his welbeloued councellour Hubert of Burgh, thought it not good to attempt anie thing rashlie in this matter, bicause the dealings of the Normans were neuer without some fraud: but yet to satisfie the request of his frèends, he promised to come ouer shortlie vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceiue that they remained stedfast in their purpose, giuing them furthermore manie great and hartie thanks for their good meaning and singular kindnesse towards him. *Polyd'or.* The earle of March worketh to induce the Normans & Poictouins to fauour the king of England. The Normans write to the king of England.

Now things beyond the sea standing in this order, it happened in the moneth of August, that the soldiers which laie in garrison within the castell of Mountgomerie, tooke in hand to stocke vp a wood not farre from the said castell, through which lay an highwaie, where oftentimes manie fellonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welsh. As the souldiers were busie at worke in stocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambushment of Welshmen, which not onlie draue them awaie from their worke, but also tooke and slue diuerse of them, constreining the residue to flée into the castell, which immediatlie the Welshmen inuironed also about with a strong siege, thinking to find the defendants vnprouided. *Matt. Paris.* The Welshmẽ besiege the castell of Montgomerie.

They within aduertised Hugh de Burgh, the lord chéefe iustice (to whome the castell belonged by the kings late gift) of the exploit and enterprise attempted by their enimies, with all possible hast: wherevpon the king at request of the said Hubert leuied a power, and came to raise the siege. But the Welshmen hearing of the kings approch, fled awaie like sheepe, so that comming to the castell, he found no resistance: howbeit, for so much as he saw the foresaid wood to be troublesome and an annoiance to the said castell, he willed it to be destroied. True it is, that the same wood was verie thicke and rough, and further it conteined also fiue leagues or fifteene miles in length: yet by such diligence as was vsed, the same was wasted, stocked vp, and quickelie rid out of the waie by fire and other means, so that the countrie was made plaine a great waie about. The king with an armie cometh to the succour of them within the castell.

After this, the king departed foorth into the Welsh confines, and comming to an abbeie of the white moonks called Cride, caused it to be burnt, bicause it serued as a refuge for his enimies. Then by the aduise of the lord chiefe iustice Hubert de Burgh, he set in hand to build a castell there, bicause the place séemed verie fit for fortification. But after the king with his armie had laine there thrée months, through lacke of vittels (the Welshmen still cutting the Englishmen off as they went abroad to fetch in forrage and other prouision) he was constreined to fall to agréement with Leolin their prince, and receiuing of the said prince the summe of three thousand marks, he was contented that so much of the castell as was alreadie builded, should be raced and made flat againe with the ground, before his departure from thence. Herevpon, manie men tooke occasion to iest at the lord chiefe iustice and his dooings about this castell, who at the beginning named it Huberts follie. The abbeie of Cride burnt. The king beginneth to build a castell. He is cõstreined to agrée with the Welshmen.

Amongst other also that were taken prisoners by the Welshmen, whilest the king thus vainelie spent his time about the building of that fort, William de Breuse a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Leolin prince of Wales, was by him cruellie put to death (as after shall appear) for the which act, and other such iniuries receiued at the same Leolins hands, king Henrie at length greeuouslie punished him. ¶ For the most part of this summer season, great thunders happened in England: the element also seemed The lord William de Breuse taken prisoner. *Matt. Paris.* Strange sights in the aire.

seemed as though it had burned with continuall flames: steeples, churches, and other hie buildings were striken with lightning, and the haruest was sore hindered by continuall raine. Also in the middest of the day there came a woonderfull darknesse vpon the earth, that the brightnesse of the aire seemed to be couered and taken awaie.

Polydor.

An. Reg. 13. 1229.

In the thirteenth yeare of this king, Stephan the popes chapleine and his Nuncio came ouer vnto king Henrie, requiring to haue towards the maintenance of the popes warres against the emperour Frederike, a tenth part of all the moueable goods within the realmes & countries of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of spirituall persons as temporall. Wherevpon, a parlement or assemblie of the lords was called at Westminster, on the second sundaie after Easter, which was the 29 of Aprill. At which parlement, when the popes buls were read, and the matter therein conteined plainelie opened and examined, to the end it might appeare vpon what necessarie causes the pope was constreined to pursue the said wars, and to aske releefe of faithfull christian people, being members of the holie church: the king, bicause he had by his procurators at Rome aforehand promised & bound himselfe to such paiment of tenths, sate still, and answered not to the contrarie (whereas the hope of a great number was reposed in him, that by his deniall the popes request shuld haue béene frustrat) so that when by his silence he was adiudged to consent, yet the temporall lords & laie men vtterlie denied to agree vnto such paiment, not willing in any wise to bind their baronies and temporall possessions vnto the church of Rome.

A parlement or a councell holden.

The temporall lords refuse to aid the pope with monie.

Howbeit, the bishops, abbats, priors, and other ecclesiasticall persons, after they had shewed themselues to rest doubtfull (not without great grudging and murmuring in the meane time, for the space of three or foure daies togither) at length, for feare of excommunication, consented to be contributorie, but in such sort, as they had escaped for a farre more reasonable summe, if Stephan Segraue one of the kings councell had not by compact (as was thought) made with the Nuncio, wrought so in the matter, that the tenths were finallie granted, to the great impouerishment and inestimable damage of the church and realme of England. After this, the Nuncio shewed the procuratorie letters, whereby he was authorised to gather those tenths, and that not after a common manner, but by a verie straight and hard valuation.

Stephan de Segraue.
The tenths of the spiritualtie granted to the pope.

And for the more sure waie of proceeding herein, he had letters of authoritie from the pope, to excommunicate all such as should withstand him or his deputies in proceeding with those affaires. He shewed himself moreouer verie extreame in collecting of this monie, and namelie towards the prelats of the church, insomuch that appointing him a certeine day in the which vnder paine of excommunication they should make paiment, diuers for want of readie monie, were compelled to make shift with the chalices, and other vessels and ornaments belonging to their churches, and other were glad to take vp monie vpon interest, and for that shift there were come ouer with the Nuncio diuerse wicked vsurers vnder the name of merchants, which when they saw those that stood in need like to be excommunicate for want of readie monie, they would offer themselues to lend vnto any that would borow, after the rate of one noble for the loane of twentie by the moneth, so bringing the néedie into their snares, to their irrecouerable losses and vndooing. Hereby the land was filled with bitter cursings (though in secret) by those that wished such vnreasonable exactors neuer to sée good end of the vse of that monie.

Vsurers.

From that day forward there wanted not in England certeine vsurers called Caursini, which sought nothing else but the wealth of such persons as they might get into their snares, namelie those whome the church of Rome dooth vex and put to trouble with hir exactions and paiments. The earle of Chester onlie stood manfullie against the paiment of those tenths, insomuch that he would not suffer his lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold he permit the religious men and préests that held of his fee to pay the same, although the rest of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland were compelled to be contributorie

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Chester wold not permit the tenths to be gathered within his land.

butorie thereto, hauing onelie this comfort, that not they alone, but also other forren regions were driuen to doo the like. Thus did the locusts of Rome from time to time sucke the swéetnesse of the land, and all to mainteine the pompe and pride of the same, wherein what other practises did they vse, than as one truelie testifieth:

Cuncti luxuriæ atq; gulæ, furtísq; dolísq;
Certatim incumbunt, &c.

King Henrie prepareth to passe ouer into France.

But to let this passe: king Henrie purposing to saile ouer into Britaine and inuade France, came to Portsmouth about Michaelmasse, with such an armie assembled out of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as the like for number of people had not beene knowne to haue passed ouer with any of his ancesters: howbeit when he should come to the verie point of imbarking his people, with vittels, armor, and other prouision, there were not ships sufficient to passe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when the king saw this default, he was sore offended, but chéefelie with Hubert the earle of Kent, lord chéefe iustice, insomuch that he openlie called him old traitor, and laid to his charge how he had thus vsed the matter of purpose, onelie to pleasure the queene of France, of whome (as he said) he had receiued fiue thousand marks to hinder his proceedings. In this heat if the earle of Chester and other had not béene at hand, he had suerlie slaine the chéefe iustice euen there with his drawne sword, who was glad to auoid his presence, till his angrie mood was somwhat ouerpassed.

The earle of Kent fallen into the kings displeasure.

Henrie earle of Britaine.

The kings iournie deferred.

In the meane time there arriued Henrie earle of Britaine on the ninth of October, which should haue conducted the king in his countrie. But sith winter was come vpon them, he aduised him to stay till the next spring, and so he did. Then euerie man was licenced to depart home, and the earle of Kent reconciled againe into fauour. The erle of Britaine in like maner did homage to the king for Britaine, and the king restored him to all his rights in England, and further giuing him fiue thousand marks to defend his countrie against the enimies, sent him home againe in most courteous and louing maner.

An. Reg. 14. 1230.

Matth. Paris. The king of Scots kept Christmasse with the king of England at Yorke.

In this yeare of our Lord 1230 king Henrie held his Christmasse at Yorke, togither with the king of Scots, whome he had desired to come thither at that time, that they might make merrie: and so for the space of thrée daies togither, there was great banketting and sport betwéene them. On the fourth day they tooke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with rich gifts returning towards his countrie, and the king of England towards London.

Matth. Paris. A strange tempest at London. See Iohn Stow, pag. 261. of his large collectiõ printed 1580.

Vpon the fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie also, while the bishop of London was at high masse within the church of S. Paule in London, a sudden darknesse ouershadowed the quiere, and therewith such a tempest of thunder and lightning, that the people there assembled thought verelie the church and stéeple had come downe vpon their heads. There came moreouer such a filthie sauour and stinke withall, that partlie for feare, and partlie for that they might not abide the sauour, they voided the church, falling on heapes one vpon another, as they sought to get out of the same. The vicars and canons forsooke their deskes, so that the bishop remained there onelie with one deacon that serued him at masse. Afterward, when the aire began to cleare vp, the people returned into the church, and the bishop went forward and finished the masse.

Matth. Paris.

The king gathereth monie towards his iournie into France.

Matth. Paris. The Lord W. de Breuse hanged.

The king saileth ouer into France.

In the meane time the king leuied a great summe of monie of the prelats of his land towards his iournie into France: he had also a great reléefe of the citizens of London. And the Iewes were constreined to giue to him the third part of all their moueable goods. In the moneth of Aprill, Leolin prince of Wales caused William de Breuse, whom he had taken prisoner long before (as aboue is mentioned) to be hanged on a paire of gallowes, for that he was taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wife of the said prince. And on the last day of Aprill, the king with a puissant armie tooke the sea at Portesmouth, and landed at saint Malos in Britaine on the third day of May, where he was right ioifullie receiued of Henrie earle of that countrie. After he was thus arriued in Britaine, he entered into the French dominions, with the said earle, and the earle of Marsh, his father in law, dooing much hurt within the same. His armie dailie increasing by the great.

great numbers of Normans and other, which at the fame of the king of Englands arriuall in those parts, came flocking from diuerse places to aid him.

Two brethrē of the Paganels or Painelles. *Matth. Paris.*

Amongst other, there were two brethren that were Normans, Fouke and William, of the familie and surname of the Paganelles or Painelles, being men of great birth and estimation in their countrie, which brought with them threéscore knights or men of armes, right worthie and valiant in feats of war. These Noble men would faine haue persuaded the king to haue entred into Normandie, for that (as they affirmed) it should be an easie matter for him to subdue the whole countrie: whereto the king would gladlie haue consented, if the earle of Kent had not aduised him otherwise. After this, they besought him at the leastwise to grant them two hundred knights or men of armes of his armie, with whose aid they doubted not to be able (as they said) to expell all the Frenchmen out of Normandie, but neither would this be obteined, so that those Norman lords remained without comfort, whilest the French king caused their castels and manours to be seized vnto his vse.

The earle of Kent beginneth now to beare ye blame for euerie thing amisse.

Polydor.

During this time, king Lewes (who a few daies afore had taken from the duke of Britaine the townes of Ardone, Campanell, and Belesme) being now certified by his espials, of the landing and inuasion made by the king of England, hasted foorth with his armie into the countrie of Aniou, and there by the side of the Loire, incamped, to staie the king of England, that he should not passe ouer the same riuer into Poictou, suspecting least the Poictouins (whom he had alwaie in some gelousie) would reuolt vnto him. But the king of England aduertised of his approch, passed that riuer sooner than anie man would haue iudged, and incamped first in the countrie of Poictou, and after drew into the confines of Xantonge, the French king still following, and by the waie destroieng the townes of Fountney, and Villars, perteining to one Guie de Rochfort, a capteine belonging to the earle of March. Afterward also he passed the riuer of Charent, and wasted all the countrie of Xantonge. Where (if we may belieue some writers) the two kings ioined battell, which continued a long time right fierce & cruell: but at length the Englishmen giuing backe, the victorie remained on the French side, a great number of their aduersaries being slaine and taken.

He tooke the towne and castell of Angiers, saint Jame, Bonneroy, & Belesme. The annales of Aquitaine.

Poictou and Xantonge.

The French get the vpper hand.

After this battell, they saie also that a peace was concluded betwixt them. But other writers haue recorded, that the matter was first taken vp by a truce without anie battell, bicause both the kings being yoong men, and as yet not verie skilfull in martiall affaires, were content to giue eare vnto queene Blanch, to Philip erle of Bollongne, and to Ranulfe earle of Chester, which three tooke vpon them to intreat a peace, and prescribe the couenants of agréement, by which meanes they were at the last accorded. Amongst other things which were concluded at this present time, the duke of Britaine, and the earle of March were made frēends againe with the French king, and receiued eftsoones into his fauour. Thus ceassed the warres for that time betwixt the kings of England and France, as some haue witnessed. ¶ Howbeit if we shall beléeue other, which wrote and liued in those daies, there was no peace at that time concluded: but after that king Henrie had passed through Aniou and Poictou without battell, he came into Gascoigne, where he receiued the homages and fealties of manie noble men in those parties, and returning into Poictou, not onelie had the like also of sundrie lords and men of honour in that countrie, but also tooke the castell of Mirabeau by assault, thorough the manhood of the Englishmen, who chose rather with desperat aduentures to make entrance to honour, than by timorousnesse or want of courage to purchase reproch; for they knew verie well, that

Matth. Paris.

Mirabeau.

Qui cupiunt fortes fieri, discrimina oportet
Multa pati, & multos coguntur ferre labores,

and therefore they made triall of their valiantnesse euen with obteinement of victorie to the discomfiture of the enimie, who gaped after the conquest.

This

This doone, and order taken for the safe keeping of those quarters, he returned into Britaine; & comming to the citie of Naunts, remained a while there, spending the time vainlie in pleasure and banketting. Finallie in the moneth of October he tooke the sea, and returning into England after manie perils, landed at Portesmouth, the 27 of October, leauing behind him in Britaine 500 knights or men of armes, a thousand yeomen or stipendarie souldiers, for defense of the countrie against the Frenchmen, and appointed for their capteine the earle of Chester, the earle Marshall, and the earle of Albemarle, with certeine other valiant and approued warriours, who after the departure of the king, made two rodes into the French countries, but first into Aniou, where they remained 15 daies without battell, taking and destroieng the castell of Gonner, also Newchatell vpon the riuer of Sart, and finallie laden with plentie of rich spoiles, they returned into Britaine, from whence they set foorth. Shortlie after they entred into Normandie, destroieng the castell of Pontorson, & burning the towne: which enterprise when they had accomplished at their wils, they returned eftsoones into Britaine, where they were ioifullie receiued.

King Henrie returneth into Britaine.

He saileth home into England.

The earle of Chester left the kings lieutenant in Britaine.

What feats he wrought.

Pontorson burnt.

The erle of Chester in this meane while strengthened & fortified the castell of S. Iames de Bewmerō, which (bicause it belonged to the right of his wife) the earle of Britaine had (sith the kings comming ouer) restored vnto him. ¶ In this yeare vpon the 14 of Maie, a maruellous eclipse of the sunne chanced immediatlie after the rising thereof, so that the earth séemed as it had béene couered againe with shade of night. On the 22 daie of Nouember the moone was likewise eclipsed, being as then 13 daies old.

S. James de Bewmeron.

A strange eclipse.

An. Reg. 15.

Furthermore, whilest the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie coosen to the king, and of the citizens of London was honourablie receiued. He was a man of such high and tall stature, that men tooke great pleasure to behold him. In the same yeare also in the moneth of Iulie, an Irish king that was gouernour of Connagh, vnderstanding that both the king of England, and the earle Marshall were gone ouer into France, and so Ireland left without anie great aid of men of warre on the English part, raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into the marshes of the English dominion, spoiling and burning the countrie before him. Whereof when Geffrey de Maurish lord chiefe iustice of Ireland was aduertised, he called to him Walter de Lacie and Richard de Burgh, assembling therewithall a mightie armie, which he diuided into three parts, appointing the said Walter de Lacie, and Richard de Burgh, with the two first parts, to lie in ambush within certeine woods, thorough the which he purposed to draw the enimies, and marching foorth with the third, which he reserued to his owne gouernement, he profered battell to the Irishmen, the which when they saw but one battell of the Englishmen boldlie assaied the same.

The duke of Saxonie cōmeth into England.

The king of Connagh.

Geffrey de Maurish lord chiefe iustice of Ireland.

Walter de Lacie, Richard de Burgh.

The Englishmen according to the order appointed, feigned as though they had fled, and so retired still backer and backer, till they had trained the Irish within danger of their other two battels, which comming foorth vpon them, did set on them egerlie, whilest the other which séemed before to flee returned backe againe, and set vpon them in like maner, by meanes whereof the Irishmen being in the midst, were beaten downe on all parts, and vtterlie vanquished, with losse of 20 thousand men (as it was crediblie reported.) The king of Connagh was also taken and committed to prison.

The Irishmē vanquished by yᵉ Englishmen in battell.

In the meane time king Henrie hauing spent a great deale of treasure in his iournie made into France, there was granted vnto him a fiftéenth of the temporaltie, with a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie, towards the furnishing out of a new power of men to be sent into Spaine against the Saracens, which made sore warres vpon the christians in that countrie, wherevpon king Henrie being required of the K. of Aragon to aid him with some number of souldiers, he sent a great power thither with all speed, and so likewise did the French king. By meanes whereof the Spaniards, being ioined with Englishmen and Frenchmen, obteined a noble victorie, in vanquishing those their enimies. Thus saith Polydor. But other write that the king on the seauen and twentith of Ianuarie, holding

1231.

A fiftéenth and tenth granted to the king. *Polydor.*

Englishmen sent to Spain against the Saracens. *Matth. Paris.*

holding a parlement at Westminster (where the Nobles both spirituall and temporall were assembled) demanded escuage of all those that held any baronies of him, that is to saie, forren knights fée, fortie shillings, or three marks.

Escuage demanded.

The archb. of Canturburie standeth against the K. in defense of his cleargie.

Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie (as they say) stood against the king in this demand, mainteining that the cleargie ought not to be subiect vnto the iudgment of laie men, sith this escuage was granted in the parts beyond the seas without their consent. Wherevpon the matter as touching the bishops was deferred till the quindene of Easter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the spiritualtie consented to the kings will. ¶ About this time also there chanced to rise a great strife and contention betwixt Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert the earle of Kent, who as gardian to the yoong erle of Glocester had got into his hands the castell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certeine other possessions which belonged to the archbishops sée, and therefore did the archbishop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he susteined.

Contention betwixt the archb. and the earle of Kent.

Matth. Paris.

Now when he perceiued no hope likelie to come for any redresse at the kings hands, he tooke an other way: and first by his pontificall authoritie accursed all those that withheld the same possessions, and all their mainteiners (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the pope, he went to prosecute his appeale at Rome, whither the king and the earle sent also their procurators, and made the pope their arbitratour to iudge of the matter. In the end pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole processe of the controuersie, iudged the right to remaine with the archbishop, who hauing then obteined his desire, hasted toward England: but as he was returning homewards, he died by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the popes iudgement tooke no place: for whilest the sée was void, there was none that would follow the suit: and such was the end of this controuersie for this time.

Ralfe Neuill elected arch. of Canturburie.

After the deceasse of this archbishop Richard, the moonks elected Ralfe Neuill bishop of Chichester the kings chancellor, an vpright man, and of iust dealing in all his doings. In whome also it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfepenie to the moonks towards the bearing of their charges in their iournie to Rome, which they should take vpon them from thence to fetch his confirmation, according to the manner, least he should burthen his conscience with the crime of simonie which he greatlie abhorred, although some imputed this to proceed rather of a cloked spice of couetousnesse. Which practise of his maketh greatlie to the confounding of the indirect means now vsed to aspire vnto promotions, for the obteinment whereof no remedie is forborne; no, though the same be repugnant to reason, and vtterlie against conscience and honestie. But this is the temptation of auarice and ambition, which poison the minds of men in such sort, that rather than they will want their wished aduancement, they will vse these meanes that may further them most, namelie, fréendship, monie, and mightie mens countenance; which one noteth verie well in a distichon of neat deuise, saieng,

Artis, honestatis, recti, præcepta, decus, vim,
Concalcat, superant, spernunt, fauor, æra, potentes,

But to the purpose from whence we are digressed. When the moonks came to the popes presence, vpon inquirie made, and chéefelie by report of Simon Langton, who (as some thinke) gaped for the dignitie, he vnderstood that the said Ralfe Neuill should be a man vnlearned, a courtier, hastie and short of word, and that which most displeased the pope, it was to be feared, that if he should be preferred to that roome, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England from the thraldome of the pope, and the court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by king Iohn it had latelie beene brought) that (as he should alledge) it might serue God and holie church in the old accustomed libertie.

Simõ Langtons report of the conditions of Ralfe Neuill.

To bring this to passe (hauing the king thereto greatlie inclined, and all the realme readie to assist him in the same) he would not sticke to put his life in ieopardie, namelie vpon confidence of the right and appeales of Stephan the late archbishop of Canturburie, made

made in solemn wise before the altar of S. Paule in the cathedrall church of London, when king Iohn resigning his crowne into the hands of the legat, made that writing obligatorie most execrable to the whole world. Sée before in pag. 307.

The pope maketh void the election.

When the pope had heard this tale told, he streit disanulled the election and request of the confirmation of the said Ralfe Neuill, granting libertie to the moonks to chose some other which might proue a wholsome shéepheard for the soule of man, profitable to the church of England, and a faithfull sonne to the sée of Rome, and so the moonks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had sped. After this, the moonks elected the prior of their house named Iohn to be their archbishop, who going to Rome for his confirmation, was persuaded in the end to renounce his election: so that at length one Edmund that was treasurer of the colledge of Salisburie, was elected, confirmed, and consecrated, a man of great zeale, being the foure & fortith archbishop that had gouerned that sée.

The earle of Cornewall marrieth the countesse of Glocester.

This yeare the kings brother the earle of Cornewall married the countesse of Glocester, widow to the late earle Gilbert, and sister to William Marshall earle of Penbroke, the which erle of Penbroke shortlie after the same marriage departed this life, and was buried on the fifteenth day of Aprill, in the new temple at London, néere vnto his father. Moreouer, Leolin prince of Wales about this season enterprising to inuade the English confines, burned and wasted the countrie in most cruell wise. Whereof the king being aduertised, hasted foorth by great iournies, with purpose to reuenge such iniuries. But the enimies hearing of his comming (according to the custome of their countrie) withdrew into the mounteins, bogs, and marishes. Wherefore the king (seeing that he could not haue them at his pleasure, and least he should be thought to spend time in vaine) came backe, and left behind him a small troope of souldiers to resist their attempts, if they should happen to rise vp any more.

The earle of Penbroke departed this life. *Polydor.*

Leolin prince of Wales inuadeth the Englishborders.

The Welshmen hauing intelligence that the king was returned home, brake foorth againe as before into the English marshes, and not onelie tooke preies and booties, but went about to destroie with fire and sword all that stood in their way. Howbeit in their returne, and as they ranged abroad somewhat vnaduisedlie, they were intrapped by the souldiers which the king had left there for the defense of the countrie, and put to flight néere the castell of Mountgomerie, with great slaughter & losse of their people. But Leolin nothing dismaied therwith, assembled a greater power than he had before, and began foorthwith to rob and spoile within the English marshes with paganish extremitie. Which thing when it came to the vnderstanding of the king, he was verie sore displeased, that so meane a man as Leolin was, should put him to so much trouble, therefore he raised a farre greater armie than he had doone at anie time before, and with the same came to the citie of Hereford.

The Welshmen put to flight.

The king goeth against the Welshmen.

In the meane time Leolin comming néere vnto the said castell of Mountgomerie, by the practise of a traitorous moonke, trained foorth the English souldiers which laie in garrison there, and counterfeiting to flee, till he had laid them vp in bogs and mires with their horsses, so as they could not helpe themselues, he fell vpon them, and so slue and tooke a great number of them euen as he could haue wished. The king aduertised hereof, hasted the faster forward, and comming into those parts, as he passed by an abbeie of the Cisteaux order (of which house the moonke was that had betraied the Englishmen of Mountgomerie) he burned a grange that belonged to the same abbeie, and further spoiling the same abbeie it selfe, he had set it on a light fire also, if the abbat therof had not redéemed it with the summe of thrée hundred marks of siluer. After this, he caused Mawds castell to be repaired and fortified, which the Welshmen in times past had ouerthrowne, and when the worke was finished, he left there a strong garrison of souldiers to kéepe backe the Welshmen from making their accustomed incursions.

Matt. Paris. The Englishmen distressed.

Mawds castell repaired.

Whilest the king was thus occupied in Wales, there was some busines in France: for in the moneth of Iune, thē French king with an armie came to inuade the countrie of *Matth. Paris.*

Henrie earle of Britaine, and the earle of Chester distresse the French kings cariages.

Britaine, but earle Henrie with the earle of Chester and the other English capteins found meanes to take and destroie all the cariages and wagons which came with vittels and other prouision to serue the French armie. When the Frenchmen perceiued they could not haue their purpose, by mediation of the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Bollongne on the French part, and by consent of the earles of Britaine and Chester on the English part, a peace was concluded, or rather a truce to indure for three yeares betwixt the two kings of England and France. This agréement was made the fift daie of Iulie, and then the earles of Britaine and Chester, with Richard Marshall, came ouer into England, and rode to the king, whom they found at Mawds castell, where he remained till the worke was finished, and then in the moneth of October returned into England.

A truce taken.

An. Reg. 16. 1232.

Matth. Paris.

In this meane time no small grudge arose among the people, by reason that their churches were occupied by incumbents that were strangers, promoted by the popes and their legats, who neither instructed the people, nor could well speake anie more English than that which serued for the collection of their tithes, in somuch that for the insolencie of such imcumbents as well the Noble men and those of good reputation, as other of the meaner sort, by an vndiscréet presumption attempted a disorderlie redresse, confederating themselues togither, and taking vpon them to write and direct their letters vnto bishops and chapters, commanding them by waie of inhibition, not to seeme to interrupt those that should seize vpon the beneficed strangers, or vpon their reuenues.

An vnorderlie & presumptuous attempt.

They also tooke vpon them to write vnto such religious men and others, which were farmers vnto anie of those strangers, forbidding them to stand accountable vnto the said strangers, but to reteine the rents and profits in their hands to answer the same vnto such as they should appoint for the receipt thereof. The superscription of their letters was this. ¶ "Tali episcopo, & tali capitulo, vniuersitas eorum, qui magis volunt mori quàm à Romanis confundi, salutem." That is to say, "To such a bishop and chapter, all those which had rather die than be confounded by the Romans, send greeting." In the seale wherewith the said letters were sealed, were two swords ingrauen.

The superscription of their letters.

This matter went so farre foorth, that there were sundrie persons armed and disguised like mummers, which enterprised not onelie to take diuerse of those strangers that were beneficed men, but also came to their barnes, threshed vp their graine, and either made sale therof, or gaue it awaie for God his sake, shewing counterfeited letters vnder the kings seale, which they had procured for their warrant, as they did pretend. At length the pope vpon complaint made vnto him of such violent doings, wrote to king Henrie, blaming him not a little for suffering such disorders to be committed within his realme, commanding him vpon paine of excommunication to cause a diligent inquirie to be had of the offendors, and to sée them sharpelie punished, to the example of others.

Masking threshers.

The pope cõplaineth to the K. in blaming him.

Moreouer he sent letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, to make the like inquisition, and to accurse all those that should be found culpable within the south parts of England, as he did to the archbishop of Yorke, to the bishop of Durham, and to an Italian named Iohn a canon of Yorke, to doo the like in the north parts, so that the offendors should remaine accursed, till they came to Rome, there to fetch their absolution. Herevpon therefore a generall inquisition was taken, as well by the king as by the bishops, and manie found guiltie, some in fact, and some in consent: amongst which number there were both bishops and chapleins to the king, with archdeacons and deanes, knights, and manie of the laitie.

The pope cõmandeth the offendors to be accursed.

Inquisitions taken.

There were some shiriffes and bailiffes also, which by the kings commandement were arrested and put in prison, and diuerse of all sorts did kéepe themselues out of the waie, and would not as yet be found. In like maner, Hubert earle of Kent, lord cheefe iustice, was accused to be chiefe transgressour in this matter, as he that had giuen foorth the kings letters patents to those disguised and masking threshers, who had taken vpon them so to sequester other mens goods, whereto they had no right. There came also to the king one sir Robert de Twing, a knight of the north parts, (which named himselfe William Wetherse, and had led about a companie of the foresaid maskers) protesting that he had

The earle of Kent put in blame.

Sir Robert de Twing.

had doone it vpon iust cause to be reuenged vpon the Romans, which went about by sentence of the pope, and manifest fraud to spoile him of the parsonage of a certeine church which he held, and therefore he said he had rather stand accursed without iust cause for a time, than to lose his benefice without due iudgement. Howbeit the king and the other commissioners counseled him in the end to go to Rome to purchase his absolution, sith he was fallen in danger of excommunication, and there to sue for his pardon in the popes consistorie. And to incourage him the better so to doo, the king wrote also in his fauour to the pope, testifieng the right which he claimed to the church, whereby at length he obteined his suit (as after ye shall heare.)

Polydor. A parlement. A subsidie demanded, and denied. The bishop of Winchesters counsell giuen to the king.

The king called a parlement at Westminster, wherein declaring what charges he had béene at diuers waies, he required to haue a subsidie granted him, for the releefe of his want, which was flatlie denied, the Nobles and other estats excusing the pouertie amongst all degrees of men, by manie euident reasons. Herevpon the bishop of Winchester being a verie eloquent and faire-spoken man, openlie counselled the king to fauour his people, whom he had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall tributes and exactions. And if it were so that he stood in such need as was alledged, that then he should take into his hands againe such possessions and things, which during the time of his yoong yeeres he had bestowed vpon his seruants, without any good aduised consideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and discretion, and againe to take from certeine couetous persons, who now were become horsseleches and caterpillers in the commonwealth, all such offices as they held, and had verie much abused, causing them to yeald vp their accounts, and to vse them after the manner of sponges, so that where he had in times past made them full of moisture, he might now wring them drie, following herein the example of Vespasian. And by this means it was not to be douted but he should haue inough of his owne, without dooing iniurie to any man.

The king followeth the bishop of Winchesters counsell.

The king gaue verie good eare to the bishops words, and following his counsell, caused his receiuers, treasurers, and other such as had medled with anie of his receipts to come to a reckoning. And vnderstanding by the auditors appointed to take their accounts, that the most part of them had receiued much more and by other means than they had entered into their reckoning, he compelled them to restore it out of hand with interest. Also he caused the magistrats to be called to a reckoning, and manie of them being conuicted of fraud, were condemned to make restitution. And among other Ranulfe Briton treasurer of his chamber was put beside his office, and fined at a thousand marks, in whose place was set Peter de Riuales, or after some copies de Oruiales, a Poictouin, nephue or rather sonne to the bishop of Winchester, by whose aduice the king tooke a more strait account of his officers, and often remooued such as he iudged guiltie.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe Briton, Peter de Riuales.

The earle of Kentdischarged of his office of chéefe iustice. *Matth. Paris.*

At the same time also, Hubert earle of Kent was deposed from the office of high iustice, and Stephan Segraue appointed in his roome. The said Hubert (bicause he refused to answer a certeine dutie which was demanded of him to the kings vse) ran so farre into his displeasure, that he durst not abide his sight, but for safegard of himselfe got him to the abbeie of Merton, and there tooke sanctuarie. The king hearing of this his demeanor, was so highlie offended withall, that he sent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetch him to his presence. The Londoners, which in no wise loued him, bicause of the death of their citizen Constantine, were verie readie to accomplish this commandement, insomuch that where the maior ouernight late declared to them the effect of the kings commission, there were twentie thousand of them in armor gotten forward earlie in the morning towards Merton, in full hope now to be reuenged of him, for the small good-will that he had borne vnto their citie heretofore.

The earle of Kent taketh sanctuarie.

The citizens of London their good deuotion towards the earle of Kent.

But the king being informed by the earle of Chester and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armor, and in so great a number, should commit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to some such inconuenience as would not easilie be staied,

he

he sent to them a countermand to returne backe to the citie againe, which they did, though sorie in their hearts that they might not go through with their desired enterprise. Furthermore (sée héere the mutabilitie of fortune and hir inconstancie, whereof complaint hath béene made by our forefathers time out of mind, saieng,

Ouid. lib. 2. de trist. 5.

Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa tenáxq; loco;
Sed modò læta manet, vultus modò sumit acerbos,
Et tantùm constans in leuitate sua est.)

now that the erle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of those whome he had before beene beneficiall vnto, that shewed themselues as frends and louers vnto him, but all forsooke & were readie to saie the worst of him, the archbishop of Dubline excepted, who yet obteined of the king respit for him to make answere vnto such things as should lawfullie be obiected against him, both for the debt which should be due to the king, and also vpon points of treason, which were now laid to his charge. ¶ Wherin we may see what hath béene the course of the world in former ages touching frends, who in the spring of a mans felicitie like swallowes will flie about him; but when the winter of aduersitie nippeth, like snailes they keepe within their shels: wherevnto the poet verie well alluding, saith,

Hor. lib. car. 1. od. 35.

———diffugiunt cadis
Cum fæce siccatis amici,
Ferre iugum pariter dolosi.

After this, as the said Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, where his wife as then remained, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Essex, within a chappell there (as saith Fabian.) But (as Matthew Paris saith) sir Robert de Cranecombe, with thrée hundred armed men was sent to apprehend him by the kings commandement, and so he was taken in a village belonging to the bishop of Norwich in Essex, and by the kings commandement cast into prison, but yet afterwards he was reconciled to the kings fauour, when he had lien foure moneths in prison, and thirtéene moneths banished the court.

Matth. Paris.

A subsidie granted in a parlement holden at Lambeth.

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the crosse, at Lambeth, in the assemblie of the states there, a subsidie was granted to the K. of the fortith part of euerie mans goods towards the discharge of his debts which he owght to the earle of Britaine. Also in the beginning of the seauentéenth yeare of his reigne, Ranulfe earle of Chester and Lincolne departed this life the six and twentith day of October, whose bodie was buried at Chester, and his bowels at Wallingford where he died. This earle Ranulfe was thrice married, first to Constance daughter and heire to Conan earle of Britaine and Richmund, and so in right of hir was intituled earle of those two places: which Constance had beene first married vnto Geffrey the third son of king Henrie the second, by whom she had issue Arthur (as before yée haue heard.) But by earle Ranulfe she had no issue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwards married vnto Guy vicount de Towars. Then after earle Ranulfe was so diuorsed from the said Constance, he married a ladie named Clemence, and after hir decease, he married the third time the ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Essex, constable of England.

An. Reg. 17. *Matth. Paris.*

Ranulfe earle of Chester departeth this life.

Erle Ranulfe thrice maried.

This Clemence was daughter to erle Ferrers.

Howbeit he neuer had issue by any of those his wiues, so that Iohn Scot his nephue by his sister Mawd succéeded him in the earldome of Chester, and William Dalbenie earle of Arundell, nephue to him by his sister Mabell, had the manour of Barrow, and other lands that belonged to the said Ranulfe, of the yerelie value of fiue hundred pounds. Robert Quincie, he that married his sister Hauise, had the earledome of Lincolne, and so of a baron became an earle who had issue by his wife, Margerie countesse of Lincolne, that was maried to Edmund Lacie earle of Lincolne. William earle Ferrers and of Darbie, that had married Agnes, sister to the said Ranulfe, had the castell and manour of Chartley, togither with other lands for his pourpart.

The partition of his lands.

Here

Here is also to be remembred, that the afore mentioned earle Ranulfe (or Randulfe whether ye list to call him) atchieued manie high enterprises in his time, as partlie in this booke ye haue alreadie heard: he held sore warres against the Welshmen, till at length an agréement was concluded betwixt him and Leolin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an old record, that vpon a time as this earle passed into Wales with an armie, his chance was to be ouerset by the Welshmen, so that he was driuen to retire into a castell, wherein the Welshmen did besiege him. And as it fortuned at that time, Roger Lacie the constable of Chester was not then with him, but left behind at Chester to see the citie kept in order (for as it should séeme, their solemne plaies which commonlie are vsed at Whitsuntide were then in hand, or else their faire which is kept at Midsummer.)

This Roger Lacie is surnamed Helle.

Wherefore the earle sent a messenger in all possible hast vnto his constable, praieng him with spéed to come to his succour in that extreame point of necessitie. Lacie made no delaie, but assembling all the forreners, plaiers, musicians, and others which he could find within that citie fit to weare armor, went foorth with them, and in most speedie maner marched toward the castell, where the Welshmen kept the earle besieged, who now perceiuing such a multitude of men comming towards them, incontinentlie left the siege and fled awaie. The earle then being thus deliuered out of that present danger, came foorth of the castell, returned with his constable vnto Chester, and in recompense of that seruice, gaue vnto his said constable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the forreners, plaiers, musicians, and other strangers resorting to Chester at the time, when such publike plaies (or else faire) should be kept & holden.

Iohn Lacie the sonne of the said Roger married Alice the daughter of Gilbert de Aquila, and after hir deceasse, he married the ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne, of whom he begat Edmund Lacie constable of Chester, which Edmund after the deceasse of his father, married Alice the daughter of the marquesse of Saluces in Italie, which ladie was surnamed the quéene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, which Henrie married the ladie Margaret, daughter to William Long espee earle of Salisburie, by whom he had two sons, Edmund and Iohn, and two daughters, Alice and Ioan, which Alice Thomas earle of Lancaster married, who claimed and had the same rights and priuileges which ancientlie belonged to the said Roger Lacie, and other the constables of Chester, concerning the fines of forreners and others.

¶ This haue I the more willinglie declared, that it may appeare in what estimation and credit the Lacies constables Chester by inheritance liued in their time, of whose high valiancie, and likewise of other of that familie, highlie commended for their noble chiualrie in martiall enterprises ye may read in sundrie histories at large.

But now to returne and speake of other dooings, which chanced about the time in which the said Ranulfe earle of Chester departed this life. The king in the meane while seized into his hands a great portion of the treasure which Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent had committed to the kéeping of the templers. But whereas there were that trauelled to haue had him put to death, the king in respect of the seruice which he had doone to him and to his predecessors king Richard and king Iohn, granted him life, with those lands which he had either by purchase, or by gift of king Iohn, but neuertheles he caused him to be kept in frée prison at the castell of the Vées, vnder the custodie of foure knights belonging to the earles of Cornewall, Warren, Penbroke, and Ferrers, which foure earles were become suerties for him.

The earle of Kent kept in prison within the castell of Vées.

This yeare also about the same time, to wit, the morow after S. Martins daie, chanced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the space of 15 daies togither, to the great terrour and feare of the people, and namelie of the Londoners, which haue that kind of weather so familiar to them, that if there be anie abroad in the land, they haue their part thereof. Moreouer on the 23 of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempest of thunder, and after followed a maruellous wet summer with manie flouds.

Matth. Paris. A great thunder.

1233.

A wet summer.

Also

Foure sunnes beside the accustomed sun.

Also on the 8 daie of Aprill, in the parts about Hereford and Worcester, there appeared foure sunnes in the element, beside the naturall sunne, of red colour, and a great circle of christaline colour, the which compassed with his largenesse as it had béene the whole circuit almost of the whole realme of England, from the sides whereof went foorth certeine halfe circles, in whose sections appeared the said four sunnes. The naturall sunne was at the same time in the east part of the firmament, for it was about the first houre of the daie, or betwixt six and seuen in the morning, the aire being the same time verie bright and cleare. The bishop of Hereford, and sir Iohn Monmouth knight, and manie others beheld this woonderfull sight, and testified the same to be most true. And after this there followed the same yeare in those parts cruell warre, slaughter, terrible bloudshed, & a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Ireland. About the same time, to wit, in Iune, in the south parts of England néere to the sea coast, two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, fléeing into the depth of the sea, & so they were séene no more.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris.

A strange woonder.

Moreouer in this yeare great variance and strife rose betwixt the king and his barons, for the king tooke great displeasure against all other his officers, & so much the more mistrusted them, for that he found himselfe deceiued in the earle of Kent, to whom he had committed a further credit than to anie other, and had made him high iustice of England, onelie for the good will that he alwaies bare to him. Therefore perceiuing this, he was doubtfull whom he should trust, discharging the most part of those Englishmen that bare any office about him, and in their roomes placed strangers, as Poictouins and Britains, of the which there came ouer vnto him manie knights and other, to the number of 2000, which he placed in garrisons within castels of diuerse places of the land, and committed the order of all things for the most part to the bishop of Winchester, and to his nephue or sonne Peter de Riuales.

Polydor.

The king beginneth to fauour strangers.

The bishop of Winchester.

Herwith he offended so much the minds of his Nobles, that Richard Marshall earle of Penbroke (chiefe of that familie, & boldest to speake, now that Ranulfe of Chester was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of other, tooke upon him openlie to reprooue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and dangerous to the state of the realme. Herevnto the bishop of Winchester (whose counsell as it séemed he followed) made answer, that the king had doone nothing in that behalfe vnaduisedlie, but vpon good and déepe consideration: for sith he might perceiue how the English nobilitie had first pursued his father with malicious hatred & open war, and now that he found diuerse of them whom he had brought vp and aduanced to high honours, vnfaithfull in the administration of their offices, he did not without iust cause receiue into his fauour strangers, and preferre them before those of his owne nation, which were not so faithfull in his seruice and obedience as they.

The earle of Penbroke.

Strangers alwaies odious to yt home borne.

This answer of the bishop so pricked and wounded the minds of the English Nobilitie, that manie of them (amongst whome the said earle of Penbroke was the chéefe) began an open rebellion, some of them resorting to one place, and some to an other, to gather people for their purpose. The names of such barons as stirred vpon this occasion were these; Richard Marshall earle of Penbroke afore named, Gilbert Basset and his brethren, men of great honor and right hardie capteins: also Richard Sward a warlike personage, trained vp in feats of armes from his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthie knight, and manie others. The king hauing knowledge of their doings proclaimed them all traitors, confiscated their goods, and sent for a great power of men out of Flanders to serue him in his warres.

The lords yt withdrew into Wales.

Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

The king proclaimed them traitors.

Strangers sent for.

Whilest king Henrie thus prouided himselfe of an armie, the lords with their capteine Richard Marshall ioined themselues to Leolin prince of Wales, & doubting the comming of the king, spoiled all the marshes next adioining to England, leauing no vittels nor cattell any where about in those parts wherby the kings armie might haue reléefe, and further made all things readie for their owne defense so well as they could deuise. The earle of

Kent

Kent about the same time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended vpon him, escaped out of the castell of Vées, and tooke sanctuarie in the next church: but when those that had the charge of him and the castell in keeping, missed him, and heard where he was, they fetcht both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the escape out of the church, and bringing them backe to the castell, imprisoned the earle. *Matth. Paris.* The earle of Kent escapeth and taketh sanctuarie. He is fetcht out.

And though the bishop of Salisburie came thither and threatened to accursse them, if they would not deliuer the earle, and restore him to sanctuarie againe: they made answer, that they had rather the earle should hang for himselfe, than they for him. And so bicause they would not deliuer him, the bishop did excommunicate them, and after riding to the court, and taking with him the bishop of London, and other bishops, preuailed so much by complaint exhibited to the K. that the earle was restored to the church againe the eighteenth day of October: but so, as the shiriffe of the shire had commandement to compasse the church about with men, to watch that no releefe came vnto him, whereby he might be constreined through famishing to submit himselfe. Notwithstanding, shortlie after there came a power of armed men, and fetcht the said earle from thence (setting him on horssebacke in faire complet armour) and so conueied him into Wales, where he ioined with other of the kings enimies, the thirtith day of October. He is restored to sanctuarie. An. Reg. 18. The earle of Kent rescued and conueied into Wales.

Within a few daies after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vittels was constreined to retire backe to the marshes, betwixt Worcestershire & Salopshire, where staieng certeine daies togither in those parts, his souldiers straied abroad in the countrie vnaduisedlie, and keeping no watch nor ward about their campe, were surprised in the night by their enimies, and slaine on euerie side. The slaughter had beene greater, but that the residue which laie in campe, brake foorth about midnight, and in a plumpe togither fled into a castell which was neere at hand, called Grossemound, in the which the king himselfe was lodged. There were slaine aboue fiue hundred men, and all the trusse and baggage of the campe lost. Yet Matthew Paris saith there were but two knights slaine, which cast awaie themselues by their owne wilfulnesse, that would needs stand to it and make resistance, where the residue being spoiled of all that they had with them, got awaie by flight, as the bishops of Winchester and Chichester, the lord chéefe iustice Stephan Segraue, Peter de Riuales treasurer, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, William earle of Salisburie, William lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbenie the yoonger, who were witnesses of this losse amongst the residue. *Polydor.* The king entreth into Wales with an armie.

Hereof, it came to passe, that manie of the kings armie (speciallie those which had lost their horsses, armour, monie, and other furniture, with their vittels) returned into their countrie, to their great confusion. For the Welshmen and other outlawes, hauing spoiled the campe, returned with the cariages and sumpters which they had taken, into places of safe refuge. The king hauing receiued this losse, and oftentimes tried fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in those parts, by reason of the streits and disaduantage of the places, thought good to reserue the reuenge of his receiued iniuries vntill a more conuenient time, and therevpon returned to Glocester, and furnished diuers castels and fortresses in the borders of Wales, with garrisons of souldiers, namelie Poictouins and other strangers to defend the same against William Marshall, and the other his complices, who vpon occasions dailie sought to suppresse and distresse the said strangers. *Polydor.* The king returneth out of Wales.

And beside other encounters, in the which manie of those Poictouins and other strangers were slaine and oppressed by the said William Marshall and his adherents, it chanced that vpon saint Katherins day, the said William Marshall comming neere to the castell of Monmouth to view the same, was in danger to haue remained prisoner in the enimies hands, through an issue made by sir Baldwine de Guines, capiteine of that castell, with his Poictouins and Flemings. But by such rescue as came to his aid, he was deliuered out of their hands, and the Poictouins and other of the garrison discomfited. At this skirmish sir Baldwine himselfe being sore wounded, was borne out of the field into the castell, The earle of Penbroke in danger. He is rescued.

The Poictouins disconfited. castell, losing fifteene knights of his part, and a great sort of other which were taken prisoners, besides no small number that were slaine in the place.

Dearth. The same yeare chanced a great dearth, by reason that the growth of all things was much hindered with the extreame cold weather. Also there happened about the beginning of Nouember great thunder and lightning, and therewith folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitants of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabouts.

Tempests. An earthquake.

A death. After this, came a great death amongst the people, being commonlie a neere companion to great famine and dearth.

Richard Marshall erle of Penbroke in this meane time ceassed not to waste the marshes of England next adioining to Wales, and dailie diuerse of the English Nobilitie repaired to him, so that the king was sore troubled in his mind. It chanced at the same time, that one Iohn of Monmouth a right valiant capteine, who led the kings armie, receiued a great ouerthrow at the hands of Richard Marshall. For whereas the foresaid Iohn, hauing assembled a mightie host, made great hast towards his enimies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnawares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to assaile them somewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the summer season is the most silent time of all the night, it chanced farre otherwise than he looked it should haue doone. For the earle of Penbroke, hauing knowledge by his spies of his aduersaries intent, laie himselfe with his people within a wood in ambush by the way, where the said Iohn should passe, and setting vpon him as he approched, put his people in such feare by the sudden incounter, that they knew not what capteine or ensigne they might follow, and so immediatlie fell to running awaie. The slaughter was great on euerie side, both of Poictouins and others. Diuerse of them fleeing also into the next woods, were receiued by such as were laid there to cut them off, and so slaine or taken out of hand. Howbeit their chiefe capteine the forenamed Iohn of Monmouth escaped, with a few other in his companie. This ouerthrow chanced the morrow after Christmasse daie.

Matth. Paris.

Iohn Monmouth receiueth an ouerthrow.

1234.

Polydor.

The next daie Richard Marshall hauing thus got the victorie, destroied certeine houses and lordships there in the marshes which belonged to the said Iohn of Monmouth. About the same time also, Richard Sward with other outlawes destroied the possessions belonging to the earle of Cornewall beside Brehull, and burned a place there called Segraue, where Stephan de Segraue the lord chiefe iustice was borne, and likewise a village belonging to the bishop of Winchester, not farre from Segraue aforesaid. This was the maner of those outlawes, that they hurt no person, but onelie those councellers about the king by whom they were exiled, and therefore bearing stomach against them, they did not onlie excogitate but also execute this reuenge; which till they had obteined, they were no lesse ill appaid, than well pleased when the same was past, for

Matth. Paris.

———minuit vindicta dolorem.

A part of the towne of Shrewsburie burnt. *Polydor.*

Immediatlie within the octaues of the Epiphanie, the earle Marshall and Leolin prince of Wales wasted and robbed all the marshes betwixt Wales and Shrewsburie, a part of which towne they also burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet soiourning at Glocester, was sore troubled in his mind, and calling togither his councell, asked aduise what waie he might best take to redresse such iniuries. After sundrie opinions amongst them declared, they agreed all in one sentence, that it should be most expedient to appease the minds of the rebels with gentle offers, to grant them pardon of their offenses, wiselie to winne them to tractablenesse, and not roughlie afflicting them to exasperat their fiersenesse, sith,

———sæpe acri potior prudentia dextra.

Also to banish from his court diuerse that bare great rule, and namelie Peter the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne or nephue Peter de Riuales, by the counsell of which two persons all things had béene changed in the kings house. Moreouer, to put from him such strangers as bare offices, and to restore Englishmen againe to the same.

The king allowing this aduise to be good, followed it accordinglie, and first of all discharging

charging the bishop of Winchester of all publike administration of things, he commanded him to repaire home to his diocesse, and to sée to the gouernement thereof, as to his dutie apperteined. He also banished from his presence Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, Robert Passelew, and diuerse others of his chiefe councellers, by whose means he had procured the euill will of his Nobilitie. Then receiued he againe his old seruants & officers, & finallie sent the archb. of Canturburie, the bishops of Chester & Rochester vnto the barons in Wales, to offer them peace & pardon of all iniuries past, if they wold returne to his obedience. Thus in the end there was a truce taken betwixt the king and the rebels, to begin at Candlemasse, and to indure vntill Easter next insuing, in which meane time, Richard the earle of Penbroke, hearing that Maurish Fitz Gerald, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh and others wasted his lands and possessions in Ireland (according to such commission as they had receiued of late from king Henrie and his councell) passed ouer thither, and there incountering with his enimies, was sore wounded and taken prisoner, hauing entered the battell verie rashlie, and with a small companie of his people about him, onlie by the traitorous persuasion of Geffrey Maurish, who with other fled at the first brunt, and left him in maner alone, to stand to all the danger. Those that thus tooke him, brought him into his owne castell, the which the lord chiefe iustice Maurice Fitz Gerald had latelie woone. This incounter, in which Richard Marshall was thus taken, chanced on a saturdaie, being the first of Aprill; and on the 16 of the same moneth, by reason of the wound which he had receiued, he departed this life.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Penbroke passeth ouer into Ireland.

He is taken prisoner.

Geffrey Maurish.

The death of the earle of Penbroke.

We find also that the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne (or kinsman as some haue called him) Peter de Riuales had procured the king to send commission vnder his seale vnto the foresaid noble men in Ireland, that if the said Richard Marshall earle of Penbroke chanced to come thither, they should doo their best to take him, and in reward of their paines, they should inioy all his lands and possessions which he held in that countrie. But after his death, and when the king had remooued those his councellers from him, he confessed he had put his seale to a writing, but that he vnderstood what were the contents thereof he vtterlie denied. Finallie, this was the end of the worthie earle of Penbroke Richard Marshall, a man worthie to be highlie renowmed for his approued valiancie. His death suerlie was greatlie bewailed of king Henrie, openlie protesting that he had lost the worthiest capteine that then liued.

After this, the lords that had remained in Wales, by safe conduct came to the king, and through the diligent trauell of the archbishop of Canturburie, he receiued them into fauour. Amongst them were these men of name, Gilbert Marshall the brother of the foresaid Richard Marshall, Hubert earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Sward, beside diuerse other. Vnto Gilbert Marshall he deliuered his brothers inheritance, and vpon Whitsundaie made him knight, giuing vnto him the rod of the office of Marshall of his court, according to the maner, to vse and exercise as his ancesters had doone before him. And herewith the earle of Kent Gilbert Basset and Richard Sward were receiued againe into the court, and admitted to be of the kings priuie councell.

Polydor. *Matth. Paris.*

Gilbert Marshall earle of Penbroke.

Soone after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, & Robert Passelew were called to accounts, that it might appeare how the kings treasure was spent, and how they had vsed themselues with the kings seale. The two last remembred kept themselues out of the waie, and could not be found. Stephan Segraue shrowding himselfe in secret within the abbeie of Leicester, and Robert Passelew feining himselfe sicke, kept within the new temple at London. Peter de Riuales also, with his father the bishop of Winchester, tooke sanctuarie at Winchester, for they were afraid least their bodies should not be in safetie if they came abroad, bicause they vnderstood that their manours and grange places were spoiled and burnt by those that bare them displeasure. Howbeit at length, vnder the protection of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to their answer, & were sore charged for their vniust dealing, traitorous practise, and great falshood vsed in time of their bearing office, and (as it appeareth by writers) they could but sorilie cleare themselues

Officers called to accounts.

selues in those matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reason of their protection they were restored to the places from whence they came, or else otherwise shifted off the matter for the time, so that we read not of anie great bodilie punishment which they should receiue as then. In the end they were pardoned & reconciled to the kings fauor, vpon paiment of such fines as were assessed vpon them.

The truce ended.

This yeare, bicause the truce ended betwixt the kings of England and France, king Henrie sent ouer to aid the earle of Britaine, threescore knights, and two thousand Welshmen, the which when the French king came with his armie to enter and inuade Britaine, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittels, armor, and other prouision, ouerthrowing also no small number of the Frenchmen, and taking from them their horsses, they returned backe in safetie, without any great damage receiued. Notwithstanding this, the French king inforcing againe his power, waxed too strong for the earle of Britaine, so that he was constreined to take a truce to indure till the feast of all saints, that he might in the meane time vnderstand if the king of England would come ouer with some puissant armie to his aid or no: but bicause it was perceiued in the end that the said earle of Britaine sought nothing else but how to get monie out of king Henries coffers, and to doo him no pleasure for it, bicause he was in manner at an other agreement alreadie with the king of France, king Henrie refused to satisfie his requests at such time as he came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more monie. Herewith also the said erle being offended, got him backe into his owne countrie, and shortlie after apparantlie submitted himselfe to the French king, which (as the report went) he had doone before in secret.

Welshmen sent ouer to the aid of the earle of Britaine.

The earle of Britaine submitteth himselfe to the French king.

An. Reg. 19. 1235.

These things being thus brought to passe, and all troubles quieted, the king as then being at London, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a complaint exhibited against the * Iewes of Norwich, which had stolen a yoong child, being not past a twelue moneths old, and secretlie kept him an whole yeare togither, to the end that he might (when Ester came) crucifie him in despite of our sauiour Iesus Christ, and the christian religion. The matter as it happened fell out well for the lad: for within a few daies before that those curssed murtherers purposed to haue shed this innocents bloud, they were accused, conuicted and punished, whereby he escaped their cruell hands. About the same time, to wit the seauenth of Februarie died Hugh de Wels bishop of Lincolne, a great enimie to moonks and religious men. Robert Grosted was then preferred to his roome, a man of great learning, and trained vp in schooles euen from his infancie.

Polydor. Fabian.

* See the like in pag. 96.

Matth. Paris.

The emperor Frederike marieth the king of Englands sister.

The same yeare, the emperour Frederike the second, maried the ladie Isabell the kings sister. This Isabell was a most beautifull ladie, of comelie personage, and of age about one and twentie years. She was affianced by procuracie, about the seauen and twentith of Februarie. And after Easter, the archbishop of Cullen, and the duke of Louane came ouer from the emperour, to haue the conueiance of hir vnto the emperors presence. There was such a feast holden, so sumptuous seruice, so rich furniture, and roiall banketting kept the day before hir departure from London towards the sea side, that more could not be imagined. The same feast was kept at Westminster on the fift day of May, and the day following she did set forward, and by easie iournies came to Sandwich, the king bringing hir thither with three thousand horsses. Finallie, she tooke the sea the eleuenth of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And so with prosperous wind and weather shee arriued at Antwerpe, and from thence passed forward, till shee came to hir husband the emperour, by whom shee was receiued with great ioy and comfort at Worms, where the marriage was consummate vpon a sundaie, being the two and twentith day of Iulie, or (as Matthew Westminster saith) the seauen and twentith of May, being Whitsunday.

A great and sumptuous feast.

Matth. Paris. Vsurers called Caorsini, of

This yeare the bishop of London pronounced the sentence of excommunication against certeine vsurers called Caorsini. But bicause the same vsurers shadowed themselues

selues vnder the pretext of the popes merchants (as they named themselues) they preuailed so much by the fauour of the court of Rome, that the said bishop being sicke and feeble, was cited peremptorilie in the parts beyond the seas, before iudges chosen foorth by the same vsurers, to make answer for such high iniurie as he had here doone to the popes factors. The bishop willing by the example of Sem, rather to couer his fathers shame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietlie put vp the matter: and with commendable patience receiued the proffered wrong, hauing learned this lesson, that

whome see more in pag. 364.

Gaudet patientia duris,

and to pacifie the trouble, suffered their wickednesse, commending in the meane while the cause vnto his patrone S. Paule. And when he preached of the force of faith, he vttered this saieng: If an angell preach contrarie doctrine to vs in these things, let him be accurssed.

The bishop of London his doctrine.

In the twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, in the Aduent time, the noble baron the lord Robert Fitz Water departed this life, and so likewise did a noble yong man descended of most noble parentage one Roger de Somerie. On the foureteenth day of Ianuarie insuing, the king married the ladie Elianor, daughter to the earle of Prouance named Raimond. This marriage was solemnised at Canturburie, and in the octaues of S. *Hilarie* next insuing being sunday, shee was crowned queene of England at Westminster. At the solemnitie of this feast and coronation of the queene, all the high peeres of the realme, both spirituall and temporall, were present there to exercise their offices as to them apperteined.

An. Reg. 20.

1236.

King Henrie marrieth the ladie Elianor daughter to the earle of Prouance. *Matth. Paris.*

The citizens of London were there in great arraie, bearing afore hir in solemne wise, thrée hundred and thréescore cups of gold and siluer, in token that they ought to wait vpon hir cup. The archbishop of Canturburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the bishop of London assisting him as his deacon. The earle of Chester bare the sword of saint Edward before the king, in token that he was earle of the palace, and had authoritie to correct the king, if he should see him to swarue from the limits of iustice, his constable of Chester attended vpon him, and remooued where the presse was thicke, with his rod or warder. The earle of Penbroke high Marshall bare the rod before the king, and made roome before him, both in the church and in the hall, placing euerie man, and ordering the seruice at the table. The wardens of the cinque ports bare a canopie ouer the king, supported with foure speares.

The earle of Chester. The constable of Chester. The earle of Penbroke. The wardes of the cinque ports.

The earle of Leicester held the bason when they washed. The earle of Warren, in the place of the erle of Arundell, bicause he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. M. Michaell Bellet was Butler by office. The earle of Hereford exercised the roome of high Marshall in the kings house. The lord William de Beauchampe was almoner. The cheefe iustice of the forrests on the right hand of the king remooued the dishes on the table, though at the first he was staied by some allegation made to the contrarie. The citizens of London serued out wine to euerie one in great plentie. The citizens of Winchester had ouersight of the kitchin and larderie. And so euerie person (according to his dutie) exercised his roome: and bicause no trouble should arise, manie things were suffered, which vpon further aduise taken therin were reformed. The chancellor and all other ordinarie officers kept their place. The feast was plentifull, so that nothing wanted that could be wished. Moreouer, in Tuthill field roiall iustes were holden by the space of eight daies togither. And soone after the king called a parlement at London, where manie things were enacted for the good gouernment of the realme, and therewith the king demanded a subsidie.

The earle of Leicester. Erle Warren. The earle of Hereford. Lord William Beauchampe. The citizens of London. The citizens of Winchester.

A parlement at London. *Polydor.*

¶ About the same time woonderfull strange sights were séene. In the northparts of England, not farre from the abbie of Roch or Rupie, there appeared comming foorth of the earth companies of armed men on horssebacke, with speare, shield, sword, and baners displaied, in sundrie formes and shapes, riding in order of battell, and incountering togither:

Strange sights. *Matth. Paris.*

ther: and this sight was séene sundrie daies ech after other. Sometime they séemed to ioine as it had béene in battell, and fought sore; and sometime they appeared to iust and breake staues, as it had béene at some triumphant iusts of tornie. The people of the countrie beheld them a farre off, with great woonder: for the thing shewed so liuelie, that now and then they might see them come with their emptie horsses sore wounded and hurt: and then men likewise mangled and bléeding, that pitie it was to see them. And that which séemed more strange and to be most maruelled at, the prints of their féet appeared in the ground, and the grasse troden downe in places where they had beene séene. The like sight was also séene more apparentlie in Ireland, and in the parts thereabout.

Great raine. *Matth. Paris.*

Immediatlie followed, or rather precéeded passing great tempests of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and caused monstruous flouds: for this raine continued all the space of the moneths of Ianuarie, Februarie, and a great part of March; and for eight daies it rained (as some write) in maner without ceassing: and vpon the tenth of Februarie, immediatlie after the change of the moone, the Thames rose with such an high tide, that boats might haue beene rowed vp and downe in Westminster hall. In the winter before, on the twentith of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the first fridaie in December, which was the fift of that moneth, there was a counterfet sunne séene beside the true sunne. Moreouer, as in the spring precéeding there happened sore and excéeding great raines, so in the summer following there chanced a great drouth, continuing by the space of foure moneths or more.

Matth. West.

A great thunder.

A drie summer.

Gilbert Norman founder of Merton abbeie.

This yeare was a parlement holden at Merton, a towne in Surrie, distant from London 7 miles, where was an abbeie of regular canons founded by one Gilbert a lord of Normandie, that came into the realme with William conquerour. At this parlement, diuerse good & profitable lawes were made and established, which yet remaine in vse, bearing the name of the place where they were first ordeined. ¶ In the beginning of the 21 yeare of king Henries reigne, on the morrow after the feast of S. Martine, and certeine days after, the sea burst out with such high tides and tempests of wind, that the marrish countries néere to the same were drowned vp and ouerflowen: and beside great heards and flocks of cattell that perished, there was no small number of men lost and drowned. The sea rose continuallie in flowing the space of two daies and one night, without ebbing, by reason of the mightie violence of contrarie winds. At Wisbech also, and in villages thereabouts, the people were drowned in great numbers, so that in one village there were buried an hundred corpses in one daie. Also the daie before Christmasse éeue, there chanced a great wind, with thunder and raine, in such extreame wise, that manie buildings were shaken and ouerthrowen.

An. Reg. 21.

High tides. *Matth. Paris.*

Wisbech people perishing by rage of waters.

1237.

In a parlement holden at Westminster about the octaues of the Epiphanie, the king required a subsidie of his subiects, which request was not verie well taken, but yet at length, vpon promise that he would be good lord vnto them, and not séeke to infringe and disanull the grants which he had made by pretense of want of the popes confirmation (as it was thought he meant to doo) they agréed to giue him the thirtith part of all moueable goods, as well of the spiritualtie as the temporaltie, reseruing yet to euerie man his readie coine, with horsse and armour, to be imploied for the profit of the common-wealth. In consideration of which grant, the king being of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernance, of his frée and méere good will, at the request, and by counsell of the lords of his realme, eftsoones granted and confirmed the liberties and customes conteined in the two charters, the one called Magna charta, and the other Charta de foresta, with this addition following added in the end.

A subsidie.

The confirmation of the charters, vnder the kings acknowledgement and subscription of witnesses.

NVNC autem concessimus, & hac præsenti charta confirmauimus omnibus prædictis de regno nostro, omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines contentas in chartis nostris, quas eis fidelibus nostris fieri fecimus cùm in minori essemus ætate, scilicet in Magna charta nostra, quàm in charta de Foresta. Et volumus pro nobis, & hæredibus nostris, quòd præfati fideles nostri, & successores, & hæredes eorum habeant, & teneant in perpetuum omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines prædictas, non obstante quòd prædictæ chartæ confectæ fuerint cùm minoris essemus ætatis, vt prædictum est, hijs testibus, Edmundo Cant. archiepiscopo, & omnibus alijs in Magna charta nominatis. Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Cicestriensis episcopi, cancellarij nostri 28 die Ianuarij, Anno Regni nostri 21.

Beside the confirmation of these charters, the king further to win the fauour of his people, was contented to remooue and sequester from him diuerse of his councellours that were thought not to be well minded towards the aduancement of the commonwealth, and in their places to admit the earle of Waren, William de Ferrers, and Iohn Fitz Geffrey, who were sworne to giue to the king faithfull counsell, and in no wise to go out of the right waie for any respect that might otherwise mooue them. ¶ About the first daie of March, there began sore raine and tempestuous weather, whereof insued great flouds, as before in the beginning of the yeare passed, had chanced, though not dooing so much hurt as before. *Matth. Paris.*

Iohn Scot also earle of Chester and Huntington died at Deren hall the seuenth daie of Iune, without issue, and was buried at Chester. He was poisoned by the diuelish practise of his wife daughter to Leolin prince of Wales (as Matt. Paris saith.) He had foure sisters, of whom the first named Margaret was married to Allen of Gallowaie, by whom she had issue a daughter named Deuorgoill; which Deuorgoill was married to Iohn Balioll, by whom she had issue Iohn Balioll that was afterward king of Scotland. The second named Isabell, was married to Robert le Bruis. The third named Mawd, died without issue. And the fourth called Alda, was married to Henrie Hastings. But bicause the land perteining to the earledome of Chester, should not go amongst rocks and distaues, hauing such roiall prerogatiues belonging thereto, the king seized them into his owne hands, and in recompense assigned other lands to the forsaid sisters, as it had beene by way of exchange. Iohn Scot earle of Chester departed this life. *Ran. Higd.* His sisters.

Now sith the earles of Chester (I meane those of the line of Hugh Lupus) tooke end in this Iohn Scot; I haue thought it not impertinent for the honor of so noble a linage, to set downe the descent of the same earles, beginning at the foresaid Hugh the first that gouerned after the conquest, as I haue seen the same collected out of ancient records, according to their true succession in seauen descents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous and most honourable earles of Chester.

HUGH Lou or Lupus, first earle of Chester after the conquest, nephue to William Conquerour by his sister Margaret, wife to Richard Vicount of Auranches, married a noble ladie named Armetruda, by whom he had issue Richard that succeeded him in

the earledome, Robert abbat of saint Edmundsburie, and Otuell. He departed this life about the yeere of our Lord 1102, when he had beene earle about 40 yeeres.

2 Richard Lupus eldest son to Hugh Lupus, and second earle of Chester, married Maud the daughter of Stephan erle of Blois, Charters and Champaigne, and sister to K. Stephan. This Richard with his brother Otuell was drowned in the seas, in the yeere of our Lord 1120, as before hath beene shewed, after he had beene earle about ninteene yeares.

3 Ranulfe or Randulfe the first of that name called Bohun, and otherwise Mestheins, the sonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, succeeded Richard, as cousin and heire to him in the earldome of Chester, and was the third earle in number after the conquest. He married Maud the daughter of Auberie de Vere earle of Gisney and Oxenford, by whome he had issue Ranulfe surnamed Geruous the fourth earle of Chester. He died about the yere of our Lord 1130, after he had continued earle eight yeares.

4 Ranulfe or Randulfe Bohun, the second of that name, and fourth erle in number after the conquest, surnamed Gernous, succeeded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert erle of Glocester, base sonne to king Henrie the first by whome he had issue Hugh Keuelocke, the fift earle of Chester. He deceassed about the yeare of our Lord 1153, when he had beene earle 29 yeares.

5 Hugh Bohun otherwise Keuelocke, the sonne of the said Ranulfe, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest, and second of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucie lord cheefe iustice of England, by whom he had issue Ranulfe the third of that name, and foure daughters, Mawd married to Dauid that was earle of Angus and Huntington and lord of Galloway, Mabell maried to William Dalbegnie earle of Arundell, Agnes maried to William Ferers earle of Derbie, and Hauisa ioined in marriage with Robert Quincie, a baron of great honour. This Hugh died about the yeare 1181, when he had beene earle eight and twentie yeares.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwise called Blundeuille, the sonne of Hugh Keuelocke, was the sixt earle of Chester after the conquest. He was also earle of Lincolne as next cousine and heire to William Romare earle of Lincolne. He had three wiues (as before yee haue heard) but yet died without issue, about the yeare of our Lord 1232, after he had beene earle 51 yeares.

7 Iohn Scot the sonne of Dauid earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the seuenth earle of Chester after the conquest. He died without issue (as before yee haue heard) by reason whereof, the erldome came into the kings hands in the yeare 1237. Thus much may suffice (with that which is said before) touching the descent of the earles of Chester. And now to proceed.

Cardinall Otho or Othobon.

The same yeare that Iohn Scot died, cardinall Otho (by some writers named Othobon) about the feast of S. Peter and Paule came into England from pope Gregorie. He was receiued with all honour and solemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the king meeting him at the sea side. His comming was not signified afore to the nobles of the realme, which caused them to mislike the matter, and to grudge against the king, seeing that he did all things contrarie to order, breaking law, faith, and promise in all things. He hath coupled himselfe (said they) in mariage with a stranger, without consent of his freends and naturall subiects, and now he bringeth in a legat secretlie, who will take vpon him to make an alteration in the whole state of the realme.

The lords, grudge at the king for receiuing the cardinall without their knowledge.

But this legat shewed himselfe a verie sober and discréet person, not so couetous as his predecessors, in so much that he refused diuerse gifts which were offered vnto him, though some he receiued, and indéed commanded the other to be reserued for him. He also distributed liberallie the vacant rents vnto such as he brought with him, as well persons worthie as vnworthie, and pacified such controuersies as were sproong betwixt the nobles and peeres of the realme, so that he made them frèends. ¶ An act memo-

The legat praised for his sober behauiour.

rable & to be kept in record, that the instrument and seruant of so bad a maister as he serued, namelie the pope, should be the procurer of so good a worke: considering that from the sée of Rome full tides and violent streames of seditions haue flowed, and verie seldome any occasion or means made to plant peace among men, which is the daughter of loue, and the worthiest thing that is, as one saith verie well in these words:

Gignit amor pacem, pax est dignissima rerum.

The bishop of Winchester, the earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, Stephan Siward & others were by him accorded, who had borne secret grudge ech to other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken foorth, and shewed it selfe in perilous wise at a tornie holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southernmen stroue against the Northerne men, and in the end the Southerne men preuailed, and tooke diuerse of their aduersaries, so that it séemed not to be a triumphant iustes, but rather a sharpe challenge and incounter betwixt enimies. But amongst all others, earle Bigot bare himselfe verie stoutlie.

A tournie at Blie.

Earle Bigot.

After that the legat had thus agréed the noblemen, he assembled a synod at London, the morrow after the octaues of S. Martin, wherein manie ordinances were newlie constituted for the state of the cleargie, but not altogither verie acceptable to diuerse yoong préests and scholers (as some write) in somuch that the legat afterwards comming to Oxford, and lodging in the abbie of Osnie, it chanced as certeine scholers pressed to the gates thinking to come in and doo their dutie (as they tooke the matter) vnto the legat, the porter kept them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart words, wherevpon they rushed in vpon him, & so began a fraie betwixt them and the legats men, who would haue beaten them backe.

An. Reg. 22. The legat holdeth a synod at London. 1238.

The legat commeth to Oxford.

A fraie betwixt the legats men, and the scholers of Oxford.

It fortuned in this hurlie burlie, that a poore Irish scholer being got in néere to the kitchin dresser, besought the cooke for Gods sake to giue him some reliefe: but the cooke (as manie of that calling are cholerike fellowes) in a great furie tooke vp a ladle full of hot broath out of a kettell wherein flesh had béene sodden, and threw it right vpon the Irishmans face, which thing when another Welsh scholer that stood by beheld, he cried out; "What meane we to suffer this villanie," and therewithall tooke an arrow, and set it in his bow, which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fraie, and drawing it vp to the head let flie at the cooke, and so slue him there outright.

A cookes almes.

The legats cooke slaine.

Herevpon againe noise and tumult rose round about the house, the legat for feare got him into the belfraie of the abbeie, where he kept himselfe close till the darke of the night had staied the vprore, and then stale foorth, and taking his horsse escaped as secretlie as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with all spéed to the court, which laie not farre off at Abington, and there made his complaint to the king, in such lamentable wise, that he foorthwith sent the earle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetch awaie the residue of the legats seruants which remained behind in the abbeie, and to apprehend the chiefe offendors.

The legat complaineth to the king.

The earle Waren sent to apprehend the offendors.

The earle comming thither, tooke thirtie scholers, with one master Odo a lawier, and brought them to Wallingford castell, and there committed them to prison. The legat also in reuenge of the iniurie in this wise to him doone, pronounced the cursse against the misdooers, and handled the matter in such wise, that the regents and masters of the Vniuersitie were at length constreined to come vnto London, & there to go bare-footed through Cheapeside, vnto the church of S. Paule, in such wise to aske him forgiuenesse, and so with much adoo they obteined absolution. This legat among other things demanded soone after the tenth part of all spirituall mens yearelie reuenues, towards the maintenance of the wars against the Saracens in Asia.

The legat curseth.

The regents of ye Vniuersitie absolued.

Polydor.

Moreouer, the emperour of Constantinople, namelie, Baldwine sonne to Peter earle of Ausserre, being expelled out of his empire, came this yeare into England, to sue for aid: but at his first arriuall at Douer, he was told, that he had not doone well to come so presumptuouslie

Matth. Paris.

The emperor of Constantinople cõmeth into England.

sumptuouslie into the land of another prince, without his safe conduct. But when the said emperour seemed to be sorie for his offense, and to excuse his innocencie and sincere meaning, the king was pacified, & willed him to come to London, where at his comming thither, being the 22 daie of Aprill, he was honorablie receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highlie honored, so that he had awaie with him to the value of about seuen hundred marks as was reported. About this time also, Elianor the kings sister (that was sometime wife vnto William Marshall earle of Penbroke) was now by the kings meanes married the second time to Simon Montford, a man of high parentage and noble prowesse.

The countesse of Penbroke, sister to the king married to Simon de Montford. *Polydor.*

This Simon was indowed with such vertue, good counsell, courteous discretion, and other amiable qualities, that he was highly fauoured as was supposed, both of God and man: in somuch that he might right well, as for birth, so also for education and good demeanour be counted (as he deserued) a notable Noble man, for he was so qualified as standeth with the nature of true nobilitie, according to that of the poet,

——non census, nec clarum nomen auorum,
Sed probitas magnos ingeniúmque facit.

Notwithstanding all which noble indowments concurring in him, he was banished out of France, vpon displeasure, which Blanch the quéene mother conceiued against him. But now comming into England, he was ioifullie receiued of king Henrie, who not onelie gaue vnto him (as aboue is mentioned) his sister in mariage with the earledome of Leicester in name of a dowrie, but also aduanced him vnto offices of greatest honour within the realme of England. Howbeit, this marriage was verie displesant vnto Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie bicause that the foresaid Elianor, after the death of hir first husband, had vowed perpetuall chastitie, and betaken hir (as was said) to the mantell and the ring.

The archbishop of Canturburie displeased with the marriage.

As the prelat was not pleased with this match, so the king was as highlie offended with the archbishop for not fauouring the cause, in somuch that the archbishop went soone after to Rome, where he not onlie complained of certeine iniuries receiued latelie at the kings hands, but also signified the estate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In like manner, Richard the kings brother found great fault with the king for the same matter, but chieflie, that he stroke it vp without making him and other of the Nobles of councell therein. To be short, it was not long yer this grudge grew so far, that ciuill war was verie likelie to haue followed thervpon. But when the king saw that all the lords leaned to his brother, he sought to pacifie the matter by courteous means, and so by mediation of the legat, the king and his brother were reconciled, to the great griefe of the lords, which had brought the matter now to that point, that the king could not haue so resisted their force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the realme out of bondage from all manner of strangers, as well of those Romans that were beneficed men, as of anie other.

He goeth to Rome to cõplaine of the king.
The earle of Cornewall is also offended for the same marriage.
Matth. Paris.

Simon the earle of Leicester also perceiuing how the matter went, made shift another waie to get all the monie he could in prest or otherwise (in somuch that he had of one burges of Leicester, named Simon Curleuath, fiue hundred markes) and leauing his wife in the castell of Kelingworth, he secretlie departed out of the realme, and got him to Rome, to purchase a confirmation of his marriage which he easilie obteined, notwithstanding the archbishop of Canturburies former and verie vehement information against him, and so hauing brought his purpose about, in the latter end of this yéere, he returned into England, and was ioifullie receiued, first of the king and after of his wife, whome he found at Kelingworth, néere to the time of hir trauell, and shortlie after deliuered of a yoong sonne, whom they called Simon after the name of his father.

The earle of Leicester gathereth monie.
He goeth to Rome to get a dispensation or rather confirmation of his marriage.

At the same time, Frederike the emperour going into Italie, had a great number of English souldiers with him, which king Henrie furnished for his aid, vnder the leading of a right valiant warriour, named Henrie de Trubleuille, with whome went also Iohn Mansell,

Aid sent foorth of England to the emperour.
Henrie Trubleuille.
Iohn Mansell.

sell, whose valiancie in that iournie well appeared, and William Hardell a citizen of London was treasurer and paimaister to the souldiers. Herewith the pope was sore offended, and wrote his mind thereof to the king, who foorthwith returned an eloquent answer, requiring him to be more fauourable to the emperour, considering his cause was such as could not iustlie offend his holinesse. About the same time, or rather (as by some writers it should appeare) somwhat before, the kings sister Ioane quéene of Scotland, comming into England to see hir brother, fell into a sicknesse, and died. Wil. Hardell.

Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obteined little or nothing touching the suit which he had before the pope, for (as some haue written) the legat Otho being his heauie fréend, had so stopped the popes eares from hearing any of his complaints, that all his whole trauell did come to none effect. In like manner, Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester died this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of Iune, which prelat had gouerned that see about 32 yeares. He was a man of great wisedome and dexteritie in ordering of weightie affaires touching the state of temporall regiment. He builded manie goodlie monasteries, as the abbeies of Hales, Tikborne and Seleborne with the hospitall at Portesmouth. He made also a notable testament, and besides his bequests which were great, he left his bishoprike so stored and throughlie furnished, that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his comming in value, as the cattell that serued to draw the verie ploughs. The bishop of Winchester departeth this life.

About this time, a learned esquire, or rather a clearke of the vniuersitie of Oxenford, bearing some malice toward the king, fained himselfe mad, and espieng thereby the secret places of his house at Woodstoke where he then laie, vpon a night by a window he got into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds side, threw off the couerings, and with a dagger strake diuerse times into a pillow, supposing that the king had beene there, but as GOD would, that night the king laie in another chamber with the quéene. In the meane time, one of the queenes chambermaids named Margaret Biset, hauing espied the traitor, made an outcrie, so that the K. seruants which came to vnderstand what the matter meant, presentlie apprehended the said clearke, who being conueied to Couentrie, was there arreigned, and by lawfull proofe had of his malicious intent, was condemned, and executed as a traitor. At his death he confessed, that he was sent from *William de Marisch the sonne of Geffrie de Marisch to murther the king by such manner of means, not caring what had become of himselfe so he might haue dispatched his purpose. *Matth. Paris.* A naughtie wretch meant to haue destroied the K.

* see his end in pag. 398.

¶ These practises of treason In summo gradu, which cannot be committed without irrecouerable detriment to the whole estate (speciallie where succession is vncerteine) are of an old brewing, though they be neuer so newlie broched. And truelie if the cursed miscreant which vndertaketh an enterprise of this qualitie, had the grace to consider how manie murthers he commiteth by implication in giuing the roiall person of the prince a deadlie wound; I doubt not, if he were a man and not a ranke diuell, he would be weaned from that outragious villanie. For, in wounding and killing the prince, he is guiltie of homicide, of parricide, of christicide, nay of deicide. And therefore a thousand woes light on his hart that shall stretch out his hand, naie that shall once conceiue in thought a murther so heinous, as both God and nature dooth abhorre; speciallie if it be commensed against a christian prince, and such a one as to whome true and vndefiled religion is no lesse pretious and déere than life itselfe. Princes therefore had need to sée to the safegard of their persons, sithens the safetie of many millians dependeth therevpon. For certeine it is, that the state of a poore priuat man is lesse perillous by manie degrées than the state of a potentat, which is ment by this true allegorie following.

Quatiunt altas sæpè procellæ,
Aut euertit fortuna domos;
Minùs in paruis fortuna furit,

Seneca in Octa, & Hippol.

Raros patitur fulminis ictus
Humida vallis.

An. Reg. 23. 1239. In the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where a great grudge arose betwixt him and Gilbert the earle of Penbroke, by reason that the said earle with his seruants (hauing tipstaues) in their comming to the court, were not suffered to enter within the gates but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had complained, the king made him such an ouerthwart answer, that the earle perceiuing him not to like verie well of his seruice, departed foorthwith, and rode into the North countrie, so that from that daie foorth, neither he nor his brother Walter loued the king as they ought to haue doone. Soone after this departure of earle Gilbert, vpon Candlemas day the king gaue the earldome of Leicester vnto Simon de Mountford, and inuested him thereinto, hauing first pacified earle Almerike that was elder brother to the same Simon. Yet about the beginning of the next August, the king was so incensed against earle Simon, that both he and his wife were glad to get them ouer into France, till the kings wrath were more pacified.

Matth. Paris. Variance betwixt the king and the earle of Penbroke.

Simon earle of Leicester fled ouer into France.

Vpon the sixteenth day of Iune, the kings eldest sonne named Edward, and after surnamed Longshanke by the Scots in mockage, bicause he was a tall and slender man, was borne at Westminster, who after his fathers decease, succeeded him in the kingdome. ¶ Before the birth of this Edward, there appeared earlie in the morning certeine daies togither before the sunne was vp, a star of a large compasse, the which with swift course was caried through a long circuit of the aire, sometimes shewing as it had borne fire with it, and sometimes leauing as it were smoke behind it, so that it was after iudged, that the great déeds which were to be atchiued by the same Edward, were by this wonderfull constellation foreshewed and signified.

The birth of king Edward the first.

Polydor. A strange star.

About the same time, by reason of an accusation made by a prisoner against Ranulfe Briton (sometime the kings chancellour, but now leading a priuat life, being a canon of the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London) the same Ranulfe (by commandement from the king sent to the maior of the citie William Ioiner) was taken out of his house, had to the tower, and there imprisoned, whervpon the deane of Paules, maister G. Lucie, in absence of the bishop accurssed all those that had presumptuouslie attempted to laie hands on the said Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne church of saint Paule vnder interdiction.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe Briton taken out of his house, and led to the tower.

To conclude, through threatning of excommunication to be pronounced against the king, and other for this fact by the legat and the bishops of the realme as namelie, Canturburie and London, the king was compelled to release and set at libertie the foresaid Ranulfe. Finallie, the prisoner that had accused the said Ranulfe and other, being one of the kings purseuants, when for his wicked doings he came to suffer death, openlie confessed, how he had accused those persons, onelie in hope to deferre his owne execution, being conuicted as accessarie to the treason of the clearke that suffered at Couentrie the last yeare. He had accused not onelie the said Briton, but diuers of the nobilitie also to be priuie and giltie of the same conspiracie. ¶ This yeare for the space of foure moneths togither, fell excéeding great raine, yet at length it began to hold vp about Easter.

Great raine.

In this while, the lords of the realme practised sundrie drifts likewise, as men that would faine haue béene rid of the legats companie: but the king did what he could on the otherside (by sending to the pope for licence) to haue him remaine still here, who began now indeed to look to his owne profit, as by waie of procuracies and other meanes, so that he got togither great summes of monie, although in the beginning he séemed to forbeare, and not to séeke for anie such gaine. Also, he tooke vpon him to bestow benefices without consent of the patrones that were temporall men, wherevpon complaint was made

The legat beginneth to looke to his owne cõmoditie.

to

to the pope, namelie, by one sir Robert de Twing, who claimed as patrone the presentation of the rectorie of Luthun in Yorkeshire, and could not be permitted to inioy it, by reason of the popes prohibition, but vpon the hearing of his title in the popes consistorie, he obteined letters from the pope to be restored, and also an inhibition, that from thencefoorth no person should be promoted to anie spirituall benefice or church, without consent of the patrone. The king and the péeres of the realme vnderstanding themselues to be touched in this wrong offered to this knight, had written in his fauour to the pope, so that his suit had the better successe. Sir Robert de Twing.

Moreouer, the Iewes in this yeare, for a murther which they had secretlie committed, were gréeuouslie punished, namelie by the pursse to buy their peace; & they were glad to giue the king the third part of all their goods. The legat also assembled a synod of the clergie at London vpon the last of Iulie, in the which he demanded procuracies, but the bishops vpon deliberation had in the matter, answered, that "the importunatnes of the Romane church had so often consumed the goods of the English church, that they could no longer suffer it," and therefore said they; "Let them giue you procuracies which vnaduisedlie haue called you into the realme, if they will, for of vs you shall be sure to come by none at all," howbeit he got his demand of the abbats and other religious men. The Iewes punished by the pursse. A synod holden at London.

About the feast of the assumption of our ladie, Thomas earle of Flanders, vncle to the quéene, arriued at Douer, and was receiued of the king with great ioy and gladnesse, who rode thitherward to méet him, and so brought him to London, where the citizens came foorth also, and meeting him in the waie, brought him into the citie with all honour that might be deuised. He did homage to the king (as authors write) and at his departure had in reward fiue hundred marks, and a pension assured him of as much yearelie out of the escheker of the kings frée gift. This earle Thomas was sonne to the earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ione countesse of Flanders, which had first béene coupled in marriage with Ferdinando, as in the life of king Iohn may further appeare.

In the 24 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where he made Baldwine de Riuers knight, and inuested him with the right of the earledome of the Ile of Wight, in the presence of the earle of Cornewall, who procured him this honour, bicause he had the wardship of him, and married him to his daughter in law the ladie Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the countesse of Glocester by hir former husband. The earle of Leicester also, meaning to go into the holie land, returned out of France, where he had remained a certeine time as an exile, but was now receiued honorablie of the king and other péeres of the realme, and after that he had séene the king and doone his dutie as apperteined, he went to his possessions to make monie for his furniture necessarie to be had in that iournie, for the which he sold at that time his woods about Leicester, vnto the knights of the Hospitall, and to the canons of Leicester, receiuing of them for the same about the summe of a thousand pounds. An. Reg. 24. 1240. *Matth. Paris.* *Matth. West.* Baldwin de Riuers earle of the Ile of Wight. The woods about Leicester feeld.

About the same time, to wit, the 14 of Aprill, died Leolin prince of Wales, and then followed contention betwixt his sons Griffin and Dauid for the principalitie, which at length Dauid obteined through king Henries support (though he were the yoonger brother) bicause he was begot in lawfull bed on the sister of king Henrie. The whole countrie of Wales was maruellouslie in trouble about their quarels. At length, a daie of méeting was appointed betwixt them, to grow by waie of talke vnto some quiet end; and Griffin meaning no deceit, came in peaceable wise with Richard bishop of Bangor and others to the place assigned, where they should haue met. But Dauid by a traine tooke Griffin, and committed him to prison, wherevpon afterwards, the yeare insuing, by continuall plaint and earnest sute of the bishop of Bangor, king Henrie entred Wales with an armie, and constreined Dauid to submit himselfe, and to deliuer the said Griffin into his hands, and further also to put in suerties to appeare at London, there to receiue such order in the kings courts, as to him by law should be orderlie awarded. Leolin prince of Wales departeth this life. Griffin ap Maddocke

Griffin ap Maddocke

Maddocke and diuerse other great lords of Wales ioined with the king in this iournie against Dauid, as in the next yeare ye shall further heare.

About the same time, there was great strife and contention still remaining betwixt the emperour Frederike and pope Innocent the fourth that succéeded Celestine the fourth, in somuch that sore and mortall warre followed. But king Henrie by the procurement of the legat Otho, aided the pope with monie, though he was somewhat loth to doo it, bicause the said emperour had married his sister. Indéed, the emperour wrote to the king to staie his hand, but the diligence of that legat was such in furthering his masters businesse, that the monie was gone ouer yer the emperours letters came. At this time also, Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie greatlie disalowed the often exactions and subsidies which the legat caused dailie to be léuied of the English clergie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpose the rather against the moonks of Canturburie, with whom he was at variance, he first granted to the legats request made on the popes behalfe in a synod holden at Reading, for the hauing of the fift part of spirituall mens reuenues, and so by his example others were inforced to doo the like.

King Henrie aided the pope with monie against the emperour.

Furthermore he gaue eight hundred marks to the pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by constreint, I cannot saie; but now vtterlie misliking all things doone by the legat contrarie to his mind, after he had doone and said what he could for redresse, and when he saw no hope at hand for anie reformation either in the king or legat, who estéemed not his words, as a man not longer able to see his countrie so spoiled, he went ouer into France, and got him vnto Pontney, there to remaine in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predecessour Thomas Becket, whose dooings he did follow in verie manie things. Verelie the collections of monie, which the pope in these daies by his legats gathered here in this realme, were great and sundrie, so that (as it appeareth by historiographers of this time) the cleargie and other found themselues sore grieued, and repined not a little against such couetous dealings and vnmeasurable exactions, in so much that they spake to the king of it, and said; "Right famous prince, whie suffer you England to be made a prey and desolation to all the passers by, as a vineyard without an hedge, common to the waifaring man, and to be destroied of the bores of the field, sith you haue a sufficient priuilege that no such exactions should be made in this kingdome. And suerlie he is not worthie of a priuilege which abuseth the same being granted." The king answered those that went thus about to persuade him, that "he neither would nor durst gainsaie the pope in any thing;" and so the people were brought into miserable despaire.

Complaint to the king of the collections made for the pope.

The answer of the king.

Polydor.

There be that write how that there were other occasions of the archbishops departure out of the relme of the which this should be one; when he saw religion not to be regarded, and that préests were had in no honor, neither that it laie in his power to reforme the matter, sith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to absent himselfe till the king (warned by some mishap) should repent him of his errours, and amend his misdoings. Other ioine an other cause herevnto, which was this; whereas the king by the insample of other kings (begun by William Rufus) vsed to keepe bishops sees, and other such spirituall possessions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient person were to the same preferred, the archbishop Edmund, for that he saw long delaies made oftentimes yer any could be admitted to the roome of those that were deceassed, or by any other means depriued, he was in hand with the king, that the archbishop of Canturburie might haue power onlie to prouide for successors in such roomes as chanced to be vacant, aboue the tearme of six moneths, which thing the king for a certeine summe of monie granted: but afterward perceiuing what hinderance he susteined thereby, he reuoked that grant, so much to the displeasure of the archbishop, that he thought good no longer to continue in the realme.

The causes that mooued archbishop Edmund to depart the realme.

Matth. West.
Matth. Paris.
Polydor.

At his comming to Pontney, he so séemed to despise all worldlie pompe and honor, giuing himselfe wholie to diuine contemplation, to fasting and praier, that the former opinion, which men had conceiued of his vertues, was maruellouslie confirmed. At length

length being sore vexed with sicknesse, supposing that he might recouer helth by chang-
ing of aire and place, he caused himselfe to be conueied into an other house of religion,
named Soisie, two daies iournie from Pontney, where finallie he died the sixteenth of
Nouember, and his bodie was brought againe to Pontney, and there buried, where also
through sundrie miracles shewed (as they say) at his graue, he was reputed a saint, and
at length canonized by pope Innocent the fourth. He was borne at Abingdon, beside
Oxenford, and thereby some named him saint Edmund of Abingdon, and some of S. Ed-
mund of Pontney, after the place where he was inshrined. The see of Canturburie was
void more than three yeares after his decease, till at length by the kings commandement,
the moonks of Canturburie elected one Boniface of Sauoie vncle to quéene Elianor,
being the 45 archbishop which ruled that church.

The death of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie surnamed of Pontney.

¶ There was this yeare a certeine person of honest conuersation, and sober, repre-
senting in habit one of the Carthusian moonks, taken at Cambridge, being accused for
that he refused to come to the church to heare diuine seruice, and vpon his examination,
bicause he answered otherwise than was thought conuenient, he was committed to secret
prison, and shortlie after sent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This man openlie
protested, that Gregorie was not the true pope, nor head of the church, but that there
was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, so that no seruice ought
to be said therein, except the same were newlie dedicated, and the vessels and vestments
againe hallowed and consecrated; The diuell (said he) is losed, & the pope is an heretike,
for Gregorie, which nameth himselfe pope, hath polluted the church.

A Charterhouse moonke apprehended.

Herevpon (in the presence and audience of the abbat of Euesham, maister Nic. de
Fernham, and diuerse other worshipfull personages) the legat said vnto him being thus
out of the waie; "Is not power granted to our souereigne lord the pope from aboue,
both to lose and bind soules, sith he executeth the roome of S. Peter vpon earth:" Now
when all men looked to heare what answer he would make, beléeuing his iudgement to
depend vpon the same, he said by waie of interrogation, and not by way of assertion;
"How can I beléeue, that vnto a person spotted with simonie and vsurie, and haplie
wrapt in more greeuous sins, such power should be granted as was granted vnto holie
Peter, who immediatlie followed the lord, as soone as he was made his apostle, and fol-
lowed him not onelie in bodilie footsteps, but in cleerenesse of vertues." At which word
the legat blushed, & said to some of the standers by; "A man ought not to chide with a
foole, nor gape ouer an ouen."

Iustices itinerants. William de Yorke, Robert Lexinton iustices.

In this season the king sent his iustices itinerants in circuit about the land, the which
vnder pretext of iustice punished manie persons, and so leuied great summes of monie
to the kings vse. Sir William of Yorke prouost of Beuerley was assigned to visit the
south parts, and sir Robert de Lexinton the north parts. Also Richard earle of Corne-
wall the kings brother, with a nauie of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against
the Saracens, he greatlie aduanced the part of the christians. There went ouer with him
the earle of Salisburie William Long espee, and William Basset, Iohn Beauchampe,
Geffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuill, Geffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Breuse, and William
Furniuall. The erle of Montford also went ouer the same time: but where the earle of
Cornewall tooke the sea at Marsiles, the earle of Leicester passed through Italie, and
tooke the water at Brandize, and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Fur-
niuall, with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond,
Wischard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard
Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenaie. Shortlie after also, Iohn earle of
Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancie
greatlie renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of christian souldiors.

The earle of Cornewal goeth into the holy land.

The earle of Leicester goeth thither also.

The earle of Albemarle.

In this yeare and vpon the day of S. Remigius, was the church of S. Paule in the citie
of London dedicated by Roger bishop of that citie, the king and a great number of bishops
and other Noble men being present, which were feasted the same day by the said bishop
Roger.

The dedication of the church of S. Paule in London.

The death of Isabell the countesse of Cornewall.

Roger and the canons. Moreouer, there died the same yeare the countesse Isabell, wife to Richard earle of Cornewall, and two earles, William earle Warren, and Iohn earle of Lincolne, also the lord Iohn Fitz Robert, one of the chéefe barons in all the north parts of the realme. ¶ Also in Februarie there appeared a comet or blasing starre verie dreadfull to behold, for the space of thirtie daies togither. Moreouer, on the coast of England there was a great battell amongst the fishes of the sea, so that there were eleauen whales or thirlepooles cast on land, beside other huge and monstruous fishes, which appeared to be dead of some hurts; and one of those mightie fishes, comming into the Thames aliue, was pursued by the fishers, and could scarse passe through the arches of London bridge. At length with darts and other such weapons, they slue him before the kings manour at Mortlake, whither they followed him. There was also a great sound heard this yeare in sundrie parts of England at one selfe time, as if it had beene the noise of some mightie mountaine that had fallen into the sea. And vpon the seuenth of Maie there chanced a great boisterous wind that sore troubled the skie.

The lord Iohn Fitz Robert.
A comet.
A battell betwixt fishes.
Matth. Paris.

The kings manour at Mortlake.

A great wind.

An oth receiued.

This yeare the king caused the citizens of London, and the gardians of the cinque ports, and manie other to receiue an oth to be true and faithfull to his sonne prince Edward. The friers preachers and minors, and other men of the church that were diuines, absolued such as had taken on them the crosse, receiuing of them so much monie as would suffice to haue borne their charges in that iournie, and this not without slander redounding to the church. The same meanes to get monie was practised also by the legat Otho, hauing authoritie therto of the pope. The same yeare the seneshall of Aquitaine came ouer to the king, and let him know, that if timelie prouision were not had, all those countries on the further side of the sea wold be lost. No other incident chanced the same yeare neither in warre abroad, nor in the state of gouernement of the common-wealth at home, whereof any great accompt is to be made, but that the legat Otho got great summes of monie diuerse waies, of religious men to the popes behoofe: wherevpon certeine abbats made complaints to the king, but in place of comfort they receiued discomfort, & after knowledge thereof giuen to the legat, he was more extreame with them than he was before.

The seneshall of Aquitaine.

Peter Rosso.

Shortlie after one of the popes familiars and kinsman named master Peter Rosso came from Rome, taking England in his waie to go into Scotland, and vsed in both such diligence in the popes cause, that he got a fiftéenth granted here, which he spéedilie gathered. About the same time one Peter de Supino was sent into Ireland, and there likewise he got a vintiesme, bringing from these the summe of 115 marks, and aboue. But the collection which Peter Rosso got out of the Scotish confines doubled that summe, as was thought. In his returne also from thence, visiting the houses of religion, and searching the consciences of religious persons, by new shifts he craftilie got yet more monie to the popes vse, causing them to sweare to keepe this mysterie secret, as it were some priuitie of confession for the space of one halfe yeare, whereby he turned the harts of manie men from the loue of the church of Rome, wounding them with great greefe and remorse of conscience to sée this pillage.

Peter de Supino got a vintiesme, that is the 20 part of priests benefices.

An. Reg. 25. 1241.

In the 25 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Westminster, at which time the legat was sent for to returne vnto Rome, and after he had beene honorablie feasted of the king, on the 4 daie of Christmasse he departed from London towards the sea side, after he had remained here aboue three yeares. Peter of Sauoie that was uncle to the quéene came into England, and was honorablie receiued and interteined of king Henrie, who had giuen to him the earledome of Richmont. His sonne Boniface was this yeare also elected archbishop of Canturburie, a tall gentleman and of a goodlie personage, but neither so learned nor otherwise meet for that roome. But such was the kings pleasure, who in fauour of the quéene, to whom he was coosen germane sought to aduance him, and getting the popes fauour in that behalfe, procured the monks & bishops

Boniface de Sauoie elected archb. of Canturburie.
Matth. Paris.

bishops to grant their consents, although much against their minds, if they might haue had their owne wils.

The earle of Cornewall returning out of the holie land in safetie, after he had settled things there, by concluding an abstinence of warre betwixt the Saracens and christians about the octaues of S. Iohn Baptist, he arriued in Sicill, and hearing there in what place the emperour as then soiourned, he repaired vnto him, of whom and of his sister the empresse he was most ioifullie receiued. Within a few daies after, he went to the court of Rome, to trie if he might driue some agreement betwixt the emperour and the pope, but finding the pope too hard, and nothing conformable, except he might haue had all his owne will (which was, that the emperour should haue submitted himselfe to the popes pleasure, and stand vnto what soeuer order the church should appoint) he returned backe to the emperour without concluding any thing with the pope, declaring vnto him as he had found. After this he remained two moneths with the emperour, & then taking his leaue was honoured with great gifts at his departure, and so returning towards England, at length arriued at the towne of Douer on the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie in the yeare following.

The earle of Cornewall an intercessor for a peace to be had betwixt the pope and the emperour.

He returneth into England.

About the same time that the earle of Cornewall was in his returne foorth of the holie land, new wars suddenlie arose in Wales, which happened well for king Henrie. There were diuerse of the Welshmen that could not well like of the gouernement of Dauid, and therefore sore lamenting the captiuitie of his brother Griffin, whom before (as ye haue heard) he had by a traine taken and kept still as prisoner, began to make warre vpon the said Dauid, and those that tooke his part, the which on the other side sought to oppresse their aduersaries, so that there insued much bloudshed and slaughter betwéene the parties. The wife also of the said Griffin, and such other noble men as were become enimies vnto Dauid, sent and writ vnto king Henrie, requiring his aid, that Griffin might be deliuered out of his brothers hands, promising him great helpe and furtherance, with large conditions of submission, and assurance furthermore to be at his commandement, and to receiue him for their true and souereigne lord.

Warres betwéene the Welshmen.

King Henrie vnderstanding all their dooings and intents, thought that this contention betwéene the two brethren for the title of Wales would serue verie well for his purpose, and therefore he hasted foorth with a spéedie armie of men in that countrie, purposing to reduce the same vnder his obeisance. Herewith Senena or Guenhera, the wife of Griffin (and other of the Welsh Nobilitie, that tooke part with hir) concluded a league with king Henrie, vpon certeine conditions as the same are conteined in an instrument or charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as followeth.

King Henrie goeth into Wales with an armie.

Conuenit inter dominum Henricum tertium regem Anglorum illustrem ex vna parte, & Senenam vxorem Griffini, filij Leolini, quondàm principis Northwalliæ, quem Dauid frater eius tenet carceri mancipatum, cum Owino filio suo, nomine eiusdem Griff. ex altera, &c.

Articles of agreement betweene Henrie the third of that name, king of England of the one partie, and Senena the wife

wife of Griffin, the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, whom Dauid his brother deteineth in prison, with Owen his sonne, in the name of the said Griffin of the other partie.

IN primis, the said Senena vndertaketh, that the said Griffin hir husband will giue vnto the king six hundred markes, vpon condition that the king doo cause the said Griffin and Owen his sonne to be deliuered from the prison wherein they are kept, and will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, whether by law he ought to be imprisoned or no.

2 Item the said Griffin and his heires will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of the said Leolin his father, which of right ought to apperteine vnto him.

3 Item the said Senena vndertaketh for the said Griffin and his heires, that the said Griffin and his heires shall yéeld and paie yearelie to the king for the same lands, the summe of thrée hundred markes. Whereof the first third part to be paid in monie, the second in kine, and the third in horsses, by the estimation of indifferent men, and the same to be paid yearlie at Michaelmas and Easter by euen portions, by the hands of the shiriffe of the countie of Salop for the time being.

4 Item the said Senena vndertaketh further for the said Griffin and his heires, that they and euerie of them shall obserue the peace against the said Dauid, and suffer him quietlie to inioy such portion of his fathers inheritance as to him shall be found to be due.

5 Item the said Senena dooth further vndertake for the said Griffin hir husband and his heires, that in case anie Welshman hereafter shall happen to rebell against the king, they at their owne costs and charges shall compell the said offender to make satisfaction to the king for his disobedience.

6 Item for the performance of the premisses, the said Senena will deliuer vnto the lord the king, Dauid and Roderike hir sonnes for pledges, with prouiso that if the said Griffin and Owen or either of them shall happen to die before their deliuerie out of the said prison, it shall be lawfull for the said Senena to haue one of hir sonnes released, the other remaining with the king for pledge.

7 Item the said Senena hath sworne vpon the holie Euangelist, that the said Griffin hir husband and his heires, and euerie of them shall accomplish and performe all the premisses on their behalfe, and further vndertaketh that the said Griffin hir husband, vpon his deliuerie out of prison, shall take the same oth.

8 Item the said Senena in the name of the said Griffin hir husband, submitteth hir selfe concerning the obseruation of the premisses vnto the iurisdiction of the reuerend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Lichfield, so that the said bishops or either of them at the kings request shall compell the said Griffin and his heires to obserue all and singular the premisses on their behalfe, by sentence of excommunication vpon their persons, and interdiction vpon their lands.

9 Lastlie, the said Senena dooth vndertake and promise (Bona fide) to see and procure the full performance of all the premisses, and that the said Griffin hir husband and his heires shall allow and performe the same, and thereof shall deliuer his instrument in writing to the king in forme aforesaid. To this charter both parties put their seales, Griffin and Senena to that part which remained with the king, and the K. to that part which remained with Senena.

Finallie, for the performance of the articles in this instrument or writing conteined, the said ladie in name of hir husband procured diuerse Noble men to become suerties or

 pledges,

pledges, that is to saie, Ralfe de Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, Roger de Monthualt seneshall of Chester, Mailgun ap Mailgun, Meredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromefield, Houwell and Meredoc brethren, Griffin ap Wenuwen: which persons undertooke for the said ladie, that the couenants on hir part should be performed, and thervpon they also bound themselues by their writings obligatorie vnto the said king, in forme following.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto senescallus Cestriæ salutem. Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.

TO all and singular, to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto the steward of Chester sendeth greeting. Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Griffin the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Griffin hir husband and Owen his sonne out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Griffin, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale. Dated at Salop, the mondaie before the feast of the Ascension of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 15 yeare of his reigne.

But now to our purpose. When Dauid vnderstood of the kings approach with so puissant an armie, he was brought into great perplexitie, and the more in déed, not onelie bicause there chanced the same yeare for the space of foure moneths togither a great drouth, so that the marishes and bogges were dried vp and made passable for the kings people, but also for that manie of the Welsh Nobilitie, as cheefelie Griffin Maddoc and others, sought his destruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whose deliuerance they earnestlie wished) and for that he stood excommunicate by the pope. All which things well considered, caused him to doubt of a further mischéefe to hang ouer his head: wherevpon he sent to the king, signifieng that he would deliuer his brother Griffin freelie into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by manie good reasons, that if he did set him at libertie, he should minister manie new occasions of continuall warres. Dauid driuen to his wits end.

Moreouer, this couenant Dauid required at the kings hands, that the king should reserue him so to his peace vnder the bond of fidelitie and hostages, that he should not disherit him: which when as the king courteouslie granted, Dauid sent vnto him his brother Griffin, to dispose of him as he should thinke requisite. The king receiuing him, sent him to London, vnder the conduct of sir Iohn de Lexinton, togither with other mo (whome he had receiued as hostages both of Dauid and others the Nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in safetie within the tower there. There was also a charter or déed made by the same Dauid vnto king Henrie, conteining the articles, couenants, and grants made betwixt the said prince and the foresaid Dauid, as followeth. Dauid deliuereth his brother to the K.

The charter of the articles of Dauids submission to the king.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, Dauid filius Leolini salutem. Sciatis quòd concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri, &c.

1 TO all christian people, to whom these present letters shall come, Dauid the sonne of Leolin sendeth greeting. Know ye that I haue granted and promised to deliuer vnto the lord Henrie the noble king of England, Griffin my brother with his sonne and

heire whom I keepe in prison, and all other prisoners, who by occasion of the said Griffin lie in durance.

2 Item I shall stand to the iudgement of the kings court, aswell in that case, whether the said Griffin ought to be deteined prisoner or no, as also for and concerning the part of the inheritance of the said Leolin my father, claimed by the said Griffin according to the customes of Wales: so that the peace be mainteined betweene me and the said Griffin.

3 Item I and the said Griffin, and either of vs shall hold our portions of land, of our said souereigne the king in Capite, acknowledging him chiefe lord therof.

4 Item I shall restore vnto Roger de monte alto steward of Chester, his land of Montalt or Mould, with the appurtenances.

5 Item I shall likewise restore to all other barons, all such lands, lordships and castels, as were taken from them since the beginning of the warres betwéene the lord Iohn king of England, and the said Leolin prince of Wales my father, sauing the right of all couenants and grants by writing, to be reserued vnto the iudgment and determination of the kings courts.

6 Item I shall giue and restore vnto our souereigne lord the king all his charges in this present voiage laid out.

7 Item I shall make satisfaction for all damages & iniuries doone by me, or anie of my subiects vnto the king or his, according to the consideration of the kings court, and shall deliuer such as shalbe malefactours in that behalfe.

8 Item I shall restore vnto the said lord the king all the homages, which the late king Iohn his father had, & which the said lord the king of right ought to haue, especiallie of all the noble men of Wales: and if the king shall set at libertie anie of his captiues, the possessions of that man shall remaine to the king.

9 Item the land of Elsmer with the appurtenances shall remaine to the lord the king and his heires for euer.

10 Item I shall not receiue or suffer to be receiued within my countrie of Wales, any of the subiects of England, outlawed or banished by the said lord the king, or his barons of Mercia.

11 Item for confirmation and performance of all and singular the premisses on my behalfe, I shall prouide by bonds and pledges, and by all other waies and means as the said lord the king shall award, and will accomplish the commandement of the said king, and will obeie his lawes.

In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale: dated at Alnet by the riuer of Elwey, in the feast of the decollation of S. Iohn Baptist, in the fiue and twentith yéere of the reigne of the said king. For the obseruation of these 11 articles, the said prince Dauid and Edniuet Vachan weré sworne. Also the said prince Dauid submitted himselfe to the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Canturburie, and of the bishops of London, Hereford, and Couentrie, for the time being. That all, or one of them, whom the king shall appoint, may excommunicate him, and interdict his land vpon breach of anie of the said articles. And thereupon he procured the bishops of S. Bangor, and S. Asaph to make their charters to the lord the king, whereby they granted to execute and denounce all sentences, aswell of excommunication as of interdiction sent from the foresaid archbishop, bishops, or anie of them.

The said Dauid also sent priuilie to the king, to desire him that he would suffer him being his nephue, and the lawfull heire of Leolin his father, to inioy the principalitie of Wales rather than Griffin, which was but a bastard, and no kin vnto the king. Giuing him withall to vnderstand, that in case he did set Griffin at libertie, he should be sure to haue the war renewed. Whervpon the king knowing these things to be true, and vnderstanding also that Griffin was a valiant stout man, and had manie frends and fauorers of his

his cause, inclined rather to assent vnto Dauids request than otherwise to be in danger of further troubles, & therfore willinglie granted the same.

Shortlie after Dauid did send his brother Griffin vnto the king, and other pledges for himselfe, for performance of the said articles, whom the king sent foorthwith to the towre of London, there to be safelie kept, allowing to Griffin a noble a daie for his finding. And within few dais after Michaelmas, prince Dauid comming to the kings court did his homage, and swore fealtie, who for so dooing, and in that he was the kings nephue, was sent home againe in peace. When Griffin saw how all things went, and that he was not like to be set at libertie, he began to deuise waies and meanes to escape out of prison. *Matth. Paris.* page, 765.

Wherefore deceiuing the watch one night, he made a long line of hangings, couerings, and sheets, and hauing gotten out at a window, let downe himselfe by the same from the top of the towre: but by reason that he was a mightie personage and full of flesh, the line brake with the weight of his bodie, and so falling downe headlong of a great height, his necke and head was driuen into his bodie with the fall: whose miserable carcasse being found the morow after, was a pitifull sight to the beholders. The king being certified thereof, commanded Griffins sonne to be better looked vnto, and punished the officers for their negligence. *Matth. Paris.* page, 830.

About the same time there chanced a controuersie to rise betwixt the king and the bishop of Lincolne, for the bestowing of the benefice of Thame, the which Iohn Mansell the kings chapleine had gotten in possession by the kings fauour through prouision granted of the pope, where the bishop alleging priuileges to the contrarie, had granted it to an other. At length the king hauing his fathers trouble before his eies, and doubting the bishops words, threatning some euill mishap to follow, if he should stand long in the matter against the said bishop, gaue ouer his tenour: and therewithall prouided Iohn Mansell of a farre more rich benefice, that is to saie, of the personage of Maidstone, whereinto the bishop speedilie inuested him. Iohn Mansell.

This yeare manie noble men ended their liues, as well such as were gone with the earles of Cornewall and Leicester into the holie land, and others remaining still at home. Amongst which number were these: William Fortz earle of Albemarle, Walter Lacie, one of the chiefest nobles in all Ireland, Stephan de Segraue, Gilbert de Basset and his sonne and heire named also Gilbert. Moreouer, Iohn Biset high iustice of the forrests, and Peter de Mallow, Hugh Wake, Robert Marmion, Peter de Bruis, Guischarde Laider, Eustace Stoutuill, Eudo Hamon surnamed Peccham, Baldwin de Betun, Iohn Fitz Iohn steward in household to earle Richard, Iohn de Beaulieu, Gerard de Furniuall. There died also the ladie Elianor the countesse of Britaine, wife vnto Geffrey, that was sometime earle of Britaine (which countesse had beene long kept prisoner at Bristow) with diuerse other. Death of noble men. Lacie left no issue male behind him, so yt his daughters inherited his lands.

Moreouer, there died this yeare Roger bishop of London, and Hugh bishop of Chester. Also Gilbert Marshall earle of Penbroke, in a torneie which he had attempted at Hereford against the kings licence, was by an vnrulie horsse cast, and so hurt, that immediatlie he died thereof. Neither was this yeare onelie mournefull to England for the losse of such high estates, but also in other places manie notable personages departed out of this transitorie life. As two popes, Gregorie the ninth and his successour Celestine the fourth, besides cardinals: amongst the which, Robert Somercote an English man was one. ¶ About the later end of this 25 yeare, the sixt daie of October, there appeared a right sore eclipse of the sunne, verie strange to the beholders. ¶ In the 26 yeare died the empresse Isabell, wife vnto Frederike the emperour. Cardinall Somercote an Englishman. An eclipse. The death of the empresse Isabell.

In this yeare also began the wars againe betwixt king Henrie and Lewes the king of France for the quarell of Hugh earle of March, who refused to doo homage vnto Alfonse the brother of king Lewes, which Alfonse had married the onelie daughter and heire of Raimund earle of Tholouse, and therefore should succéed the same earle in his estate and inheritance. His brother king Lewes had also giuen vnto him the earledome of Poictou, with An. Reg. 26. 1242. Wars renued betwixt the kings of England & France

The earle of March. *Gaguinus. Matth. West.*

with all the lands of Aluergne: and bicause the earle of March would not doo homage vnto him, king Lewes made warre vpon the earle of March, who thervpon sought to procure king Henrie (whose mother he had married) to come ouer with an armie vnto his aid.

Sundrie opinions in the kings councellers.

King Henrie being sollicited with letters, not onelie from his father in law, but also from diuerse other noble men of Poictou, who willinglie would haue beene vnder his gouernement, asked aduise of his councell what he ought to doo in the matter. Some were of opinion, that sith there had béene a truce taken betwixt the kings, it were not reason in anie wise to breake the same: but some other thought, that sith the Frenchmen in times past had taken from king Iohn his lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poictou, and wrongfullie deteined the same still in their possession without restitution, it could not be at anie time vnlawfull vpon occasion giuen to recouer the same out of their hands. This opinion was allowed for good, and the best that might be both of the king & also of the earle of Cornewall, who was latelie returned from his iournie which he had made into the holie land.

Charugage a certeine dutie for euerie plowland.

But now all the staie rested in gathering of monie, which being earnestlie demanded in a parlement begun at Westminster the tuesdaie before Candlemasse, was as stifflie denied, alledging in excuse their often paiments of subsidies and relées, which had béene gathered sith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirtéenth, fiftéenth, sixteenth and fortieth parts of all their moueable goods, besides charugage, hidage, and sundrie escuages, namelie the great escuage granted for the marriage of his sister the empresse: and also beside the thirtieth within foure yeares last past, or thereabouts, granted to him, which they thought remained vnspent, bicause it could not be vnderstood about what necessarie affaires for the common-wealth it should be laid foorth and imploied, whereas the same was leuied vpon condition, that it should remaine in certeine castels, and not to be expended but by the aduise of foure péeres of the realme, as the earle of Warren, and others. Moreouer, they alledged, that the escheats and amercements which had béene gathered of late were such as must néeds fill the kings coffers: & so to conclude, they would not consent to grant any subsidie.

The bishop of Durham sent into Scotland.

Howbeit the king so handled the matter with the richer sort, and namelie those of the spiritualtie, that partlie by gift and partlie by borrowing, he got togither a great masse of treasure and so prepared an armie and ships to passe ouer into Gascoine with all conuenient spéed. In the meane time bicause he would leaue things in more suertie at home, he sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, by whose diligence a marriage was concluded betwixt the lord Alexander eldest sonne to the king of Scots, and the ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie.

The king of Scots warden of the English marshes.

Moreouer the marshes of England adioining to Scotland were committed to the king of Scots as warden of the same, to kéepe and defend whilest king Henrie should abide in the parts beyond the seas.

The archbishop of Yorke gouernor of the realme.

The archbishop of Yorke, in the kings absence, was also appointed chéefe gouernour of the realme.

When this prouision was once readie, about the middest of Maie, the king tooke the sea, togither with the queene his wife, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, and seauen other earles, and about three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poictouins had written to him that he néeded not bring ouer with him any great armie of men, but rather plentie of monie to reteine such as he should find there readie to serue him at his comming. Wherevpon he tooke with him thirtie barrels of sterling coine: and at length (but not without contrarie winds) he arriued on the coast of Gascoine, in the mouth of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was ioifullie receiued of the people, and namelie of Reignold lord of Pons.

Thirtie barrels of English coine.

The king passeth ouer into France.

The French king aduertised that the king of England was come ouer into France, to the aid of the earle of March, and other his subiects against him, prepared a mightie armie, in the which were reckoned to be to the number of foure thousand men of armes, well prouided and armed at all points, besides twentie thousand esquires, gentlemen, yeomen and

crossebowes: and with the same immediatlie he entred the dominions of the earle of March, and tooke from him diuerse townes and castels, as Fountney, wherein he tooke one of the earls sonnes: also Meruant with diuers other. In the meane while the king of England was aduanced forward and come neere vnto Tailborge, lieng with his armie in the faire medow by the riuer side of Charent fast by the castell of Thonay: & he had there with him in campe sixtéene hundred knights, or rather men of armes, and twentie thousand footmen, with seauen hundred that bare crossebows. He made there his two halfe brethren, the sonnes of the earle of March knights, and gaue to the one of them fiue hundred marks, and to the other six hundred marks yearelie, to be paid out of his escheker, till he had otherwise prouided for them in lands and reuenues equall to that pension.

The French king inuadeth the earle of Marches land.

The number of the English armie.

Now the French king being aduertised that king Henrie laie thus néere to Tailborge, marched thitherwards with all his puissance latelie reenforced with new supplies, and approching to Tailborge, had the towne deliuered vnto him. This chanced about the latter end of Iulie. Then after the French king had gotten possession of Tailborge, he ment to passe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikelie procured by the earle of Cornewall (and as it were at a narrow pinch) the king of England had not found means to remooue in the night season, he had béene in great danger to haue beene taken, through want of such aid as he looked to haue had at the hands of the Poictouins and other his confederats. But yet he got awaie (though with some staine of honour) and withdrew to Xainctes, whither also the French king folowed, and comming néere to the towne, there was a sharpe incounter begun betwixt the French and the English, wherein the Englishmen were victors, and in which by the Frenchmens owne confession, if the English power had béene like to theirs in number, they had fullie atchiued the honour of a foughten field, and for a light skirmish a sound and perfect victorie.

Tailborge.

Xainctes.

An encounter betwixt the English and French.

The high prowesse and valiancie of the earles of Leicester, Salisburie, Norfolke, with other Noble men, as Iohn de Burgh, Warren de Mount Chenill or Cheincie, Hubert Fitz Matthew, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas did in this fight right well appeare: and likewise other of the English nation bare themselues so manfullie, that they deserued no small commendation. Amongst other also sir Iohn Mansell the kings chapleine, and one of his priuie councell did right worthilie, taking prisoner with his owne hands one Peter Orige a gentleman in good place. There was moreouer taken on the French part sir Iohn de Barris a man of good accompt, by William de Sey, beside sundrie others. On the English part was slaine Gilbert de Clare, and Henrie Hasting taken prisoner, with other, to the number of twentie knights, or men of armes, if I may so call them.

The valiancy of the earle of Leicester and others.

Iohn Mansell.

Sir Iohn Barris.

Wil. de Sey.

Gilbert de Clare slaine.

After this incounter, by reason the French armie increased by new bands still resorting to their king, the earle of March secretlie sought meanes to be reconciled vnto him: and finallie by the helpe of the duke of Britaine, his old acquaintance and frèend at néed, his peace was purchased, so that he had his lands againe to him restored, except certeine castels; which for further assurance the French king reteined in his hands by the space of thrée yeares. The king of England, perceiuing himselfe too too much deceiued in that he had put such confidence in the earle of March and others of that countrie, which should haue aided him at this present, and againe aduertised, that the French king meant to besiege him within the citie of Xainctes, departed with all spéed from thence, and came to Blaie, a towne in Gascoigne, situat néere to the riuer of Garon, & distant seuen leagues from Burdeaux.

The earle of March is reconciled to the French king.

Now whilest he laie here at Blaie, there came vnto him the countesse of Bierne (a woman monstruous big of bodie) bringing with hir to serue the king, hir sonne, and three score knights, in hope to get some of his sterling monie, whereof she knew him to haue plentie: and so couenanting for hir interteinment, remained still with him, and receiued euerie daie 13 pounds sterling, and yet she neuer pleasured him the woorth of a groat, but rather hindered him, in making him bare of monie, which she receiued, purssed vp and tooke

Matth. Paris.

The countesse of Bierne.

tooke awaie with hir when she departed from him. But if to hir making and stature she had bin indued with the courage of Voadicia, whom she exceeded (as it should soome) in proportion, or with the prowesse of Elfleda, hir seruice had béene no lesse beneficiall to the K. than anie skilfull capteins marching vnder his banner. So that we sée in this woman a desire rather to satisffe hir hydropicall humour of couetousnesse, than anie true affection to set forward the kings affaires; therefore it may well be said of hir in respect of hir greedinesse to get from the king for hir owne commodities sake, that she was

Vt mare, quod das deuorat, nunquam abundat,
Nunquam rependit.

Sée Vol. I. pag. 495, 496, 497, 498, & pag. 681, of the historie of England.

The reuolting of other French lords.

In the meane time the lords de Pons, Mirabeau and Mortaigne suddenlie reuolted, & submitted themselues to the French king, with the vicount of Towars, and all other the lords and knights of Poictou, and the marches therabouts, that not long before had procured king Henrie to come ouer to their aid. The citie of Xainctes was likewise rendred to him immediatlie vpon king Henries departure from thence. At which season the French king meant to haue followed him to Blaie, but by reason of a great death which chanced in his armie, he was constreined to alter his purpose. Suerlie, as authors haue recorded, what through pestilence and vnwholesomnesse of the aire, a great manie of Frenchmen died at that time, and dailie more fell sicke. The number of them that died (as Matth. Paris, & Matth. Westminster affirme) amounted to twentie thousand persons, beside fourescore of the Nobilitie that bare banners or penons. King Lewes himselfe also began to waxe diseased and crasie, so that he was constreined to renew the truce with king Henrie & therewith departed home.

Death in the French camp.

Truce renued betwixt the two kings. *Polydor.*

King Henrie remained at Blaie vntill the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and then went to Burdeaux to visit the quéene, who in this meane while was brought to bed about midsummer of a yoong ladie, whom they named Beatrice after the quéenes mother. Now whilest king Henrie was thus occupied in Poictou and Gascoine, William Marisch the sonne of Geffrie Marisch (by commandement sent from the king) was put to death at London, with sixtéene of his complices on the euen of S. Iames the apostle. This William Marisch falling in to the kings displeasure, got him to the sea, and plaied the rouer, kéeping the Ile of Lundaie in the west countrie, till finallie he was taken and brought prisoner vnto the towre, where he was charged with sundrie articles of treason, as that he should hire that counterfeit mad man which sought to haue murthered the king at Woodstoke, as before ye haue heard. Howbeit when he should die, he vtterlie denied that euer he was priuie to anie such thing. He was first had from Westminster to the towre, & from thence drawne to the gibet, and there hanged till he was dead, and after being cut downe, had his bowels ripped out and burned, and when his head was cut off, the bodie was diuided into foure quarters, and sent vnto foure of the principal cities of the realme. His complices were also drawne through the citie of London vnto the same gibet, and there hanged.

The quéene of England deliuered of a daughter.

William Marisch executed.

Sée pag. 585.

The seas troubled with men of warre.

In the time of this warre also betwixt England and France, there was much hurt doone on the sea betwixt them of the cinque ports and the Frenchmen of Normandie, and other: as the Caleis men and the Britons, which did make themselues as strong as they could against the Englishmen by sea. Wherevpon diuerse incounters chanced betwixt them, but more to the losse of the Englishmen, than of the Frenchmen: in somuch that they of the ports were constreined to require aid of the archb. of Yorke the lord gouernour of the realme. About which time, and after the king was withdrawen to Burdeaux, diuerse noble men, as the earles of Norffolke and Winchester, with others, got licence to returne into England. Soone after whose arriuall, escuage was gathered through the realme towards the bearing of the kings charges. Moreouer, in this yeare of the king there died sundrie noble men of naturall infirmities, as the earle of Warwike, Gilbert de Gaunt, Baldwine Wake, Philip de Kime, and Roger Berthram of the north, with diuerse other. Howbeit the king himselie returned not home, but laie all the winter time at Burdeaux,

Escuage gathered 20. shillings of euerie knights fée. *Matth. West.*

Death of noble men.

deaux, meaning to attempt manie enterprises, but he brought none to passe, sauing that in protracting the time, he spent much monie, and to little purpose.

About the beginning of the seuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, his brother the earle of Cornewall, misliking the order of things which he saw dailie in the king his brothers procéedings, would néeds returne backe into England, but chieflie when he perceiued that his councell & aduise could not be heard. The king was sore offended herewith, but he could not well remedie the matter, nor persuade him to tarie. And so the said earle of Cornewall, togither with the earles of Penbroke and Hereford, and diuerse other noble men tooke the sea, and after manie dangers escaped in their course, at length on S. Lucies daie they arriued in Cornewall, though some of the vessels that were in the companie were driuen by force of the tempestuous weather vpon other contrarie coasts. ¶ About this season also, that is to saie, on the day of S. Edmund the king, there happened a maruellous tempest of thunder and lightening, and therwith followed such an excéeding raine (which continued manie daies togither) that riuers rose on maruellous heigth, and the Thames it selfe, which sildome riseth or is increased by land flouds, passing ouer the banks, drowned all the countrie for the space of six miles about Lambeth, so that none might get into Westminster hall, except they were set on horssebacke. An. Reg. 27. The earle of Cornwal and other returne home.

About the same time the king sent ouer into England to the archbishop of Yorke lord gouernour of the realme, to cause prouision of graine and bakon, to be conueied ouer vnto him, which he appointed to be taken out of the possessions of the archbishoprike of Canturburie, and other bishoprikes that were vacant, and out of other such places as seemed to him good to appoint. Herevpon were sent ouer to him ten thousand quarters of wheat, fiue thousand quarters of otes, with as manie bakons. Also there was sent vnto him great prouision of other things, as cloth for apparell and liueries, but much of it perished in the sea by one meane or other, that little thereof came to his vse, who remained still at Burdeaux to his great cost and charges, and small gaine, sauing that he recouered certeine townes and holds there in Gascoigne that were kept by certeine rebels. At which time, bicause he was inclined rather to follow the counsell of the Gascoignes and other strangers than of his owne subiects, and gaue vnto them larger enterteinment, not regarding the seruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellouslie euill spoken of here in England, and the more in déed, bicause his iournie had no better successe, and was yet so chargeable vnto him and all his subiects. The Noble men that remained with him, as the earles of Leicester and Salisburie, with other, were constreined to borrow no small summes of monie to beare out their charges: and so likewise the king himselfe ran greatlie in debt, by taking vp monie towards the discharging of his importable expenses. Prouision of graine and victuals taken vp and sent to the king. 1243. The King led by strangers. He is euill spoken of.

At length by mediation of such as were commissioners a truce was concluded betwixt him and the French king for fiue yeares, and then he returned toward England, but he arriued not there till the ninth of October, although the truce was concluded in March vpon S. Gregories day: for beside other occasions of his staie, one chanced by such strife and debate as rose amongst the Gascoignes, which caused him to returne to land, that he might pacifie the same when he was alreadie imbarked, and had hoised his saile immediatlie to set forward. He left in Guien for his lieutenant one Nicholas de Mueles or Moles, to defend those townes, which yet remained vnder his obeisance, for he put no great confidence in the people of that countrie, the which of custome being vexed with continuall warre, were constreined not by will, but by the change of times, one while to hold on the French side, and an other while on the English. Indéed the townes, namelie those that had their situation vpon the sea coastes, were so destroied and decaied in their walles and fortifications, that they could not long be any great aid to either part, and therefore being not of force to hold out, they were compelled to obeie one or other, where by their willes they would haue doone otherwise. A truce taken for fiue yeares. Nicholas de Mueles his lieutenant in Gascoigne.

This was the cause that the K. of England, oftentimes vpon trust of these townes, which for

for the most part were readie to receiue him, was brought into some hope to recouer his losses, and cheefelie for that he was so manie times procured to attempt his fortune there, at the request of the fickle-minded Poictouins, who whilest they did seeke still to purge their offenses to the one king or to the other, they dailie by new treasons defamed their credit, and so by such means the king of England oftentimes with small aduantage or none at all, made warre against the French king, in trust of their aid, that could, or (vpon the least occasion conceiued) quickelie would doo little to his furtherance. And so thereby king Henrie as well as his father king Iohn, was oftentimes deceiued of his vaine conceiued hope.

Death of Noble men.

In this seauen and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, diuerse noble personages departed this life, and first about the beginning of Ianuarie, deceassed the lord Richard de Burgh, a man of great honour and estimation in Ireland, where he held manie faire possessions, by conquest of that noble gentleman his worthie father. Also that valiant warriour Hugh Lacie, who had conquered in his time a great part of Ireland. Also the same yere on the seauenth of Maie, Hugh de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middest of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the priorie of Wimundham, which his ancestours had founded. After his deceasse, that noble heritage was diuided by partition amongst foure sisters.

Hugh Lacie.

About the same time, to wit, on the twelfth day of Maie, Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent departed this life at his manor of Banstude, and his bodie was conueied to London, and there buried in the church of the Friers preachers, vnto the which Friers he had beene verie beneficiall. Amongst other things, he gaue vnto them his goodlie palace at Westminster adioining neere to the palace of the earle of Cornewall, which the archbishop of Yorke afterwards purchased. The moonks of the Cisteaux were this yeare somewhat vexed by the king, bicause they had refused to aid him with monie towards his iournie made into Gascoigne. Also the plées of the crowne were kept and holden in the towre of London. And in the night of the six and twentith day of Iulie, starres were séene fall from the skie after a maruellous sort, not after the common manner, but thirtie or fortie at once, so fast one after another and glansing to and fro, that if there had fallen so manie verie starres in deed, there would none haue béene left in the firmament.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.

Stars fallen after a strange manner.

An. Reg. 28. The countesse of Prouance mother to the quéene commeth ouer into England.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, the quéenes mother the ladie Beatrice countesse of Prouance arriued at Douer on the fouretéenth day of Nouember, bringing with hir the ladie Sanctia hir daughter, and in the octaues of S. Martine they were receiued into London in most solemne wise, the stréets being hanged with rich clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of princes. On S. Clements day, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother married the said ladie Sanctia, which marriage was solemnized in most roiall wise, and with such sumptuous feasts and banketings, as greater could not be deuised. Finallie, the quéens mother the countesse of Prouance, being a right notable and worthie ladie, was honored in euerie degrée of hir sonne in law king Henrie in most courteous and sumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Christmasse, shée was with most rich and princelie gifts honourablie rewarded.

The earle of Cornewall maried to the ladie Sanctia.

William Ralegh bishop of Norwich.

About the same time also, whereas William de Ralegh was requested to remooue from the see of Norwich vnto Winchester, and consenting therevnto, without the kings licence, obteined his confirmation of the pope: the king was highly displeased therewith, bicause he ment it to another. Wherevpon when the said William Ralegh was returned from Rome to be installed, the king sent commandement to the maior and citizens of Winchester, that they should not suffer him to enter the citie. Wherevpon he being so kept out, accurssed both the citie and cathedrall church with all the moonks and others that fauoured the prior, which had intruded himselfe onelie by the kings authoritie, and not by lawfull election and means, as was supposed.

He is consecrated bish. of Winchester by the pope.

1244. At length the said bishop vpon gréefe conceiued that the king should be so heauie lord vnto

vnto him, got into a ship at London, and stale awaie into France, where he was well receiued of the French king, and greatlie cherished. Also he found such means that the pope in fauour of his cause wrote letters both to the king and to the queene, naming hir his coosen, but which waie that kindered should come about, as yet it was neuer knowen. The bishop to shew himselfe thankefull for such freendship, gaue the pope aboue six thousand marks (as is said) and the pope bicause he would not be accompted a disdainefull person, turned not backe one pennie of that which was so gentlie offered him. At length partlie at contemplation of the popes letters, and partlie by reason the bishop humbled himselfe in answering the articles which the king had obiected against him in cause of the controuersie betwixt them, he granted him his peace, and receiued him into the land, restoring to him all that had beene taken and deteined from him.

He steleth out of the realme.

He giueth to the pope 6000 marks.

Moreouer, in this meane while the pope trusting more than inough vpon the kings simplicitie and patience, who indeed durst not in any case seeme to displease him, had sent an other collector of monie into England named Martine, not adorned with power legantine, but furnished with such authorities and faculties as had not beene heard of. He was lodged in the temple, where he shewed what commission he had to gather vp the popes reuenues, and to exact monie by sundrie maner of meanes, and so fell in hand therewith, vsing no small diligence therein, vnto the great gréefe and hurt of conscience of manie: he had power to staie the bestowing of benefices, till he was satisfied to the full contentation of his mind. Benefices of small value he regarded not greatlie, but such as were good liuings in déed felt his heauie and rauenous hands extended towards them. He had power also to excommunicate, to suspend, and to punish all such as should resist his will, although neuer so wilfullie bent, in so much that it was said, he had sundrie blankes vnder the popes bulled seale, bicause that vpon the sudden he brought foorth such as seemed best to serue for his purpose. He vsed this his vnmeasurable authoritie to the vttermost, and therein did not forget his owne profit, but tooke palfries and other presents of religious men.

Martine the popes collector.

¶ But to declare all the practises of this the popes agent, as it would be too long and tedious a processe, so it is nothing strange that these his landloping legats and Nuncios haue their manifold collusions to cousen christian kingdoms of their reuenues. For if they were not furnished with foxlike fraud and wooluish rauine, they were no fit factors for him; sith it is required that like maister haue like man. And therefore he is aptlie described in the likenesse of a man, his head and face excepted, wherein he resembleth a woolfe; besides that, he is set foorth with a crosiers staffe in his hand, at the hooke whereof hangeth his Iudas pursse, wherein are powched vp his pilfered Peter pence, and I wot not what extorted paiments and pretended duties. As for his deceits and crafts, he hath more varietie of them, than the cat of the mounteine hath spots in his skin, or the pecocke hath eies in his taile. Wherevpon it is trulie said of a late poet,

Antithesis de Christi & papæ facinorib. sub auctore anonymo.

Sydera nemo potest quot sunt numerare polorum,
Quot neq; vere nouo gramina campus habet,
Sic quoq; nemo potest vafri ludibria papæ
Eius & innumeros commemorare dolos:
Huic scopus immensum seducere fraudibus orbem,
Huic scopus humanum ludificare genus.

But to proceed, when men saw such vnreasonable couetousnes and polling, by the popes procurement; some of the nobility of the realme, not able longer to beare it, came to the king, and exhibited to him their complaint hereof, namelie for that the popes procurator bestowed diuers rich prebends and other rooms in churches vpon strangres knowne to be infamed for vsurie, simonie, and other heinous vices, which had no respect to preaching, nor to keeping of any hospitalitie, for maintenance whereof their ancestors had giuen foorth their lands to the inriching of the church, not meaning to haue the same bestowed on such maner of persons. The king vnderstood that truth it was which was told him,

The nobles complaine to the king of the popes collector.

The king writeth to the pope.

him, and therefore writ to the pope in humble wise, beseeching him of his fatherlie care to take order for some redresse therein.

Polydor. The king asketh counsell how to proceed in his warres against the French king.

About this time the king began to renew his imagination for the following of the warres against the French king, and therefore asked the aduise of his councell how he might best attempt the recouerie of those lands in France which were wrongfullie deteined from him. The most part of all his ancient councellors were of this opinion, that to make warre againe in trust of others aid, as had beene attempted so often before without any profit, should be no wisdome, and therefore he ought either to forbeare, or els so to prouide himselfe of power sufficient, without trusting to the support of strangers, as he might be able with his owne puissance and force to atchiue his enterprise, for otherwise his trauell should prooue but vaine and to verie small effect. The king persuaded with these sound reasons, thought not good to attempt any thing more touching the said warre vnaduisedlie: and to the end it should not be said how he trusted in vaine vpon the aid of strangers, he caused all such possessions as the Normans held in England to be confiscated, to the intent that as well the Normans as Britons and Poictouins might well vnderstand, that he minded not from thencefoorth to credit the false promises of rebels, as he that would now vse onelie the seruice of his owne people the Englishmen, which in respect of others painted promises he had before contemned.

The possessions of the Normans confiscated.

Matth. Paris. The occasion why the Normans were disherited.

The occasion that mooued the king so to disherit the Normans, did chéefelie rise of the French kings dealing, who about the same time calling to him all those that had lands in England, required them either to sticke vnto him inseparablie, either else to the king of England, sith no man might serue two maisters. Wherevpon some forsaking their lands in England, liued on those which they had in France, and other forsooke those liuings which they had in France, and came ouer into England to liue on those possessions which they had here. But in the French kings doings was no inforcing of men, either to forsake the one or the other: wherfore the procéedings of the king of England séemed somewhat more iniurious, and partlie sounded to the breach of the truce. Howbeit all was passed ouer without apparant trouble.

Polydor. Matth. Paris. Matt. West. Dauid prince of Wales meaneth to submit himselfe to the pope.

Whilest all things were thus in quiet, and the king himselfe not troubled with any outward wars, the Welshmen (who though they were subdued, yet could not rest in quiet) receiued againe the fornamed Dauid to their prince, the which for a policie determined himselfe to make offer to the pope to hold his land of him, yéelding therefore yearelie vnto him the summe of fiue hundred marks (as is said) to the end that vnder the wings of the popes protection he might shadow himselfe, and be defended against all men. At length by large gifts of no small summes of monie he purchased letters of the pope in his fauour, to the preiudice of the crowne of England, as touching the right which the king of England had to the dominion of Wales, as by the tenour thereof it may appeare, beginning as here insueth. Illustri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Angliæ, &c.

Matth. Paris. pag. 880.

Thus Dauid being incouraged herewith and such other of the Welshmen as tooke his part, at time appointed did set vpon the kings capteins as they stragled abroad, whom at the first brunt they put to flight, and slue manie of them here and there as they tooke them at aduenture. The Englishmen when night was come, and that the Welshmen withdrew to rest, assembled themselues againe togither, and in the morning with new recouered force both of mind and bodie, came vpon the Welshmen, and began with them a new battell, which continued the space of three houres togither, till at length the Welshmen, which rashlie had entred the fight, began to shrinke backe, and fled to their woonted places of refuge, the woods and mareshes. Their chiefe capteine Dauid fled into Scotland, hauing lost in that battell the most part of all his souldiers which he had there with him. At his comming into Scotland, and whilest he there remained, he incensed king Alexander against king Henrie to his vttermost power, putting into his head how reprochfullie the Englishmen did speake of the Scots, reprouing them of cowardnes & lacke of stomach; also that they liued according to the prescript of the English nation, as subiects

The Welshmen discomfited.

Dauid fled into Scotland.

He prouoketh the king of Scots to make warre against England.

to

to the same: and manie other things he forged, which had béene able to haue mooued a most patient man vnto indignation and displeasure.

Finallie, either by the prouoking of this Dauid, or by some other occasion, king Alexander meant to make warres vpon king Henrie indéed, and in raising an armie made a rode into England, and did some hurt by incursions, and further signified to king Henrie, as some write, that he neither ought nor would hold anie part or portion of Scotland of the king of England. King Henrie sore offended herewith, purposed in time to be reuenged, and shortlie after called a parlement at Westminster, in the which he earnestlie mooued the lords and other states to aid him with monie towards the furnishing of his coffers, being emptied (as they knew) by his excéeding charges in his last iournie into Gascoigne. He would not open his meaning which he had to make warre to the Scots, bicause he would haue his enterprise secretlie kept, till he should be readie to set forward.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Matth. Paris.

King Henrie requireth an aid of monie of his subiects.

But although the king had got the pope to write in his fauour vnto the lords both spirituall and temporall, to aid him in that his demand of monie, there was much adoo, and plaine deniall made at the first, to grant at that time to anie such paiment as was demanded: and eftsoones they fell in hand with deuising new orders, and namelie to renew againe their suit for the confirmation of the ancient liberties of the realme, so as the same might be obserued, according to the grant thereof before made by the kings letters patents, without all fraud or contradiction. They also appointed, that there should be foure lords chosen of the most puissant and discréetest of all other within the realme, which should be sworne of the kings councell, to order his businesse iustlie and trulie, and to see that euerie man had right without respecting of persons. And these foure chiefe councellors should be euer attending about the king, or at the least thrée or two of them: also that by the view, knowledge and witnesse of them, the kings treasure should be spent and laid foorth, and that if one of them chanced to fall awaie, an other should be placed in his roome by the appointment of the residue.

New orders deuised by the lords.

They would also that the lord chiefe iustice and the lord chancellour should be chosen by the generall voices of the states assembled, and bicause it was needfull that they should be oftentimes with the king, it was thought they might be chosen out of the number of those foure aboue rehearsed conseruators of iustice. And if the king at anie time chanced to take the seale from the lord chancellour, whatsoeuer writing were sealed in the meane time should be of none effect. They aduised also, that there should be two iustices of the benches, two barons of the excheker, and one iustice for the Iewes; and these for that present to be appointed by publike voices of the states, that as they had to order all mens matters and businesse, so in their election the assents of all men might be had and giuen: and that afterwards, when vpon anie occasion there should be anie elected into the roome of anie of these iustices, the same should be appointed by one of the afore mentioned foure councellors.

Vnreasonable requests.

But as the Nobles were busie in three wéekes space about the deuising of these ordinances and other, to haue béene decréed as statutes, the enimie of peace and sower of discord, the diuell, hindred all these things by the couetousnesse of the pope, who had sent his chapleine master Martin, with authoritie to leuie also an aid of monie for his néed to mainteine his wars withall against the emperour; and the emperour on the other part sent ambassadours to the king, to staie him and his people from granting anie such aid vnto the pope: so that there was no lesse hard hold and difficultie shewed in refusing to contribute vnto this demand of the popes Nuncio, than vnto the kings. At length yet in another sitting, which was begun thrée weekes after Candlemasse, they agreed to giue the king escuage to run towards the marriage of his eldest daughter, of euerie knights fée holden of the king twentie shillings to be paid at two termes, the one halfe at Easter, and the other at Michelmasse.

The pope sendeth for some aid of monie to mainteine wars against the emperour.

Escuage grãted the king.

After this, the king minding to inuade the Scots, caused the whole force of all such as ought

ought to serue him in the wars to assemble, and so with a mightie host he went to new
The K. with an armie goeth towards Scotland. castell vpon Tine, meaning from thence to inuade the same, in reuenge of such iniuries as the Scots had doone vnto him and his subiects, and namelie, for that Walter Cumin a mightie baron of Scotland and other noble men had built two castels neere to the English confines, the one in Galowaie, and the other in Louthian, and further had receiued and succoured certeine rebels to the king of England, as Geffrey de Marisch or Mareis an Irish man, and others. The king of Scots was aduertised of king Henries approch, and therefore in defense of himselfe and his countrie, had raised an huge armie. Herevpon certeine noble men vpon either side, sorie to vnderstand that such bloudshed should chance as was like to follow (and that vpon no great apparant cause) if the two kings ioined battel, tooke paine in the matter to agrée them, which in the end they brought to
The king of England and Scotland made frèends. passe, so that they were made frèends and wholie reconciled. There was a publike instrument also made thereof by the king of Scots vnto king Henrie, signed with his seale, and likewise with the seales of other noble men, testifieng his allegiance which he owght to the king of England, as superiour lord, in forme following.

The charter of Alexander king of Scotland made to Henrie the third.

ALEXANDER Dei gratia rex Scotiæ, omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris, salutem. Ad vestram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro nobis & hæredibus nostris concessisse, & fideliter promisisse charissimo & ligio domino nostro Henrico tertio Dei gratia regi Angliæ illustri domino Hiberniæ, duci Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comiti Andegauiæ, & eius hæredibus, quòd in perpetuum bonam fidem ei seruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quòd nunquam aliquod fœdus iniemus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte nostra, cum inimicis domini regis Angliæ vel hæredum suorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, vnde damnum eis vel regnis suis Angliæ & Hiberniæ, aut cæteris terris suis eueniat, vel possit aliquatenus euenire: nisi nos iniustè grauēt: stantibus in suo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum dominum regem Angliæ initis vltimo apud Eboracum in præsentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi cardinalis, tunc apostolicæ sedis legati in Anglia. Et saluis conuentionibus super matrimonio contrahendo inter filium nostru & filiam dicti domini regis Angliæ.

Et vt hæc nostra concessio & promissio pro nobis & hæredibus nostris perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animam nostram Alanum Ostiarium, Henricū de Baliol, Dauid de Lindesey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quòd omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obseruabimus. Et similiter iurare fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, Wilhelmum, Galfridum, & Clementem sancti Andreæ Glasconiensem, Dunkeldensem, Dublinēsem episcopos: & præterea Malcolmum comitem de Fife, fidelis nostros, Patricium comitem de Dunbar, Malisium comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Menteth, Wilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrum comitem de Buchquhan, Dauid de Hastings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Ostiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Rogerum de Mowbray, Laurentium de Abirnethiæ, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindesey, Richardum Siward, Wilhelmum de Lindesey, Walterum de Morauia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaum de Sully, Wilhelmum de veteri Ponte, Wilhelmum de Brewer, Anselmum de Mesue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningam.

Quòd si nos vel hæredes nostri, contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam (quod absit) venerimus, ipsi & hæredes eorum nobis & hæredibus nostris nullum contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam auxilium vel consilium impendent, aut ab alijs pro posse suo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & hæredes nostros, ipsi & hæredes eorum, quòd omnia prædicta à nobis & hæredibus nostris nec non

non ab ipsis & eorum hæredibus firmiter & fideliter obseruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium tam nos quàm prædicti prælati, comites & barones nostri præsens scriptum sigillorum suorum appositione roborauimus. Testibus prælatis, comitibus & baronibus superiùs nominatis, Anno regni nostri, &c.

The same in English.

ALEXANDER by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all faithfull christian people that shall see or heare this writing, sendeth greeting. We will that it be knowne to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted and faithfullie promised to our most deare and liege lord Henrie the third, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and Guien, and earle of Anïou, and to his heires, that we will beare and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we shall not enter into any league with our selues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimies of our said souereigne lord the king of England, or of his heires, to procure or make warre, whereby any damage may happen to come to them or to their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, except vniustlie they doo molest and oppresse vs. The couenants alwaies standing in force, which were concluded betwixt vs at our last being togither at Yorke, in the presence of Otho decon cardinall of saint Nicholas In carcere Tulliano, then legat of the see apostolike in England, and sauing the couenants made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our sonne & the daughter of the said king of England.

And that this promise and grant for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlasting assurednesse, we haue caused these to sweare on our behalfe: Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Dauid de Lindesey, Wil. Gifford, that we shall in good faith obserue all the premisses faithfullie and substantiallie, and we haue likewise caused to sweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, & Clement, Bishops of S. Andrewes, Glascew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithfull subiects Patrike earle of Dunbar, Malcolme earle of Fife, Malrsius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin earle of Menteth, William earle of Mar, Alexander earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Hastings earle of Athol, Robert de Bruis, Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richard Cumin, Dauid de Lindesey, Richard Siward, William de Lindesey, Walter de Murraie, William de Gifford, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veipont, William de Brewer, Anselme de Mesue, Dauid de Graham, and Stephan de Suningham. The lords sweare to see the couenants performed.

And if that either we or our heires, against the foresaid grant and promise, shall doo anie thing to the breach therof (which God forbid) they and their heires shall not imploie either aid or counsell against the said grant and promise, nor shall suffer other to imploie any such aid or counsell, so far as they may hinder them therein: yea rather they and their heires shall in good faith and plaine meaning endeuour against vs and our heires, that all the premisses may firmelie and faithfullie be obserued and kept of vs and our heires, and likewise of them and their heires for euer. In witnesse whereof aswell we our selues, as the said prelats, our earles and barons haue confirmed this writing by putting their seales vnto the same, the prelats earles and barons before rehearsed beeing true witnesses therevnto, In the yeare of our reigne, &c.

The seales of king Alexander himselfe, of William de Brewer, William de Veipont, William de Lindesey, Stephan de Suningham, and the seales of the rest were set to afterwards, and the writing sent ouer to the king of England at Christmasse next insuing, by the prior of Tinmouth, who had trauelled diligentlie and faithfullie in this negotiation to

the honour of both parts. This writing also was sent to the pope, that he might confirme the same in manner as followeth.

A request made to the pope that he would vouchsafe to confirme the foresaid charter.

SANCTISSIMO In Christo patri I. Dei gratia summo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia rex Scotiæ, comes Patricius, comes de Strathern, comes Leuenox, comes de Anegui, comes de Marra, comes de Atholia, comes de Ros, comes de Catnes, comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mowbray, Rogerus de Abirnethiæ, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, Wilhelmus de veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, Wilhelm. de Murray de Dunfel, Wilhelmus de Muref de Petin, Iohannes Biset iuuenis, Wilhelmus de Lindesey, Iohnnes de Vallibus, Dauid de Lindesey, Wilhelmus Gifford, Duncanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius euis, Rogerus comes Wintoniensis, H. comes Oxoniensis, W. de Vescy, Richardus Siward, Wilhelmus de Ros, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Brettere, Eustacius de Stoutville, Malcolmus de Fif come de Mentethshire, Walterus filius Alani, Walterus Olifar, Barnardus Fraser, Henricus de Bailliol, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareschallus, Dauid filius Ranulfi, Wilhelmus de Fortere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Robertus de Ros, salutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam.

Sanctitati vestræ significamus, nos sacramentum corporaliter præstitisse coram venerabili patre Othone, tituli S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono cardinalium, in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia, nunc Apostolicæ sedis legato, ac chartam nostram confecisse, quæ ita incipit: Sciant præsentes & futuri, quòd ita conuenit in præsentia domini Othonis sancti Nicholai, &c. Quæ charta penes dominum regem Angliæ, & nos remanet chyrographata. Item aliam quæ sic incipit: Ad omnium vestrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cum vt ex forma præcedentium nostrarum pateat obligationum subiecimus nos iurisdictioni vestræ, vt nos & hæredes nostros, per censuram ecclesiasticam possitis coërcere, si aliquo tempore contra memoratam pacem venerimus.

Et si nonnunquam continget, quòd quidam nostrum omnes vel vnus contrauenire temerè præsumpserint vel præsumere nituntur vel nitentur; & ex hoc tam animabus nostris quàm hæredum nostrorum graue possit generari periculum, & corporibus nostris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum: sanctæ paternitati vestræ supplicamus, quatenus alicui suffraganeorum archiepiscopi Cantuariensis detis in mandatis, vt nos & hæredes nostros ad præfatæ pacis obseruationem compellat, prout in instrumentis inde confectis plenius continetur. Aliàs super eadem pace quod canonicum fuerit auctoritate vestra statuat contradictores, &c. Et ad istius petitionis nostræ consummationem præsenti scripto sigilla nostra apposuimus.

In English thus.

The letter of the lords to pope Innocent.

TO Our holie father in Christ I. by the grace of God, the highest bishop, Alexander by the same grace king of Scotland, earle Patrike, the earle of Stratherne, the earle of Leuenox, the earle of Angus, the earle of Mar, the earle of Athole, the earle of Ros, the earle of Catnesse, the earle of Buch, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abirnethie, Peter de Mauuere, Richard Cumin, William de Veipont, Robert de Bruis, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Sulley, William de Murray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin, Iohn Biset the yoonger, William de Lindesey, Iohn de Valeis, Dauid de Lindesey, William Gifford, Duncan de Ergile, Iohn de Matreuers, Eimere his sonne, Roger earle of Winchester, Hugh earle of Oxford, William de Vescy, Richard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henrie

Fitz

Fitz conte de Brettere, Eustace de Stouteuille, earle Malcolme of Fife, the erle of Mentethshire, Walter Fitz Alaine, Walter Olifard, Barnard Fraser, Henrie de Baillioll, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareschall, Dauid Fitz Randulfe, William de Fortere, Iohn de Bailioll, and Robert Ros, send greeting and due reuerence with all honour.

We doo signifie vnto your holinesse, that we haue receiued a corporall oth before the reuerend father Otho, deacon cardinall of S. Nicholas In carcere Tulliano, legat to the see apostolike, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and haue made our charter or deed, which beginneth thus ; Sciant præsentes, &c. Which charter or deed indented and sealed, remaineth with the king of England, and with vs. Also another deed or writing that beginneth thus ; Ad omnium vestrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Whereas therefore by the forme of our precedent deeds obligatorie, we haue submitted our selues to your iurisdiction, that you may bridle and restraine vs, and our heires by the ecclesiasticall censures, if at any time we go against the said peace.

And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, shall fortune to presume rashlie and vnaduisedlie to go against it, or be about, or herafter shall be about so to presume, and therby may procure great perill as well to the soules of our owne selues, as of our heires, & no small danger may also be readie through the same our default to light vpon our bodies & goods, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that you will giue in commandement vnto some of the suffragans of the archbishop of Canturburie, that he doo compell vs and our heires vnto the obseruing of the same peace, accordinglie as in the instruments thereof more fullie is conteined, or else to order by your authoritie vpon the same peace, that which shall be agreeable to the canons, &c. And to the performance of this our petition, we haue to this present writing set our seales.

When all things were throughlie concluded, and order taken in what sort the assurances of this accord should passe, the king of Scots returned into the inner parts of his realme, and the king of England likewise returned to London. At the same time also the Welshmen were verie busie: for hearing that the kings of England and Scotland were agreed, they doubted least all the burthen of the warre would be turned against them. Wherefore (as it were to preuent the matter) they began to wast the English confines. The king aduertised thereof, sent Hubert Fitz Matthew with three hundreth knights or men of armes to defend the English marshes against the Welshmen, that made dailie war against those that dwelled on the marshes, and namelie against the erle of Herford, which chéeflie occasioned this warre, by deteining the land which apperteined vnto the wife of prince Dauid, as in the right of hir purpartie. The Welshmen stirre coles.

Whereupon when the Welshmen vnderstood that the king had broken vp his armie and was returned to London, they inuaded their enimies, namelie the said earle of Herfords men and the Mortimers, sleaing and cutting in péeces two valiant and noble knights, and maiming the third, they slue and ouerthrew of the footbands about an hundred, so that all the English armie was disordered, and the Welshmen with victorie returned to their places of refuge. Which when the foresaid Hubert Fitz Matthew vnderstood, the morrow after he made foorth with his three hundred waged men of armes, in hope to hem in and take the Welshmen at aduantage: but he was preuented and by them distressed, in so much that he was constreined with losse of men and horsses to returne to his holds, and scarse could be suffered to remaine there in safetie. This yeare Rafe Neuill bishop of Cicester and chancellour of England departed this life. *Math. Paris.* The deceasse of the bishop of Cicester.

In the 29 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie hauing spent much treasure with the great preparation of wars which he had taken in hand against the Scots, and also bicause he was constreined to be at further charges for the Welsh wars, he called a parlement to begin on the third daie of Nouember, in the which he demanded a great relefe of monie, but the same being generallie denied of all men, he exacted it in particular of the richer sort of his subiects, & amongst other he caused the citizens of London to giue vnto him *Math. Paris.* An. Reg. 29. P. V. A subsidie of the richer sort.

The citizens of London. 15 hundred marks for a fine, bicause they had receiued a banished man, one Walter Bukerell into their citie, contrarie to the law and order: but this they denied, affirming that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patents they could prooue, but they were answered, that the king was vnder age when these letters were purchased, and therefore were of none effect. About the same time, sir Nicholas de Molis or Mules seneshall of Gascoigne, hauing warres against the king of Nauarre, got the victorie in battell. ¶ About the midst of Nouember, great thunder and lightning chanced, with a maruellous vntemperat season for the space of 15 daies togither, as a signe of some misfortune to succeed.

The seneshall of Gascoine vanquished the king of Nauarre. Anno, 1242. as *Matt. West.* saith, & *Matth. Paris.*

1245. On S. Hughs daie died Margaret countesse of Penbroke the widow of Gilbert Marshall late earle of Penbroke, & sister to the king of Scots, and shortlie after the bishop of Excester William de Brewer likewise deceased, as yet being in his florishing age, a man in manners, parentage, and knowledge right honorable, and highlie commended. ¶ On the daie of S. Marcellus was the queene deliuered of a man child, which at the font was named Edmund.

In Lent following néere to the castell of Mountgomerie in Wales, three hundred Welshmen were slaine by them that lay in garrison there by a policie of the capteine, which faining a counterfeited flight, drew the Welshmen within danger of an ambush, which he had laid to surprise them vnawares as it came euen to passe according to his deuise. Dauid that tooke himselfe for king of Wales, coueting to be reuenged of this displeasure, ceassed not daie nor night to make incursions and to exploit enterprises to the damage of the marchers, the which valiantlie resisted the enimies, and droue them oftentimes into the mounteines, woods, bogs, and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enimies hauing the aduantage of place, did much displeasure to the Englishmen.

Dauid king or prince of Wales.

Vpon a time as they (being got to the heigth of an hill, to cast downe stones and throw darts vpon the Englishmen that assailed them beneath) chanced amongst other to slea with a mightie stone (which they threw downe by the side of the hill) sir Hubert Fitz Matthew a right valiant knight, and a man of great accompt for his knowledge and seruice in warres. Thus the wars continued betweene the parties, and oftentimes the Welshmen by the sudden inuasions got the better: their prince Dauid comming to the castell of Monthault besieged it, and within a short time wan it, slaieng or taking all those whome he found within it. The owner thereof the lord Roger de Monthault by chance was not at home, which happened well for him, where otherwise he had béene in great danger: but néere to the castell of Mountgomerie the Welshmen yet were eftsoons ouerthrowne and 200 of them slaine by an ambush that brake forth vpon their backs. About the middest of Lent the prelats of England were summoned to come to a generall councell, the which pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feast of S. Iohn Baptist next following.

Sir Hubert Fitz Matthew slaine.

The castell of Monthault taken by the Welshmen.

A generall councell.

It chanced that about this time, a post comming from the pope with letters to his Nuncio maister Martin, conteining instructions how he should procéed for the gathering of monie, was staied at Douer, by the practise of such noble men as were gréeued to sée anie such summes of monie to be conueied out of the realme in sort as was vsed. He was had into the castell and his letters taken from him, wherein such secrets were conteined for the getting of monie, as ought not to haue beene reuealed. Maister Martin hearing that the post was thus staied and imprisoned, made a gréeuous complaint vnto the king, so that the post was set at libertie, had his letters to him restored, & so came vnto master Martin, and deliuered them vnto him that he might vnderstand the popes pleasure, which others to his griefe vnderstood now as well as himselfe.

The popes letters staied.

The king this yeare caused inquisition to be made through euerie countie within the realme, to vnderstand the true valuation of all such benefices and spirituall promotions as were in the hands of anie incumbents that were strangers borne, and such as had béene preferred

The valuatiõ of benefices taken, that pertained to strangers.

preferred by the court of Rome, and the whole summe of all their reuenues was found to be sixtie thousand marks. On Whitsundaie the king made the earle of Glocester, Gilbert de Clare knight, and 40 other yoong gentlemen that attended vpon him. And perceiuing by the late inquisition what great reuenues the beneficed strangers had and possessed within the realme, and againe considering the exceeding great summes of monie which the court of Rome had recouered of his subiects, he began to detest such coustous dealing. And herevpon a letter was deuised by the whole bodie of the realme, wherein were conteined, the sundrie extortions and manifold exactions of the popes legats, and other of his chapleines, which vnder colour of his authoritie they had vsed. There were appointed also to go with these letters vnto the generall councell, certeine honorable and discreet personages, as Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, Iohn Fitz Geffrey, William de Cantlow, Philip Basset, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which presenting the same letters vnto the said assemblie, should declare the greefe of the whole realme, and require some redresse and easement therein.

This Gilbert was erle of Glocester, Hereford & lord of Clare.

Ambassadors sent to the generall councell.

These were barons.

Moreouer, it chanced that there was a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled togither at Dunstable and Luiton, to haue kept a martiall iusts, and triumphant tornie, but they had a countercommandement from the king, not to go forward with the same: wherevpon, when they were disappointed of their purpose heerin. Vpon occasion of their being altogither, on the morrow after the feast of Peter & Paule, they sent from them Fouke Fitz Warren, to declare vnto maister Martine the popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole bodie of the realme, that he should immediatlie depart out of the land. Fouke dooing the message somewhat after a rough manner, maister Martine asked him what he was that gaue foorth the said commandement, or whether he spake it of himselfe or from some other? This commandment (saith Fouke) is sent to thée, from all those knights and men of armes which latelie were assembled togither at Dunstable and Luiton.

A iusts and tornie appointed; and by the kings commandement disappointed.

Fouke Fitz Warren commandeth the popes Nuncio to auoid the realme.

Maister Martine hearing this, got him to the court, and declaring to the king what message he had receiued, required to vnderstand whether he was priuie to the matter, or that his people tooke it vpon them so rashlie without his authoritie or no? To whome the king answered, that he had not giuen them any authoritie so to command him out of the realme: but indéed (saith he) my barons doo scarselie forbeare to rise against me, bicause I haue mainteined and suffered thy pilling and iniurious polling within this my realme, and I haue had much adoo to staie them from running vpon thee to pull thee in peeces. Maister Martine hearing these words, with a fearefull voice besought the king that he might for the loue of God, and reuerence of the pope, haue free passage out of the realme: to whome the king in great displeasure answered, The diuell that brought thée in carrie thée out, euen to the pit of hell for me. Howbeit at length, when those that were about the king had pacified him, he appointed one of the marshals of his house, called Robert North or Nores, to conduct him to the sea side, and so he did, but not without great feare, sithens he was afraid of euerie bush, least men should haue risen vpon him and murthered him. Wherevpon, when he came to the pope, he made a greeuous complaint, both against the king and others.

The kings answer vnto the popes Nuncio.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.

The popes Nuncio sent out of the realme.

The church of saint Peter at Westminster was inlarged, and newlie repared by the king, speciallie all the east part of it, the old wals being pulled down, and builded vp in more comelie forme. ¶ The generall councell, according to the summons giuen, was holden this yeare at Lions, where it began about midsummer, in which the English ambassadors being arriued, presented to the pope their leters, directed from the whole bodie of the realme of England, requiring a redresse in such things, wherewith (as by the same letters it appeared) the realme found it selfe sore annoied. The pope promised to take aduise therein, but sith the matter was weightie, it required respit. Finallie, when they were earnest in requiring a determinate answer, it was giuen them to vnderstand, that they should not obteine their desires, wherevpon in great displeasure they came awaie, threatening

S. Peters church at Westminster.

The English ambassadors come to the councell.

The English ambassadors threaten the

pope, that he should not haue any tribute out of England.

ing and binding their words with oths, that from thencefoorth they would neuer paie, nor suffer to be paid, anie tribute to the court of Rome, nor permit the reuenues of those churches, whereof they were patrones, to be pulled awaie, by anie prouision of the same court.

The pope hearing of these things, passed them ouer patientlie, but he procured the English bishops to set their seales vnto that charter, which king Iohn had made concerning the tribute, against the mind of the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton, who at that time, when king Iohn should seale it, spake sore against it. When king Henrie was informed hereof, he was gréeuouslie offended; and sware in a great chafe, that although the bishops had doone otherwise than they ought, yet would he stand in defense of the liberties of his realme, and would not so long as he had a day to liue, paie anie dutie to the court of Rome, vnder the name of a tribute. In this meane while, the king with a puissant armie inuaded the Welsh rebels, to reduce them to some quiet, whereas with their continuall incursions and other exploits, they had sore harried, vexed, and wasted the lands of the kings subiects.

Matth. Paris.

The king inuades Wales. He buildeth a castell at Gannoke.

Herevpon the king being entred the countrie, inuaded the same, vnto the confines of Snowdon, and there he began to build a strong castell at a place called Gannoke, remaining there about the space of ten wéeks, during the which, the armie suffered great miserie through want of vittels and other prouisions namelie apparell, and other helps to defend themselues from cold, which sore afflicted the souldiers and men of warre, bicause they laie in the field, and winter as then began to approch. Moreouer, they were driuen to kéepe watch and ward verie stronglie, for doubt to be surprised by sudden assaults of the enimies, the which watched vpon occasion euer to doo some mischéefe.

The deceasse of the countesse of Oxford, and of the earle of Deuonshire. Geffrey de March deceaseth.

The morrow after the Purification of our ladie, Isabell de Boulbec countesse of Oxenford departed this life, and likewise the morrow after saint Valentines day died Baldwine de Riuers earle of Deuonshire and of the Wight. Moreouer, Geffrey de March, a man sometime of great honour and possessions in Ireland, after he had remained long in exile, and suffered great miserie, ended the same by naturall death. Also Raimond earle of Prouance, father to the quéenes of England and France deceassed this yeare, for whome was kept in England a most solemne obsequie. Also in the wéeke after Palmesundaie, died a right noble baron, and warden of the north parts of England, the lord Gilbert Humfreuile, leauing behind him a yoong sonne, the custodie of whome the king forthwith committed to the earle of Leicester, not without the indignation of the earle of Cornewall, who desired the same.

The decease of Raimond earle of Prouance.

The decease of the lord Humfreuile.

An. Reg. 30.

Finallie, after that the king had lien at Gannoke about the fortifieng of the castell there, the space of ten wéekes, and saw the worke now fullie finished, he appointed foorth such as should lie there in garison, and therewith, on the morrow after the feast of Simon and Iude, he raised his field, and returned towards England, leauing the Welshmen in great miserie, and like to starue for want of necessarie food. For the Ile of Anglesey, which is as a nursse to the Welshmen, those Irishmen that came to the kings aid, had vtterlie wasted and destroied. Againe, the king of purpose had consumed all the prouision of corne and vittels which remained in the marshes, so that in Cheshire, and other the parts adioining, there was such dearth, that the people scarse could get sufficient vittels to susteine themselues withall.

The king returneth foorth of Wales. Irishmen destroied Anglesey.

A dearth.

Brine pits destroied in Wales.

The king also gaue foorth commandement, that no prouision of corne or vittels should be conueied vnto the Welshmen, out of any parts, either of England or Ireland, on paine of forfeiting life, lands & goods. Moreouer, he caused the brine pits in Wales to be stopped vp and destroied. The king hauing thus ordered his businesse, returned into England, and shortlie after, taking displeasure with the lord Maurice, chéefe iustice of Ireland, bicause he had not made such speed as had béene conuenient in bringing the Irishmen to his aid, he discharged him of the office of chéefe iustice, and placed in his roome Iohn Fitz Geffrey. In this thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, Walter earle Marshall

The lord Maurice chéefe iustice of Ireland.

Iohn Fitz Geffrey lord iustice of Ireland.

Marshall and of Penbroke departed this life: and shortlie after, to wit, three daies before Christmasse, his brother Anselme that succeeded him in the inheritance, deceassed also without issue: and so all the fiue sonnes of the great earle William Marshall, being departed this world without heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage descended to the sisters, and so was diuided amongst them as coparteners. *Math. Paris,* The decease of Walter erle Marshall.

1246. The king this yeare held his Christmas at London, and had there with him a great number of the nobilitie of his realme, which had béene with him in Wales, that they might be partakers of pastime, mirth and pleasure, as they had béene participants with him in suffering the diseases of heat, cold, and other paines abroad in the fields and high mounteines of Wales, considering with himselfe (as the truth is) that

Mat. Pal. in suo Cap.

——— vita est quàm proxima letho,
Quàm meritò spernenda animum si nulla voluptas
Mulceat, atq; leuent solatia nulla laborem.

But that no plesure shuld passe without some staine of greefe, there was a rumor spred abroad, that the pope conceiued fresh rankor in his stomach against the king and realme of England, for the complaints which had béene exhibited in the councell at Lion by the English orator, for the oppression doone to the church of England: that therevpon, minding now to be reuenged, as was said, he earnestlie mooued the French king to make warre against the Englishmen and to subdue them vnder his dominion: which enterprise the French king vtterlie refused, both for that he and the king of England were coosens, and againe, bicause the king of France had no iust title or right to make claime to England.

The pope requireth the French king to make war against England. The French king refuseth to gratifie the pope therein.

Further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and France, and before that England could be subdued, much giltlesse bloud should be spilt. Also, the christians in the holie land were sore oppressed, and looked dailie for the arriuall of the king of France, and therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterprise to hinder his iornie thither. But about the feast of the Epiphanie, other news came out of Prouance, that troubled the king of England worse than the other before, as thus, That the countesse Beatrice his wiues mother had deliuered vp the countie of Prouance into the French kings hands, togither with sixtéene castels, which in right of the queene ought to haue remained vnto the king of England. For the safe keeping wherof to his vse, the said countesse Beatrice had receiued yeerelie for the terme of fiue yeares last past, the summe of foure thousand marks of the king of England, and yet now in the deliuering of them, with the residue of the countrie vnto the French king, she neuer made any mention of his right.

The countesse of Prouance dealeth vniustlie with the king of England hir sonne in law.

Shortlie after also, Charles the French kings brother maried the ladie Beatrice, yoongest daughter of earle Raimond, and had with hir the same countie of Prouance, and so was intituled earle thereof, as in the French historie appeareth. Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie procured a grant from the pope to recouer for one yeare the first fruits of all cures that chanced to be void within the citie, diocesse, and prouance of Canturburie, by and during the tearme of seauen yeares then next following, till the summe of ten thousand marks were leuied, towards the discharge of the said archbishops debts. The collection of the which ten thousand marks was assigned by the popes bulles vnto the bishop of Hereford, who should also leauie two thousand marks of the reuenues belonging to the church of Canturburie, to be conuerted to the same vse. The king at the first was sore offended herewith, but shortlie after, he was pacified and so the archbishop had his will.

Charles the French kings brother is made earle of Prouance. The archb. of Canturburie purchaseth grant of the pope to leuie monie.

After this, about the beginning of the next spring, Dauid prince of Wales departed this life, after great pensifenesse of mind, for the destruction and miserie into the which his countrie had béene brought through the present warres with the Englishmen. After his deceasse, the Welshmen elected to succeed in his place, the sonne of Griffin, whom king Henrie had reteined in seruice, and honourablie vsed, euen of a child: but now that he heard that the Welshmen had elected him to their prince, he stale away, and fled into

Dauid prince of Wales departeth this life. Ap Griffin chosen prince of Wales.

into Wales. ¶ On the day of the purification of our ladie, a robberie was committed vpon certeine Iewes at Oxenford, for the which fact, fiue and fortie of the offendors were put in prison, but at the suit of Robert bishop of Lincolne, they were deliuered by the kings commandement, bicause no man impeached them of anie breach of peace, or other crime.

Iews robbed in Oxenford.

The citizens of London also about the beginning of the spring, were compelled to paie a talage, wherewith they found themselues sore aggreeued.

The Londoners paie a talage.

About the middest of Lent, there was a parlement holden at London, wherein diuerse statutes and ordinances were deuised, as penalties for those that offended in other mens parks and warrens: but the chéefest occasion of assembling this parlement, was to take aduise in matters touching the greefes wherewith the church of England séemed to be oppressed by the pope and the court of Rome. The pope indeed to quiet the English ambassadors, and to put the king and realme in some good hope of reléefe and deliuerance out of such oppressions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councell, did not onelie promise largelie, but also caused diuerse priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the said ambassadors verie fauorablie, in the behalfe of their request. But yet the same notwithstanding, sith the breaking vp of the said generall councell, and return to the ambassadors, manie things were doone, to the increasing and continuation of the former greefes, so that they stood in doubt of further oppressions to follow, rather than in hope of the promised redresse. Herevpon they concluded eftsoones to write vnto the pope, and to the cardinals, both in name of the king, of the bishops and prelats, of the earles, barons, and other estates of the temporaltie, and of the abbats and priors. In the meane time, the pope for a while somewhat relented in the point of bestowing benefices here in England, for when any of his freends or kinsmen was to be preferred to any benefice within this realme, he would sue to the king for his grant and good will, that such a one might be admitted, and not seeme of himselfe to grant it without the kings consent.

A parlement.

A statute against hunters.

The earle of Sauoy dooth homage to the K. of England.

The earle of Sauoy in the presence of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford and others, did homage to the king of England, acknowledging to hold of him certeine fées, as those of Suse, Auillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the castell of Bard, which he might well doo, not preiudicing the right of the empire, sith he held nothing of the same empire, except Aigues and the passages. This yeare, the office of the earle Marshall was giuen to Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, in right of his wife the countesse, that was eldest daughter vnto the great earle William Marshall. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare the king holding his Easter at London, honored Harold king of Man with the order of knighthood. About the same time, diuerse noble men of Wales submitted themselues, and were receiued vnto the kings peace. ¶ On saint Markes day was a great frost and snow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in such extreame wise, that for the more part they withered and faded awaie.

Roger Bigod intitled to the office of earle Marshall.

Matth. Paris.

Harold king of Man.

Welshmen receiued to the kings peace, vpon their submission.

Furthermore, bicause the pope vnderstood, that diuerse rich beneficed men were of late dead in England intestate, as Robert Hailes the archdeacon of Lincolne, Almerike the archdeacon of Bedford, and Iohn Hotospe archdeacon of Northhampton, he ordeined a decrée, that all such spirituall persons as died intestate, their goods should remaine to the pope. The execution of which decrée he commanded to the friers preachers and minors: but the king would not suffer it to take place, bicause he saw that it should redound to the preiudice of him and his kingdome. Wherein the popes oppression and wrong offered to the dead (by whose deceasse their surviuing frèends should be benefited) and his cruell couetousnes extending to the verie senseles corpse dooth manifestlie appeare, so that it was verified of him, by waie of comparison,

A decrée of the pope.

Carniuorax tumidis vtgaudet hyæna sepulchris,
Sic instat putidis ille cadaueribus.

Also, where the pope required a talage of the clergie, the king flatlie forbad it by his letters inhibitorie.

In this meane while, William Powis chapleine, and sir Henrie de Lamere knight, which

which were sent with the second letters, deuised in the late parlement (as ye haue heard) to be preferred vnto the pope and cardinals, returned againe without obteining anie towardlie answer, but rather (as they declared) they found the pope sharp and rough in speech, saieng, "The king of England which now kicketh against the church, & beginneth to plaie Frederikes part, hath his counsell, & so likewise haue I, which I intend to follow." Other answer they cold not obteine. Againe, the Englishmen that were sutors in the court of Rome, were strangelie vsed, and could not get anie dispatch in their businesse, but were rather put backe as schismatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Herevpon the king called a parlement at Winchester, to haue the aduise of his lords in this matter, where how soeuer they agreed, proclamation was immediatlie set forth, and published in euerie shire & countie through the realme, that no man should consent to the popes contribution, nor send anie monie out of the realme to his aid. When the pope heard of this, he wrote verie sharplie to the bishops, commanding them on paine of excommunication and suspension, to satisfie his Nuncio remaining at the new temple in London, before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie. And whereas the king minded to haue stood in the matter through threats of his brother the earle of Cornewall, and of certeine prelats, namelie, the bishop of Worcester (who had authoritie as was said to interdict the land) he yéelded and suffered the pope to haue his will, to the great griefe and discomfort of manie.

A proclamation inhibiting monie to be sent to the pope.

On S. Margarets daie, there fortuned a maruellous sore tempest of haile, raine, thunder and lightning, which being vniuersall through the realme, did much hurt, & continued the space of 16 houres togither without ceassing. This yeere, sundrie noble personages departed this world, as Isabell the kings mother, wife to the earle of March in Poictou. Also, the countesse of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galloway, and sister to the countesse of Winchester: wherevpon, a great part of Gallowaie that belonged to hir (for that she died without issue) remained to Roger de Quincie earle of Winchester, that married the eldest sister. Moreouer, Iohn lord Neuill died this yeare, which had béene chiefe forrester of England: but he was not onelie put out of that office for certeine transgressions, but also out of the kings fauor before he died, where (at first) none was more estéemed in the court than he. The bishop of Salisburie, named master Robert de Bingham, died also this yeare, and sir Richard de Argenton knight, a right noble personage, which in the holie land had shewed good proofe of his high valiancie, manhood, & prowesse: likewise sir Henrie Baillioll of the north, and diuerse other.

A sore tempest of haile.

Isabell the kings mother departeth this life.

Roger de Quincie earle of Winchester.

Iohn lord Neuill departed this life with diuers other.

In the beginning of the one and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the pope sent into England to haue the third part of one yeares profit of euerie beneficed man that was resident, and of euerie one not resident the one halfe. The bishop of London should haue seene this aid and collection leuied, but it would not be granted. And in a parlement called this yeare on the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, it was ordeined, that new letters sealed with the common seale of the citie of London should be sent by sufficient messengers, from all the estates of the realme, vnto the pope and cardinals, requiring a moderation to be had in such exactions as were intollerable for the realme to beare. Whilest this parlement yet lasted, there came ouer the lord Peter of Sauoy earle of Richmond, bringing with him certein yoong ladies and damsels, to be bestowed in marriage on such yoong lords and gentlemen as were wards to the king.

An. Reg. 31.

1247.

Matth. Paris.

Intollerable exactions.

Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond.

On S. Valentines euen, a great earthquake happened here in England, and namelie about London, on the Thames side, with the which manie buildings were ouerthrowen. These earthquakes, the seldomer they chance in England, the more dreadfull the same are, and thought to signifie some great alteration. A litle before this earthquake, the sea had ceassed from ebbing and flowing for the space of three moneths togither, by a long tract neere to the English shore, to the great maruell of many, for either it flowed not at all, or else so little that it might not be perceiued. And after the earthquake, there followed

An earthquake.

A strange wonder.

Continuall raine.

lowed such a season of foule weather, that the spring séemed to be changed into winter, for scarse was there anie daie without raine, till the feast of the translation of S. Benet.

Acts made to restraine presumptuous authoritie of the spiritualtie.

There were at this time diuerse ordinances decréed and enacted by waie of prohibition, to restreine the authoritie of spirituall persons, as that no ecclesiasticall iudge should determine in causes of anie temporall man, except touching causes of matrimonie and testaments. They were also prohibited to sue anie actions touching tithes, before anie spirituall iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, was called an Indicauit. Sundrie other such ordinances were deuised, which for breefenesse we omit. What speed or answer so euer the messengers had that were sent to Rome with the letters deuised in the late parlement, truth it is, that the pope sent ouer into England such of his agents as gathered no small sums of monie amongst the cleargie, as one Marinus, and an other named Iohannes Anglicus a frier minor, the which were not intituled by the name of legats, to saue the priuileges which the king had, that no legat might come into the realme without his licence. The comming ouer of these men, bicause it was to gather monie, contented not manie mens minds, as well appeared in a parlement called at Oxford about reformation thereof, but yet notwithstanding it was there agreed, that the pope should haue eleuen thousand marks to be leuied amongst them of the spiritualtie, exempt persons and places reserued.

The popes collectors.

A shift by forbearing the name of legat.

The emperor of Constantinople commeth into England.

About the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new aid of the king, towards the recouerie of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greekes. ¶ Also, there arriued in England a cardinall that was bishop of Sabine, hauing first receiued an oth, that he came not for anie hurt to the king or his realme, for otherwise being a legat he might not be suffered to enter the land: he came this waie to passe ouer into Norwaie, whither he went to crowne and annoint Hacon king of that realme. There arriued here with him the thrée halfe brethren to the king, Guy de Lucignan, William de Valence, & Athelmare a préest, with their sister Alice. All these were begotten by Hugh Brun earle of March, of quéene Isabell the kings mother, and were therefore ioifullie receiued of the king, with faithfull promise, that he would be to them a beneficiall good brother, which his saiengs with effectuall déeds he after fullie performed. The cardinall hauing saluted the king, tooke leaue of him and came to Lin, where he staied at the point of thrée moneths, making such purchase amongst religious men, that what by procuracies and other shifts, he got as was thought, a foure thousand marks towards his charges, and so departed. Edmund Lacie earle of Lincolne, and Richard de Burgh, as then wards to the king, were married vnto two of those yoong ladies of Prouance, which Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought ouer with him, whereat manie of the English nobilitie grudged.

A cardinall cõmeth into England, receiuing an oth not to preiudice ye realme.

The kings halfe brethren came to sée the king.

The cardinall maketh shift for monie.

William de Valence marrieth lord Montchẽsies daughter.

Also, about the thirtéenth of August, the ladie Ione daughter to the lord Guarine de Monchencie, was married vnto William de Valence the kings halfe brother. The same ladie was heire to hir fathers lands, by the death of hir brother the sonne of the said lord Guarine. Sir William de Bueles knight a Norman borne, was made seneshall of Gascoigne about this season, and was sore vexed with wars by Gaston the sonne of the countesse of Bierne and others, which Gaston shewed himselfe verie vnthankefull, for the king had giuen both to him and to his mother (a woman of a monstrous stature) verie large interteinement to serue him in his wars at his last being in that countrie (as before ye haue heard.) The archbishop of Canturburie suspended the préests of his prouince, bicause they would not consent (according to the grant which he had purchased of the pope) that he should haue the first fruits for one yeare, of euerie benefice that chanced to be vacant within the same prouince. The earles of Cornewall and Penbroke got much monie by waie of a collection, towards the reliefe of the warres in the holie land, hauing purchased of the pope certeine buls of indulgence for the same. Sir Fouke de Newcastell a valiant knight, and coosen germane to the king on the mothers side died at London, during the time of the parlement.

Gaston de Bierne maketh war against the kings liege tenant.

Préests of the prouince of Canturburie suspended.

Sir Fouke de Newcastell the kings coosen by his mother departeth this life.

On the thirtéenth of October was a portion of the holie bloud of Christ (as it was then supposed

supposed) shewed in most reuerent wise in a solemne procession, for the king comming to the church of S. Paule in London, receiued there the same bloud conteined in a christalline glasse, the which he bare vnder a canopie supported with four staues, though the streets, vnto the abbeie church of Westminster. His armes were also supported by two lords as aids to him all the waie as he went. The masters of the Templers and Hospitallers had sent this relike to the king. To describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that daie, would require a speciall treatise. But this is not to be forgotten, that the same daie the bishop of Norwich preached before the king in commendation of that relike, pronouncing six years and one hundred and sixteene daies of pardon, granted by the bishops there present, to all that came to reuerence it.

Pardon granted by bishops.

Also the same daie and in the same church, the king made his halfe brother William de Valence, and diuerse other yoong bachelors, knights. Vnto the said William de Valence, for his further aduancement and maintenance, he gaue the castell of Hertford, and the honor therto belonging, with great treasure: & to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, which about the same time returned into France, he gaue verie great and honorable gifts, lading his sumpters with plate and treasure of sterling monie, which in those daies in all countries was verie much esteemed. The earle of Winchester remaining in Gallowaie, where he had faire possessions in right of his wife, was besieged of his owne tenants, within a castell wherein he lodged, and being in danger either to die through famine, or else at the discretion of the enimies, he burst forth, and making way with his sword, escaped, and comming to the king of Scots, complained of the iniurie doone to him by his people, whervpon the king tooke such order, that the rebels were punished, and the earle set in quiet possession of his lands againe.

Knights made.

An. Reg. 32. The earle of Winchester besieged in Galloway by his owne tenants.

Toward the latter end of Nouember, William earle Ferrers & of Derbie departed this life, a man of great yeares and long troubled with the gout, a iust man and a peaceable. The same moneth the countesse his wife died also, a woman of yeares, vertue and fame like to hir husband: Thomas Becket the archbishop of Canturburie did minister the priests office at their marriage. Their eldest sonne William succéeded his father in the earledome, a good man and a discreet, but vexed with the gout verie pitifullie, hauing that disease also as it were, by inheritance from his father. There died likewise other of the nobilitie, as Richard de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham. Beatrice the countesse of Prouance mother to the queene, and Thomas de Sauoy late earle of Flanders, came into England to visit the king and queene and were honorablie receiued, and at their departure backe towards home, richlie rewarded. This yeare in the octaues of the Purification, a parlement was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was present. There were nine bishops, as the archbishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Winchester, Lincolne, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Elie, Rochester and Carlell, with the earles of Cornewall, Leicester, Winchester, Hereford, Northfolke, Oxford, Lincolne, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond, besides lords and barons. The archbishop of Canturburie was at the court of Rome, & the bishop of Duresme was letted by sicknesse.

William earle Ferrers departeth this life.

1248.

The countesse of Prouance commeth into England.

A parlement.

In this parlement king Henrie earnestlie required a subsidie, in reliefe of the great charges which he had diuerse waies sustemed, whervpon he was streightwaies by the péeres of the realme noted both of couetousnesse, vnthankfulnesse, and breach of promise, bicause he neuer ceassed gathering of monie, without regard had to his people: and where he had promised manie things, as that he would not be burdenous vnto them, and such like; he had performed verie little of those his gaie promises. Manie misdemeanors, and wrongfull doings, to the gréeuance of his people were opened and laid before him, as cherishing and inriching of strangers, & vsing his prerogatiues too largelie, to the great decaie & hinderance of the common-wealth. The king abashed herewith, and supposing that the confession of his fault should make amends, & aswage the displesure which his Nobles and other had conceiued at his misgouernance, to content them all

A subsidie demanded. *Iohydor. Matth. Paris.*

The king charged for his immoderate inriching of strangers.

all with one answer, he promised that he would reforme all that was amisse, and so quieting the minds of his barons, the parlement was proroged till the quindene of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist. Wherein his prudence and wisedome was to be commended, but his patience deserueth exceeding great praise, whereby he shewed himselfe princelike-minded, in that he could tollerate the exprobation and casting of his faults in his face, euen by such as should rather haue concealed than disclosed them: wheras it had stood with his roialtie to haue giuen them the counterchecke, and in angrie mood to haue tamed their malapertnesse: but that he prouidentlie considered that

The parlemẽt proroged.

———parit ira furorem,
Turpia verba furor, verbis ex turpibus exit
Rixa, ex hac oritur vulnus, de vulnere lethum:
———patientia virtus,
Qua quicúnq; caret, careat probitate necesse est.
Qui nil ferre potest, hominum commercia vitet.

An ordinance for monie.

About the same time, by reason that the sterling monie was generallie so clipped, that the inscription was cut off for the most part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was set foorth, that no péeces thereof should passe from one to an other, nor be receiued as currant and lawfull monie, except the same were of iust weight and fashion. Herewith also inquirie was made for those that had so defaced it, and sundrie Iewes bankers, and cloth-merchants of Flanders were found giltie. Also, the French king caused serch to be made within his realme for the same offendors, and such as were found giltie, were hanged, so that he was more seuere in punishing those falsifiers of the king of Englands coine, than the king of England was himselfe.

Inquirie made for washers & clippers of monie.

The parlement began againe at the day appointed, but nothing to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a displeasure kindled betwixt the king and his barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his dooings, and he for monie out of their coffers, which would not be granted, and so that parlement brake vp. The king herevpon for want of monie, was driuen to so hard a shift, that he was constreined to sell his plate and iewels (which the Londoners bought) so much to his hinderance, that diuers péeces (the workemanship whereof was more woorth than the value of the stuffe) were sold notwithstanding after the rate as they weied.

Matth. Paris. The parlemẽt dissolued.

The king driuen to sell his plate.

This yeare, the king caused a faire to be kept at Westminster at saint Edwards tide, to indure for fiftéene daies, and to the end that the same should be the more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and such like holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the citie of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell, should come for that time vnto Westminster: which was doone, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not roome there, but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease, for want of necessarie prouision, being turmoiled too pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine that fell in that vnseasonable time of the yeare. The bishop of Elie complained sore of the wrong doone to him by suspending his faire at Elie aforesaid.

S. Edwards faire at Westminster.

Sir Richard Sward deceaseth.

Sir Richard Sward died this yeare, after he had laien a long time vexed with the palsie, which sir Richard had in his daies beene a right worthie and famous knight. There died also the bishops of Bath and saint Dauids. In the first day of Iune, the moone immediatlie vpon the setting of the sunne, was almost wholie eclipsed, so that little of hir might appeare. The towne of Newcastell vpon Tine was almost whollie consumed with fire, togither with the bridge there. The archbishop of Canturburie remaining still with the pope by his procurator the deane of Beauueis, denounced all them accurssed which went about to impeach him of receiuing the first fruits of benefices that voided, which he had by the popes grant, the king and quéene, with their children, and the kings brother the earle of Cornewall onelie excepted out of that cursse.

Death of bishops.

An eclipse.

Newcastell burnt by casuall fire.

The archb. of Cant. curseth.

There

There chanced another earthquake foure daies before Christmasse, namelie in the west countrie about Bath and Welles, which shooke and ouerthrew some buildings, speciallie the tops and summets of steeples, turrets and chimnies were shaken therewith, and not the bases or lower parts. ¶ In Christmasse following, the earle of Leicester returned out of Gascoigne, where he had béene as generall against Gaston de Bierne, whom he had so afflicted and put to the worse, that the same Gaston was glad to sue for an abstinence of warre, where before he had doone much hurt to the kings subiects. The said earle had also with the aid of the kings subiects apprehended an other rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont who had doone much hurt in the parts of Gascoigne, and in the confines there, whome he had left in prison within the castell of the Rioll. An. Reg. 33. An erthquake. 1249.

This yeare a little before Candlemas, the bishop of Durham being a man of great yeares, by licence obteined of the pope, resigned his miter, reseruing to himselfe onelie thrée manors, Houeden with the appurtenances, Stocton and Euerington. The king hauing the last yeare receiued of his subiects a deniall of a generall subsidie to be granted him, practised this yeare to get some releefe at their hands, in calling each of them apart: but first he got two thousand marks of the citie of London, and after fell in hand with the abbats and priors, of whome he got somewhat, though sore against their willes. By occasion of two merchant strangers of Brabant, which chanced to be robbed about the parts of Winchester, whilest the king was there, vpon their importunate suit and complaint, there was a great nest of theeues broken, amongst the which were manie wealthie persons and freeholders, such as vsed to passe on life and death of their owne companions, to whom they were fauourable inough you may be sure: also, there were some of the kings seruants amongst them. About thirtie of those offendors were apprehended, and put to execution, besides those that escaped, some into sanctuarie, and some into voluntarie exile, running out of and vtterlie forsaking the countrie. The bishop of Durham resigneth his bishoprike. *Matth. Paris.* The king practiseth to get monie. A nest of théeues brokē.

About Easter, the archbishop of Rone came ouer into England, and dooing homage for such reuenues as belonged to his church here within this realme, had the same restored vnto him. In Iune there fell such abundance of raine, speciallie about Abington, that the willow trées, milles, and other houses standing néere to the water side, were borne downe and ouerturned, with one chapell also: and the corne in the field was so beaten to the ground, that bread made thereof after it was ripe, seemed as it had béene made of bran. The archbish. of Rone. *Matth. Paris.* Great raine.

About the same time, William de Longespée earle of Salisburie, and Robert de Véer, with other Englishmen, to the number of two hundred knights, hauing taken on them the crosse, went into the holie land, the said earle being their chéefe capteine, and had so prosperous speed in their iornie, that they arriued safe and sound in the christian armie, where (the French king being chéefe thereof) they were receiued ioifullie. But yet (as Matthew Paris writeth) the pride and disdaine of the Frenchmen was so great, that vpon spite and enuie conceiued at the Englishmens glorie, which bare themselues right worthilie, the Frenchmen vsed the Englishmen nothing freendlie; & namelie the earle of Arras sticked not to speake manie reprochfull words against the said William de Longespée and his people, whereat they could not not but take great indignation. The earle of Salisburie & other go into the holie land. *Matth. Paris.* The spite of the French towards the Englishmen.

Also the same season, the earle of Leicester, who had likewise receiued the crosse, deferred his iournie for a time, and sailing into Gascoigne, mightilie there subdued the kings enimies, as Gaston de Bierne, also one Rusteine, and William de Solares. This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Prouancois borne, whome the king had preferred in marriage vnto the ladie Maud, daughter and heire of Walter Lacie a man of faire possessions in Ireland. Of which marriage there came issue a sonne and a daughter. Also about Whitsuntide died a noble baron of the north parts, named the lord Roger Fitz Iohn, whose sonne and heire being yoong, was giuen in wardship to William de Valence the kings halfe brother. Also this yeare Hugh earle of March, father to the same William de Peter de Geneure. The decceasse of Roger Fitz Iohn. The death of Hugh le Brun-

de Valence died in Cipres, whilest the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holie land.

An. Reg. 34. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized.

In the feast of All saints, the archbishop Bonifacius was inthronized at Canturburie, and kept a solemne feast, at the which the king and queene, with the more part of all the prelats of the land were present. About this season was a great tornie and iusts holden at Brackley, where the earle of Glocester (contrarie to his accustomed maner) fauoured the part of the strangers, whereby they preuailed. In somuch that William de Valence handled one sir William de Odingesselles verie roughlie, the same sir William being a right woorthie knight. About the same time, the countesse of Cornewall at Berkehamsteed was deliuered of a sonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the spring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other Noble men of the realme, as the earle of Glocester, Henrie Hastings baron, & Roger Thurkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arraie and furniture to visit the pope, who held his court still at the citie of Lions. The bishop of Lincolne also and the bishop of Worcester went thither. For what cause the other went, it was not openlie knowne. But the bishop of Lincolne went thither about such businesse as he had in hand against the Templers, Hospitalers, and such other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purposse to passe, for his aduersaries with monie had purchased the iudges fauour. And so the bishop returned, hauing spent his trauell and monie in vaine.

A tornie holden at Brackley, or (as some copies haue) at Barkley. 1250.

Edmond son to Richard earle of Cornwall borne.

An ambassage sent to the pope.

The king taketh on him the crosse.

On the 6 of March being sundaie, the king tooke vpon him the crosse, with his brother de Valence, and a great number of other Noble men, and amongst other the abbat of Burie, to the preiudice (as was thought) of his order. Roger de Monthault, a baron of great honour, meaning verelie to go in that iournie, to recouer monie towards his necessarie furniture, set and sold the most part of his liuings. His woods and possessions, which he had about Couentrie, he sold and let to fee farme vnto the couent there. The like chieuance was made by sundrie noble men, which prepared themselues to go in that iournie.

The lord Roger de Monthault.

Vpon the 27 day of Aprill those that had taken on them the crosse, assembled at Bermondsey besides London, to treat of their setting forward, determining that the same should be at Midsummer next: but by the popes letters which the king procured, they were commanded to staie till the king himselfe went. Thus their iournie for that time was disappointed. There was of them and their retinues that meant thus to haue gone, fiue hundreth knights, besides yeomen or demilances and other common souldiers in great numbers. Gaston de Bierne was so driuen to his shifts by the high prowesse of the earle of Leicester, that in the end he was constreined to come ouer into England, and submit himselfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gat such mercie at the kings hands, that he was pardoned and restored to his lands. But the earle of Leicester put the king in possession of the castels of Fronsacke, Egremount, and others, and banished Rustein, and William de Solares, with diuerse other stubborne and disloiall rebels, depriuing them of their lands and inheritance in that countrie.

Gaston de Bierne submiteth himself to the king.

The earle of Leicester his seruice in Gascoigne.

The bishop of Lincolne.

The bishop of Lincolne did excommunicat a preest within his diocesse, that was accused of incontinencie. And bicause the same preest continued fortie daies without seeking to be reconciled, the bishop sent to the shiriffe of Rutland, within whose bailiwike the same preest dwelled, to apprehend him as a disobedient and rebellious person: but the shiriffe winked at the matter, and would not execute the bishops commandement, wherevpon the bishop did also excommunicat the shiriffe: whereof the king being informed, tooke displeasure, and sending to the pope, procured an inhibition, that no archbishop nor bishop should compell anie officer belonging to the king, to follow anie suit afore them, for those things that apperteined to the kings iurisdiction, or giue sentence against them for the same.

An inhibition procured by the king of the pope.

The earle of Cornwall returneth from the pope.

The mondaie before the Rogation weeke, Richard the kings brother earle of Cornewall, returned from the court of Rome, where he had beene about certeine businesse vnknown to

to most men: but whatsoeuer the same was, the pope gaue him most courteous and honorable interteinement for his welcome, and made him great cheare during his abode at Lions, where the popes court as then laie. ¶ About this season, the K. to rid himselfe out of debt, wherein he was indangered to certeine merchants, lessened the charges of his houshold, and kept but a meane port, diminishing euen the accustomed almesse of the poore, and also the great number of tapers and lights in his chappell, so that he was noted with the blame of too much niggardlie sparing and pinching: but in that he discharged his debt to the merchants, he was thought to doo wiselie and charitablie, for that he would not see them hindered to whom he was so indebted; besides the opinion that he had concerning himselfe, namelie that

The king spareth to bring himselfe out of debt.

Profectum faciunt rarum quos debita stringunt.

About the same time also, he caused the Iewes to giue vnto him a great portion of their goods, so that they were greatlie impouerished. There was one of them named Aaron borne in Yorke, the which since the kings last returne out of Gascoigne, had paied to the king the summe of thirtie thousand markes, ouer and besides two hundred marks which he had giuen to the quéene, as the same Aaron protested to Matthew Paris, vpon his faith and truth which he bare to his law. In the Whitsunwéeke was a generall chapter holden of the friers preachers at London in Holborne, where out of sundrie parts of the world were assembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meat and drinke found them of almesse, bicause they possessed nothing of their owne. On the first daie the king came into their chapter, that he might be partaker of their praiers, and found them meat and drinke that day, and dined there with them, to doo them the more honour. Another day the quéene likewise fed them, and afterwards the bishop of London, the abbats of Westminster, S. Albon, and Waltham, with others.

The Iewes constreined to helpe the king with monie. *Matth. Paris.*

A generall chapter of ye friers preachers.

About the same season the citizens of London found themselues greeued verie sore, for such liberties as the king granted to the abbat of Westminster, to the great hinderance and decaie of the franchises of their citie. The maior and communaltie resisted all that they might against those liberties, and finallie by the good helpe and fauour of the lords, as the earles of Cornewall and Leicester, they obteined their purpose. This yeare maister William de Kilkennie, a sober, faithfull and learned man, was made keeper of the great seale. ¶ The same yeare vpon inquisition made by Geffrey de Langley, one of the kings councell of transgressors in forrestes and chases, manie that had offended were presented, and most gréeuouslie punished by imprisonment, fines, and exceeding great amercements, and namelie in the north countrie.

Matth. Paris. Strife betwixt the Lōdoners and the abbat of Westminster.

William de Kilkennie keeper of the great seale.

On the nineteenth of Maie died Robert de Lexinton clearke, the which hauing continued a long time in the office of a iudge, purchased to himselfe great fame, and also most large possessions. But certeine yéeres before his death, bicause he was diseased with the palsie, he gaue ouer that office, and drew himself into a quiet trade of life, so ending his daies in praiers and dooing of almesdeeds. About the feast of S. Margaret died Henrie Hastings a noble baron, and one Robert de Muschampe a man of great renowme in the north parts. Also Walter bishop of Winchester departed this life, about the feast of S. Matthew, in whose place (through the kings earnest suit) his halfe brother Athelmare was promoted to succéed. Moreouer, in the east parts, that valiant erle of Salisburie William de Longespee, with Robert de Veer, and others, was slaine in that vnfortunate battell in the which the Saracens vanquished the christian armie, and tooke Lewes the French king prisoner.

Robert de Lexinton departeth this life.

The lord Henrie Hastings deceaseth.

Robert Muschampe.

Athelmarle the kings half brother made bishop of Winchester.

The earle of Salisburie slaine by the Saracens.

On the first day of October, the moone vpon hir change, appearing exceeding red and swelled, began to shew tokens of the great tempest of wind that followed, which was so huge and mightie, both by land & sea, that the like had not bene lightlie knowne, and sildome or rather neuer heard of by men then aliue. The sea forced contrarie to hir naturall course, flowed twice without ebbing, yeelding such a roring noise, that the same was heard (not without great woonder) a farre distance from the shore. Moreouer, the

A mightie wind. *Matth. Paris.*

The sea seemeth to burne.

same sea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had been on fire, and the waues to striue and fight togither after a maruellous sort, so that the mariners could not deuise how to saue their ships where they laie at anchor, by no cunning nor shift which they could deuise. At Hertburne three tall ships perished without recouerie, besides other smaller vessels. At Winchelsey, besides other hurt that was doone in bridges, milles, breakes and banks, there were three hundred houses, and some churches drowned with the high rising of the water course. The countrie of Holland beyond the sea, and the marish land in Flanders, susteined inestimable damage, and in manie other places; by reason that riuers beaten backe and repelled (by the rising of the sea) swelled so high that they ouerflowed their chanels, and much hurt was doone in meadowes, bridges, milles, and houses.

Ships lost. Hertburne. Winchelsey.

An. Reg. 35. The practise of the bishops to disappoint the archbi. of Canturburie of his purpose.

About the beginning of the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the bishops of England, vnderstanding that the archbishop of Canturburie was about to purchase of the pope a grant to gather monie through his whole prouince of the cleargie and people for synods and procuracies, they thought to preuent him, and therefore made a collection euerie one through his owne diocesse, of two pence in euerie marke which any beneficed man might dispend, which money so collected, they ment to imploie about charges in the popes court, for the staie of the archbishops suit, that the grant should not passe.

An erthquake at S. Albons.

About the same time, to wit, vpon saint Lucies day, there was a great earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parts thereabouts with a noise vnder the ground, as though it had thundred. This was strange and maruellous, bicause the ground there is chalkie and sound, not hollow nor loose, as those places be where earthquakes for the most part happen. Doues, rookes, and other birds that sat vpon houses, and in boughes of trees fearing this strange wonder, flickred vp, and flue to and fro, shewing a token of feare as if a goshauke had beene ouer their heads. The pope required by solemne messengers sent to the king of England, that he might come to the citie of Burdeaux in Gascoigne, & there for a time remaine. The king wist not well what answer to make, for loth he was to denie anie thing that the pope should require and againe he was not willing for sundrie respects, that the pope should come so neere vnto him. Indeed, manie were in doubt, least if he came to Burdeaux, he would also come into England, and rather impaire the state thereof than amend it by his presence, sith by such vsurers and licentious liuers as belonged to him, the realme had alreadie beene sore corrupted. Howsoeuer the matter went there was delaie and such meanes deuised and made, that the pope came not there at that time.

The pope sueth for licence to soiorne at Burdeaux.

The popes presence more like to impaire than amend things.

1251.

On Christmasse day in the night, great thunder and lightning chanced in Northfolke and Suffolke past measure, in token as was thought of some euill to follow. ¶ The king kept his Christmasse at Winchester, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hospitalitie with him was greatlie laid aside. About this time, Guy de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into England, after his returne out of the holie land, and was of the king ioifullie receiued. Towards the releefe of his expenses made in that iournie, the king gaue him fiue hundred pounds which he got of the Iewes. Moreouer, he gaue to his brother Geffrey the custodie of the baron Hastings lands, and so by such liberall and bounteous gifts as he bestowed on them and other strangers, he greatlie incurred the hatred of his naturall people the Englishmen.

Thunder and lightening. Guy de Lusignan brother to the king.

The earle of Leicester returneth.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the earle of Leicester came to the king in great hast out of Gascoigne giuing him to vnderstand, that the Gascoignes were reuolted in such number, that if speedie succour were not prouided, the whole countrie would fall from the English subiection. Heerevpon the king furnished him with monie, and the earle himselfe got all that he could make of his owne reuenues, and likewise of the Vmfreuilles lands, the heire whereof he had in custodie. He made no long abode, but with all speed returned, and reteined two hundred Rutters out of the duke of Brabants countries, and with

He had of the king 3000 marks.

Rutters.

with them certeine crosbowes. These were eger souldiers, and bloudie, but yet the Gascoignes prepared themselues to resist them all that they might: howbeit the earle put them still to the worse. Before his last returne from thence, he had raced the castell of Fronsacke flat with the ground, and likewise left desolate the castell of Egremount.

About this season, one of the kings iustices named Henrie de Bath fell in the kings displeasure, bicause he was accused that he had not exercised his office vprightlie, but to his owne priuat gaine, and peruerted iustice through bribes, vpon occasion of a suit mooued betwixt him and one Euerard de Trumpington: he was appealed of falsehood and treason by sir Philip Darcie knight. His wife was of kin to the Bassets and Samfords, the which procured him great freendship at the hands of the earle of Cornewall, and of Iohn Mansell, and other of the kings councell. But for all that they could doo, he was in great danger to haue lost his life at the parlement holden that yeare, and begun on the sixteenth day of Februarie. For the king was so sore mooued against him, that he caused proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to laie against the said Henrie de Bath, they should come foorth, and their information should be heard. Herevpon diuerse came and presented their complaints, and amongst other, one of his owne fellowes, that was a iustice also, declared that he had suffered an offendor conuict, to escape vnpunished, for a bribe, which he receiued to the preiudice of the king, and the danger of his associats the other iustices, whereas it is required of one put in trust with the administration of lawes, to be vncorrupt and sound in iudgement, according to this true position,

A iustice accused for taking bribes.

Iudicis est recti nec munere nec prece flecti.

The king herewith rose vp in a great fume, and said openlie: "If any man will slea Henrie of Bath, he shall not be impeached for his death: for I doo here planelie declare him acquit and guiltlesse for the same." Herewith diuerse would haue run vpon him to haue murdered him, but that Iohn Mansell staied their outrage, shewing them that the king might well herafter repent the words which he spake thus in his furie, and those that should doo any violence vnto the man, were not like to escape punishment: for both the bishop of London would suerlie accurse them, and other of his freends would not faile to seeke reuenge by temporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bath in the kings high displeasure for the time. Howbeit at length, through intercession of the earle of Cornewall, and the bishop of London, he was put to his fine, and pardoned.

Henrie de Bath put to his fine.

About the same time, Athelmare the kings halfe brother was confirmed bishop of Winchester by the pope, although he was thought scarselie sufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares. About this time also, the bishops assembling at Dunstable, tooke aduise togither, how to preuent the archbishop of Canturburie, that he should not visit: and in the end they concluded to send their procurator vnto the court of Rome, to trie what purchase might be made there for monie to staie the licence, and not to sticke for the disbursing of foure thousand marks, if néed required. Their procurator did so much in the matter, that he found the pope fauourable vnto his cause, though no determinate answer was giuen of a long time, till at length, to gratifie the archbishop and his kin, as the duke of Sauoy and other, the pope granted him licence to visit, but not generallie: for he might not visit anie parish church, except the person required him thereto. And whereas he had libertie to visit conuentuall churches, yet might he not receiue for procuracies aboue foure marks. For this moderation to be had, the procurator for the bishops gave vnto the pope six thousand marks.

Athelmare or Odomare bishop of Winchester confirmed.

A conuocatiō of the bishops.

Six thousand marks giuen to the pope.

The same yeare the bishop of Lincolne visited the religious houses within his diocesse, to vnderstand what rule was kept amongst them, vsing the matter somewhat strictlie (as they thought:) for he entred into the chambers of the moonks & searched their beds. And comming to the houses of the nuns, he went so néere as to cause their breasts to be tried, that he might vnderstand of their chast liuings. In Lent following he was suspended by the pope, bicause he would not suffer an Italian that had no skill of the

The bishop of Lincolne visiteth abbeies.

The bishop of Lincolne suspended by the pope.

Wales subiect to the English lawes.

Alain lord Zouch.

Vsurers called Caorsini.

the English toong to inioy a prebend in his church, which the pope had giuen to the same Italian. In this season, Wales was brought to be subiect vnto the English lawes, and that part which ioineth to Cheshire, was committed to the custodie of Alain lord Zouch, the which gaue, for hauing of the profits thereof to farme, 11 hundred marks, and supplanted lord Iohn Graie which should haue had it for fiue hundred. Certeine vsurers and strangers borne called Caorsini, had bought faire houses at London, and so remained there as inhabitants, occupieng their trade without controlment, for the prelats durst not speake against them, bicause they alleged themselues to be the merchants of the popes highnesse: and the citizens durst not trouble them bicause they were defended by certeine noble men, whose monie (as was said) they occupied, to gaine after the manner of the court of Rome. Howbeit at length they were called before the ciuill magistrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouslie accused for their vnlawfull occupieng of vsurie, and some of them committed to prison, the residue hid themselues out of the way, till at length for a summe of monie they were licenced to be at rest, and so continued for a season. The Iewes reioised hereat, to haue fellowes with them in their miserie.

Controuersie betwixt prelats.

In this season also there depended a controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishop of London and his canons of Paules, so that the said bishop of London & the deane of Paules, and other of the canons were excommunicated. But the bishop perceiuing which way the world went, reconciled himselfe: as for the deane, he stood long in the matter, & at length went himselfe to the pope to vtter his gréefe. This controuersie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in such wise, that laie-men laughed at their doings, for now and then whom the pope commanded to be absolued, their aduersaries by colour of the popes authoritie would command to be excommunicated. The first daie of Iulie the earle of Leicester in Gascoigne ouercame manie of the kings enimies, and tooke from them a fortresse called Chattellon.

The earle of Leicester prospereth in Gascoigne.

A sore tempest of thunder & lightning.

On S. Dunstans day there was a maruellous sore tempest of weather, the aire being darkened on euerie side from the foure corners thereof, and withall chanced such a thunder as few the like had béene heard of. First it began as it had béene a great way off, but after it burst out with such terrible crackes as was woonderfull. But one amongst the rest exceeded, and withall such lightening flashed foorth, as put men in great feare and terror. The chimnie of the chamber, wherein the quéene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to dust, and the whole building sore shaken. This was at Windsore, where in the parke, okes were rent in sunder, and turned vp by the roots, and much hurt doone; as milles with the millers in them, shéepfolds with their shepheards, and plowmen, and such as were going by the way were destroied and beaten downe. About the same time the sea on the coasts of England arose with higher tides than the naturall course gaue, by the space of six feet.

Windsore.

High tides.

About Michaelmasse quéene Dowager of Scotland, that was daughter to Monsieur de Cousie a Frenchman, came through England to returne into France where she was borne, and was of the king honorablie receiued and welcomed. This yeare the nunrie of Marran not farre from Lin was founded by the ladie Isabell countesse of Arundell. ¶ Also this yeare the lord William de Cantlow departed this life, in whose heritage his sonne also named William succeeded. ¶ Moreouer, Iohn Cobham & Geffrey Spenser (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings councell) departed this life, Cobham before Easter, and Spenser shortlie after the same feast. Also in the octaues of Pentecost, Paule Peiuer or Peure departed this life, he was one of the kings cheefe councellors, and lord steward of his house. This man at the first was not borne to anie great possessions, but by purchase atteined to great reuenues. The ladie Ione his wife compounded with the king for the marriage of hir son named Paule, after his father, but the lord Iohn Graie paied the monie, being fiue hundred marks, and so discharging hir of that debt, maried hir sonne to one of his daughters at his manor of Eiton, and afterwards at London married the mother of his sonne in law, wherewith the king was sore displeased, for he

The nunrie of Marran founded.

Paule Peiuer.

he had giuen the marriage of hir vnto a stranger, one Stephan de Salines, so that the lord Graie was glad to giue to the king the summe of fiftie marks, by way of a fine to haue his good will. The lord Will. Graie marrieth the wife of Paule Peiuer.

In the six and thirtith yéere of king Henries reigne, the church of Hales was dedicated of the foundation of Richard earle of Cornewall. At which dedication he kept a solemne feast on the euen of saint Leonard being Sunday. There was present the king and the quéene, and almost all the Nobilitie of England, both spirituall and temporall. The building of that church, all charges accounted, stood the earle in ten thousand marks, as he himselfe confessed vnto Matthew Paris. ¶ About the same time the earle of Leicester and Guie de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came into England out of France, and landed at Douer, whom the king receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. He gaue to his brother at his returne great rewards, as he was euer accustomed. In the feast of the Conception of our ladie at a iustes holden at Rochester, the strangers were put to the worse, and well beaten by the English batchlers and men of armes, so that the dishonour which they did to the Englishmen at Brakley was now recompensed with interest. For the strangers fleeing to the citie for succour, were met by the way by the English knights seruants and yeomen, which fell vpon them, beat them sore with clubs and staues, and handled them verie euill. Hereof sprang a great hatred betwixt the Englishmen and strangers, which dailie grew and increased more and more, the rather bicause the king had them in so good estimation, and reteined so manie of them within the realme. An. Reg. 36. *Matth. Paris.* The church of Hales dedicated. The charges of the building of the church of Hales. Tournies and iusts in those daies were handled in more rough manner than is vsed in our time.

The king did celebrate the feast of Christmasse at Yorke, whither came Alexander the yoong king of Scots, and was there made knight by the king of England, and on saint Stephans day he married the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the assurance before time concluded. There was a great assemblie of noble personages at that feast. The quéene Dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the house of Coucie, had passed the sea, & was present there with a faire companie of lords and gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englands part were reckoned to be at the point of one thousand. The king of Scots had with him thrée score knights, and a great sort of other gentlemen comparable to knights. The king of Scots did homage to the king of England at that time for the realme of Scotland, and all things were doone with great loue and fauour, although at the beginning some strife was kindled about taking vp of lodgings. 1252. The house of Coucie. The king of Scots did homage to the K. of England.

This assemblie of the princes cost the archbishop verie déerelie, in feasting and banketting them and their traines. At one dinner it was reported he spent at the first course thréescore fat oxen. ¶ At request of the K. of Scots, the K. of England receiued Philip Lunell againe into fauour, or rather Louell (as I take it) one of his councell, against whome he had conceiued displeasure in the yeare last past, for such briberie as he was thoght to be giltie of for shewing fauour to the Iewes. The king of Scots when he should depart, tooke his leaue in most courteous maner, and led with him his new married wife, on whome attended sir Robert Norice knight marshall of the kings house, and sir Stephan Bausan, and also the ladie Mawd, the widowe of the lord William Cantlow, with others. On the octaues of the Epiphanie chanced an excéeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerse places of the realme. The bishop of Rochester returning frō the court of Rome, brought with him a bull, authorising him to receiue to his own vse the fift part of the reuenues of all the beneficed men within his diocesse. Sir Robert Norice, and sir Stephan Bausan. An excéeding great wind. The bishop of Rochest. bull.

In this meane while the earle of Leicester remaining in England, the Gascoignes made sore warre against such as he had left behind him; and withall gaue information to the king that the earle of Leicester was a traitor, and one that had spoiled the kings subiects: and furthermore by his uniust dealings had giuen to the Gascoignes cause of rebellion. The king to boult out the truth of this matter, sent first his chapleine Henrie Wingham; and afterwards sir Nicholas de Moles de Valence, as commissioners to inquire of the earles dooing, who went and returned without finding any manifest crime in the earles demeanor. The Gascoignes make warre against the Englishe subiects.

demeanor. The earle was much offended that his innocencie should be thus suspected; but at length being appointed to returne into Gascoigne, he obeied and hauing a great summe of monie, he reteined a power of men of warre, as well Frenchmen as others, and meaning to be reuenged of those that had giuen the information against him, he strengthened himselfe with the aid of the king of Nauarre, and of the earle of Bigorre and other, so that he oppressed his aduersaries on ech hand, and so abated their pride, that if conuenientlie they might, they would haue yeelded themselues to some other prince, and vtterlie haue renounced the K. of England for euer. Whereby it should seeme that he was throughlie reuenged of them euen to their no small smart, not in word and threatning, but with sword and bloud-shedding, defending his innocencie, and manfullie shewing his warlike mind. But yet he had purchased to himselfe a greater portion of praise, if he had not with weapon but with wisedome made a conquest of the enimie: according to this sound counsell of a sage writer;

The earle of Leicester danteth his enimies.

Mal. Pal. in suo cap.

Ingenio studeas magè quàm superare furore,
Ingenio vires cedunt, prudentia victrix
Cuncta domat.

A strange wonder of the new moone.

On the thirteenth day of March, the new moone was seene, whereas the prime change by naturall course should not haue beene till the sixteenth day following; and for the space of fiftéene daies that then next insued, the sunne, the moone, and starres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth seemed as it had béene shadowed with a thicke mist or smoke, the wind notwithstanding remaining north and northeast. Then

A great drought.

began a sore drought, continuing a long time, the which togither with morning frosts, and northerlie winds, destroied the fruits and other growing things, which were blasted in such wise, that although at the first it was a verie forward yeare, and great plentie towards of corne and fruit, yet by the means aforesaid, the same was greatlie hindered and speciallie in the summer season, when the sunnes heat increased, and the drought still continued.

The residue of such fruits as then remained, withered awaie, so that scarse a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent store. For if the abundance which the blossomes promised had come forward, the trées had not beene able to haue borne the same. The grasse was so burned vp in pastures and medowes, that if a man tooke vp some of it in his hands, and rubbed the same neuer so little, it streight fell to poulder, and so cattell were readie to starue for lacke of meat. And bicause of the excéeding hot nights, there was such abundance of fleas, flies, and gnats, that people were vexed and brought in case

Manie diseases reigned.

to be wearie of their liues. And herewith chanced manie diseases, as sweats, agues, and

A murren of cattell.

other. In the haruest time fell there a great death and murren amongst cattell, and speciallie in Northfolke, in the fens and other parts of the south. This infection was such, that dogs and rauens feeding on the dead carrens, swelled streightwaies and died, so that the people durst eat no béefe, least the flesh happilie might be infected.

Also this was noted not without great woonder, that yoong heifers and bullockes followed the milchkine, & as it had beene calues sucked the same kine. Also appletrées and pearetrées, now after the time of yeelding their ripe fruit, began againe to blossome,

The cause of the death of cattell.

as if it had beene in Aprill. The cause of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After so great a drought (which had continued by all the space of the moneths of Aprill, Maie, Iune, and Iulie) when there folowed good plentie of raine, the earth began to yeeld hir increase most plentiouslie of all growing things, though not so wholesome nor of such kindlie substance, as in due time and season she is accustomed to bring foorth, and so the cattell which before were hungerstarued, fed now so greedilie of this new grasse sproong vp in vndue season, that they were suddenlie puffed vp with flesh, and such vnnaturall humors, as bred infections amongst them, whereof they died.

The bishop of Lincolne.

The bishop of Lincolne would haue inforced all the beneficed men within his diocesse to be preests, but they purchased a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Vniuersities for certeine yeares, without taking the order of préesthood vpon them. ¶ The king meaning

to

to go (as he pretended) into the holie land, had grant of the pope to leuie a tenth of his subiects both spirituall and temporall. The Gascoignes sore repining at the earle of Leicester his streict gouernance (who handled them more roughlie than they had béene accustomed) sent the archbishop of Burdeaux ouer into England to exhibit a complaint against him in all their names. The earle of Leicester aduertised thereof, followed him, and comming to the court, found the archbishop readie to aduouch the information which he had made against the said earle, cheefelie in that he had sought the destruction of those to whom the earle of Cornewall when he was ruler there, had granted life and peace, and whom sir Henrie Trubleuile, and Waleran the Dutchman, late stewards of Gascoigne, vnder the king, had cherished and mainteined. With manie other things the archbishop charged him, the which the earle wittilie refelled and disprooued, so as he was allowed in his iustification by those that stood by, as the earle of Cornewall and others.

The Gascoigns meane to complaine of the earle of Leicester.

The earle disproueth the allegations of his accusers.

The bishop of Lincolne got authoritie of the pope to institute vicarages in churches impropriat to religious men, where no vicars were; and where such were as séemed too slenderlie prouided of sufficient allowance, to augment the same as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he vsed more largelie than stood with the pleasure of religious persons, bicause he shewed great fauour to the vicars. The copie of the letters which the bishop had procured of the pope, authorising him herein, followeth as we find the same in the chronicles of Matthew Paris.

The bishop of Lincolns authoritie to institute vicars in churches impropriate.

The tenor of the Popes grant.

INNOCENTIUS episcopus, &c. Cùm sicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diœcesi, nonnulli religiosi & alij collegiati ecclesias perochiales in proprios vsus obtineant, in quibus nimis exiles aut nullæ taxatæ sunt vicariæ; fraternitati tuæ per authoritatem summam mandamus, quòd in ijsdem ecclesijs de ipsarum prouentibus vicarias instituas, & institutas exiles adaugeas vice nostra: prout iuxta consuetudinem patriæ secundù Deum videtur expedire, non obstantibus si prædicti exempti sint, aut aliàs muniti apostolicis priuilegijs siue indulgentijs, per quæ id impediri vel differri possit; & de quibus speciale oporteat in præsentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas apostolica potestate compescendo. Datum Lugduni 7 Octob. pontificatus nostri, An. 8.

The earle of Leicester was eftsoones sent into Gascoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen into his enimies hands, as should appeare. But the earle hired souldiers in France, and comming into Gascoigne, preuailed against his enimies, though in one conflict he was in danger of loosing both life and the honour of the field. But yet through his good hap, Gods fauour, and the valiancie of himselfe and some of his retinue, he got the vpper hand, and put his enimies to flight, taking Rusteine, one of the cheefe ringleaders, whom he caused to be presented to the king. At the same time had the king inuested his son Edward with the duchie of Aquitaine to the offense of the earle of Cornewall, to whom by charter he had before giuen and confirmed the same. In a iusts holden at Walden, sir Arnold de Monteinie a right valiant knight was slaine by sir Roger de Lemborne, for which mischance all the Nobles there assembled made great lamentation, and namelie the said sir Roger: but yet he was suspected to be in blame, bicause the socket of his staffe was polished, & not abated. Hereby it should appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, and not in maner of their running togither, these iusts and tornies in those daies practised differed from the verie order of warre.

The earle of Leicester sent eftsoones into Gascoigne.

Rusteine taken.

The kings eldest son Edward created duke of Aquitaine.

Sir Arnold de Monteinie slaine.

The 17 of September the cathedrall church of Elie was dedicated, which the bishop of that sée named Hugh had builded of his owne proper costs and charges, togither with the

The church of Elie dedicated.

palace there. The king and a great number of the péeres & nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present at this solemne feast, which was kept in most plentifull manner. The 13 day of October, the king held a great feast at London, and had called the states of the realme, then and there to assemble in parlement, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obteined of the tenths due to the church, to be receiued by him for thrée yeares, towards his charges in his iournie which he meant to make into the holie land. The bishops, and namelie Lincolne, vtterlie refused to be contributarie to his grant.

A parlement. The king demandeth the tenths of the spiritualtie.

The bishops refuse to yéeld to the popes grant.

They alledged sundrie reasons for their excuse, as the pouertie of the English church being alreadie made bare, with continuall exactions and oppressions; but chéeflie they excused themselues by the absence of the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, of whom the one was beyond the sea, and the other at home in the north parts. All th'other English bishops were there, except Hereford & Chester, which Chester was sicke, and therefore without the consent of those that were absent, and namelie their primat the archbishop of Canturburie, they could not conclude vpon any generall point touching the kings demand. And although the king fretted and stormed against them, yet could he not bring them to his purpose, so that the parlement for that time was dissolued. Yet before their departure from London, he communed with the bishops apart, to sée if he might persuade them to giue him some portion of monie towards his charges: but they had tuned their strings all after one note, discording all from his tenor, so that not a penie could be got of them: wherefore he tooke high displeasure against them, reuiling them in most reprochfull maner, and amongst other he vpbraided his halfe brother (the elect of Winchester) of great vnthankefulnesse, who also amongst the residue stood against him.

The king highlie offended with the bishops.

The king hauing this repulse at the bishops hands, began to fall in talke with the lords of the temporaltie touching the troubles in Gascoigne, where things were in broile by the hard dooings of the earle of Leicester, against whom the Gascoignes ceassed not to make warre still, and of late hauing besieged him in the castell of Mountalbon, droue him to such shift, that to escape the present danger he was glad to set at libertie certeine rebels, which he had before taken captiues. Therefore to reduce that countrie vnto quietnesse, the king determined to go thither himselfe, and to remooue the earle of Leicester out of his office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, which was to desire their aid both of men and monie, the lords would not agree to grant him anie. And where he sought to burthen the erle of Leicester with misgouerning things against his honour, they excused the same earle, and so the lords also departed in displeasure of the king as well as the bishops.

The king assaieth to get monie of the lords temporall.

Howbeit the king got of the Londoners by way of princelie praier twentie thousand marks of gold at that time. And to their further gréefe for better meane to be reuenged against the bishop of Elie, he caused the said Londoners to kéepe saint Edwards faire for fiftéene daies togither at Westminster, and in the meane time to keepe their shops shut through all the citie. Which thing (by reason of the foule weather chancing at that time) was verie greeuous vnto them, albeit there was such repaire of people thither, that London had not beene fuller to the iudgement of old ancient men neuer at anie time in their daies to their remembrance.

The Londoners helpe at a pinch.

This yeare died sir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and valiancie. Also on the twentith day of October, the countesse of Winchester daughter to the earle of Hereford departed this life at Grobie, a manour place belonging to hir husband the earle of Winchester, a little besides Leicester, and was buried at Braklie. The said earle shortlie after married an other wife in hope of issue. For neither by this his last wife, neither by his first that was daughter to the lord Alane de Galowaie had he any children. Also the same yeare, that noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lisle surnamed Riuers, somtime wife to Fouks de Brent, departed out of this world, about the second day of October.

The death of sir Nicholas Samford.

The countesse of Winchester departeth this life.

Matth. Paris.

The decease of the countesse de Lisle de Wight.

An. Reg. 37.

In the seauen and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, one of the popes notaries called Albert

Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicill. But the earle supposing it not to stand with his honour, to depriue his nephue Henrie, sonne to the emperor Frederike the second, by his wife the empresse Isabell that was sister to the said erle, refused to take that honour vpon him.

The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicil vnto the earle of Cornewall.

About the same time, that is to say, on the octaues of saint Martin, Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie arriued in England, comming from the court of Rome, where he had beene long resiant. ¶ At the same time there chanced a great occasion of strife betwixt the said archbishop, and the bishop of Winchester. For where maister Eustace de Lin, officiall to the said archbishop had first excommunicated, and after for his contumacie caused to be attached a preest which by authoritie of the elect of Winchester as diocesane there, was entred into possession of an hospitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of prior, without consent of the officiall: who pretended title as patrone in his maisters name. The said elect of Winchester caused a riotous sort of persons after the maner of warre to seeke reuenge hereof, the which after manie outrages doone, came to Lambeth, and there by violence tooke the said Eustace out of his owne house, and led him to Farnham, where he was kept as prisoner.

The archbishop thus serued at his first comming ouer, and taking the same but for a homlie welcome, was maruellouslie offended, and comming to London accompanied with the bishops of Chichester and Hereford, in the church of saint Marie bowe, being reuested in pontificalibus, pronounced all those accurssed, which were authours or fauourers of such a rash and presumptuous deed, and further commanded all the bishops within his prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the same in their churches euerie sundaie and holie day. The bishop of Winchester on the other part, sent commandement to the deane of Southwarke, to resist the archbishop to his face, and to denounce his cursse to be void, vaine, and of no force, but deuised of a craftie purpose and wicked meaning. The archbishop continuing in his conceiued displeasure, went to Oxenford, and there on the morrow after saint Nicholas day, renewed the same cursse in solemne wise before all the learned men, students, and scholers of the Vniuersitie.

1253.

Howbeit, at length the matter was taken vp betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cause, and the queene for hir vncle the archbishop, tooke some paine to agree them: and so in the octaues of the Epiphanie they were made freends, and those absolued that were excommunicated, in which number William de Valence, and Iohn de Warren were thought to be conteined, as those that should be present in vsing the force against the officiall (as before ye haue heard.) By inquirie taken about this time by the diligence of the bishop of Lincolne, it was found that the yéerlie profits and reuenues of spirituall promotions and liuings resting in strangers hands preferred by the popes prouisions, amounted to the summe of threescore and ten thousand marks, which was more by two third parts, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

The archb. of Canturburie and the bishop of Winchester made freends.

William de Valence, and Iohn de Warren.

The value of spirituall liuings in strangers hands.

The earle of Glocester and the lord William de Valence went ouer into France in most triumphant manner, to conclude a marriage betwixt the sonne of the said earle of Glocester, and the daughter of the lord Guie of Engolesme. Which marriage the king had motioned for the affection which he bare towards the aduancement of his linage, by the mothers side. Whereat bicause they were strangers, the English nobilitie somewhat repined. And whereas like lustie yoong gentlemen they attempted a iusts and tornie to shew some proofe of their valiant stomachs, they were well beaten by the Frenchmen, that disdained to see yoong men so presumptuous, to prouoke old accustomed warriours to the triall of such martiall enterprises. About the beginning of Lent, the new moone was seene foure daies before shée ought to haue appeared by hir due and common course.

The new moone appeared before hir time.

The king by a shift got of the Londoners 1000 marks. For as it happened about the same time the youthfull citizens (for an exercise and triall of their actiuitie) had set foorth

Running at the quintine.

a game to run at the quintine, and whosoeuer did best, should haue a peacocke which they had prepared for a prise. Certeine of the kings seruants, bicause the court laie then at Westminster, came (as it were in spite of the citizens) to the game, and giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the citie and ancient priuileges which

The Londoners called Barons.

they ought to haue inioied were called barons) the said Londoners not able to beare so to be misused, fell vpon the kings seruants, and bet them shrewdlie, so that vpon complaint, the king caused the citizens to fine for their rash doings. Wherein the Londoners followed the counsell of him that in a case of strife, said

Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,
Audaces fortuna iuuat.

Moreouer, about the same time, the king vpon displeasure conceiued against the earle

The earle of Leicester resigneth his gouernment of Gascoigne.

of Leicester, had caused him to resigne his office of the wardenship of Gascoigne: and bicause the earle had it by patent, the king not able to find any iust cause of forfeiture, agréed to paie vnto him for the resignation no small portion of monie. And whereas the Gascoignes had charged the earle with too much streict handling of them, whereby they were occasioned to raise tumults, the matter was now nothing at all amended. For after

The Rioll, S. Millions, townes in Gascoignes.

the earle had resigned, they continued still in rebellion, so that the Rioll with S. Millions and other places were taken by the aduersaries out of the kings hands, and great slaughter of people made in those parts: wherefore the king minding to go thither, caused musters to be taken, and men put in a redinesse according to the custome, that he might vnderstand what number of able men furnished for the warre were to be had. He also

Knights to be made.

tooke order that euerie man that might dispend yeerlie fiftéene pounds in lands should be made knight.

Moreouer, for the better preseruation of peace and quietnesse amongst his people, he appointed watch to be kept by night in cities and borough townes. And further by the

An ordinance against robbers.

aduise of the Sauoisines, which were about him, he ordeined that if any man chanced to robbed, or by any meanes damnified by any théefe or robber, he to whom the kéeping of that countrie cheefelie apperteined where the robberie was doone, should competentlie restore the losse: and this was after the usage of Sauoy, but was thought more hard to be obserued here, than in those parts, where are not so manie bypaths and starting corners to shift out of the waie. ¶ The Gascoignes continued in their seditious doings, and namelie Gaston de Bierne, who renouncing his dutie and obedience to the king of England ioined himselfe to the king of Spaine, through his helpe to be the stronger & more able to annoie the English subiects. The euill intreating vsed towards the Gascoignes which

The cause y^t moued the Gascoignes to rebellion.

brought hither wines, in that the same were oftentimes taken from them by the kings officers, and other, without readie monie allowed for the sale, gaue occasion to them to grudge and repine against the king.

A parlement.

In the quindene of Easter a parlement began at London, in which all the states being assembled, the matter was mooued for aiding the king with some releefe of monie towards the iournie which he ment to make into the holie land: and so at length it was agréed

A tenth granted of the spiritualtie.

that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for thrée yeares space, and that escuage should be leuied for that yeare, after thrée markes of euerie

Escuage granted.

knights fée, and the king on the other part promised faithfullie to obserue and maintéine

Magna charta.

the grant of the great charter, and all the articles conteined within the same. For further assurance whereof, on the third day of Maie, in the great hall at Westminster, in the presence and by the assent of the king and the earles of Norfolke, Hereford, Oxford, Warwike, and other Noble men, by the archbishop of Canturburie as primate, and by the bishops of London, Elie, Lincolne, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Salisburie, Durham, Excester, Carliell, Bath, Rochester, and S. Dauies, reuested and apparelled in pontificalibus, with tapers, according to the maner, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all transgressors of the liberties of the church, and of the ancient liberties and customes of the

the realme of England, and namelie those which are conteined in the great charter, and in the charter of forrest.

Whilest the sentence was in reading the king held his hand vpon his breast with glad and chéererull countenance, and when in the end they threw awaie their extinct and smoking tapers, saieng, "So let them be extinguished and sinke into the pit of hell which run into the dangers of this sentence;" the king said, "So helpe me God, as I shall obserue and keepe all these things, euen as I am a christian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and annointed." But afterward when he through other counsell brake his promise therein, he was aduised by some to giue a portion of that monie which he got at this time, to the Pope, that he might of him be absolued. Godlie counsell no doubt.

Immediatlie after the breaking vp of the parlement, that is to saie, about the first of Iune, the king being earnestlie called vpon by messengers sent from the Gascoignes to prouide in time for the defense and safegard of that countrie, sith otherwise he stood in danger to loose it, with all speed he resolued to go thither; and therevpon caused summons to be giuen to all those that held of him by knights seruice, to prepare to be at Portesmouth, with horsse and armour in the octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith he made great prouision of ships, the which being assembled, and the armie likewise come togither, through lacke of conuenient wind he was inforced to stay a long time, to his great gréefe and no lesse charges. The king purposeth to go himselfe into Gascoigne.

Finallie, on the 6 of August he tooke the sea, leauing his brother the earle of Cornewall, and the quéene in charge with gouernance of the realme, and of his sonne the lord Edward. There departed with him from Portesmouth thrée hundred sailes of great ships, besides a number of other smaller vessels. And thus accompanied, he tooke his course to Gascoigne, & about our ladie day named hir Assumption, he arriued at Burdeaux, where he was of the citizens honorablie receiued. Immediatlie after his arriuall there, he caused the towne of the Rioll to be compassed about with a strong siege, within the which a great number of rebels were inclosed, which valiantlie defended the place in hope of rescue, which Gaston de Bierne that was fled to the king of Spaine had promised to procure for them. But the king of England to preuent them in that point, sent the bishop of Bath, and his trustie chapleine sir Iohn Mansell vnto the said king of Spaine, to conclude freendship and aliance with him, so that the lord Edward his eldest sonne might marrie the king of Spaine his daughter. He taketh the sea. He arriueth at Burdeaux. Ambassadors sent into Spaine.

After long treatie, by the diligence of the said ambassadors, a full conclusion followed of their motion. And whereas the king of England had giuen and assigned the dominion of Gascoigne to his said sonne the lord Edward, the king of Spaine in the instrument that conteined the couenants of the marriage, resigned and quite claimed all the right and title within Gascoigne which he had or might haue by the gift of king Henrie the second, and by confirmation of the kings, Richard and Iohn. In this meane while, the townes and castels which the rebels held, were won and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith followed a great dearth in the kings armie, so that a hen was sold for six pence sterling, a pound weight in bread was at two pence or three pence, a gallon of wine at two shillings, a coome of foure bushels of wheat at twentie shillings, so that a knight with his esquire, and coistrell with his two horsses, might scarse be competentlie found for two shillings in siluer. Wherefore the king to relieue his people there with him on that side the sea, sent the prior of Newbourgh with other into England, to cause prouision of vittels and other necessaries to be conueied and brought vnto him into Gascoigne, and so there was a great quantitie of graine and powdred flesh taken vp and sent awaie with all conuenient spéed. A marriage concluded betwixt the K. of Englands sonne & the K. of Spaines daughter. A dearth in the kings campe.

The earle of Leicester came to the king, bringing with him out of France where he had remained for a time, a faire companie of souldiers and men of warre to the kings aid, and was verie courteouslie receiued. The Gascoignes then perceiued the kings power to increase, and saw how not onelie the castels wherein they trusted to haue refuge were woone

woone and gotten out of their hands by the king of England, but also that their vines (wherein chéefiie consisted their hope of sustentation) were burned vp and destroied, they began to humble themselues, and so by little and little returned to their due obedience, after that the authors of their seditious tumults were either apprehended, or chased out of the countrie.

The Gascoigns beein to humble themselues.

This yeare died Richard Witz the bishop of Chichester, a man of great vertue and singular knowledge. Also that famous clearke Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne departed this life on the day of S. Denise in the night, at his manor of Bugdon, whose learning coupled with vertue and vprightnesse of life wan to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifest blamer of pope and king, a reproouer of prelats, a corrector of moonks, a director of preests, an instructor of clearkes, a susteinor of scholers, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of incontinent liuers, a diligent searcher of the scriptures, a contemnor and a verie mallet of such strangers as sought preferment in this realme by the popes prouisions: in housekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentifull, and in ministring spirituall food, deuout and godlie affected: in his bishoplike office diligent, reuerend, and neuer wearied: a singular example of a bishop, speciallie in those daies, and at whose life our reformed bishops may fetch light to abandon their darkenesse, and to amend that which is amisse in them, sith

The bishop of Chichester Richard Witz and Grostell b. of Lincolne depart this life.

The praise of Grosted.

Validiora sunt exempla quàm præcepta,
Et plenius docemur vita quàm verbo.

Leo papa.

Moreouer there died in Gascoigne, William de Vescie a baron of great fame in the north parts. Also in the spring and summer of this yeare was a great drought, and in the haruest season fell such wet, that great floods by the rising of the riuers, and ouerflowing their banks, did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Againe in the later end of haruest about Michaelmasse, there was eftsoones such a drought, that men could get no grinding at the milles, but were constreined to go in some places a daies iournie off, to haue their corne groond. In the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the quéene was deliuered of a daughter which was called Katherin, bicause the same was borne on saint Katherins daie.

The L. Wil. Vescie departeth this life.

Great wet.

Great drout.

An. Reg. 38.

The ladie Katherin the kings daughter borne.

On S. Lucies daie, there fell a great snowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of some euill to follow. The king to settle the state of the countrie of Gascoigne in better order, tarried there all the winter, and repared certeine decaied townes and castels. The quéene kept hir Christmasse at London, where she laie in child-bed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a roiall feast, at the which manie great lords were present, as the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Elie, the earls of Cornewall and Glocester, and manie other. She sent ouer at the same time to hir husband for a new yeers gift the summe of fiue hundred marks of hir owne reuenues, towards the maintenance of his warres. On the euen of the Circumcision of our Lord, in the night season, whilest the aire was most cleare and bright with shining starres, the moone being eight daies old, there appeared in the element the perfect forme and likenesse of a mightie great ship, which was first séene of certeine moonks of saint Albons, who remaining at saint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the starres, if it were time for them to go to mattens; but perceiuing that strange sight, they called vp such of their acquaintance as lodged néere at hand, to view the same. At length it séemed as the bourds and ioints thereof had gone in sunder, and so it vanished awaie. There followed a maruellous sore later end of a winter, through cold and ouersharpe weather, which continued till the feast of S. Gregorie in March next insuing. Also there chanced the same yeare a great murren and death of shéepe and deere, so that of whole flocks and heards scarse the one halfe escaped.

Winter thunder.

1254.

The quéenes liberalitie towards the K.

A strang sight in the aire.

Redborne.

A death of shéepe.

Whilest the king remained still in Gascoigne, he sent for his wife queene Elenor, with his eldest sonne Edward, but bicause he could not make an end of all his businesse that winter, he continued there the summer also. And forsomuch as he stood in néed of monie, to haue some reasonable pretense to demand a subsidie, in the beginning of March, he

he sent to his brother Richard the earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before cheefelie for that purpose) certeine instructions, to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by means of Alfonse the tenth of that name king of Castile, who manaced verie shortlie to inuade the confines of Gascoigne perteining to the English dominion, and therefore he required of his faithfull subiects some aid of monie, wherby he might be able to resist his aduersarie the said K. of Castile. Earle Richard did what he could to persuade the people to this paiment, but he cast his net in vaine before the face of the feathered foule, as the old prouerbe saith,

The king demandeth a subsidie.

Apparens rete fugêre volucria quæq;.

For though he set forth the matter to the vttermost in the presence of the Nobles and other estates, yet would they not heare of anie paiment to be made, as those that smelled out the feined fetch and forged tale of the kings need. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the same cause the quéene and the lord Edward were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a sight of him, as he had required, when the couenants of the marriage were accorded.

The states of the realme were twise assembled at London about the grant of this paiment, but all in vaine; so that they were constreined to passe it ouer with silence, and to surceasse in the matter to their great gréefe, and namelie the earle of Cornewall, who had taken great paines therein. Yet for that he would not returne with emptie hand, he leuied by rigorous means a great summe of the Iewes (of whom a maine multitude inhabited at that season in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henrie, shewed him how he had sped. The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with monie, insomuch that vpon euerie light occasion, he was readie to reuenge his displeasure towards them, in taking awaie such grants of priuileges and liberties as before he had made But now to auoid suspicion of his feined pretense of war betwixt him and king Alfonse, he sent his sonne Edward into Castile vnto the same Alfonse, vnder a color to compound with him for peace, wheras the verie occasion of his going thither, was to purchase him the ladie Elenor to wife, that was sister to the said king Alfonse.

The king offended with them that refused to helpe him with monie.

Edward the kings sonne is sent to the K. of Castile.

At his comming to the court of Spaine, he was verie honorablie receiued of the king, and in the end, vpon conference had of his message, obteined his suit, so that king Alfonse was content to bestow vpon him his daughter in marriage, with the countie of Pontieu in France, which she held in right of hir mother queene Ione, the second wife of Ferdinando the king of Castile, father vnto this king Alfonse, which Ione was the onelie daughter and heire of Simon earle of Pontieu, and had issue by hir husband the said Ferdinando two sonnes, Ferdinando and Lewes, with one daughter; to wit, the foresaid Elenor, the which by reason hir brethren died yoong, was heire to hir mother. The lord Edward hauing dispatched his businesse according to his desire, returned with a ioifull hart to his father, and declared to him what he had doone. His father most glad thereof, for an augmentation of honour, created him prince of Wales and earle of Chester, and appointed him to be his deputie and generall lieutenant both in Guien and in Ireland, and gaue to him the townes of Bristow, Stamford and Grantham. Hereof came it, that euer after the kings eldest sonne was made immediatlie vpon his birth prince of Wales and earle of Chester. He created also his other sonne named Edmund earle of Lancaster.

He marrieth the ladie Elenor daughter to K. Alfonso.

Ran. Higd. Polydor.

Edward the kings sonne created prince of Wales, and earle of Chester.

Matth. Paris.

Edmund the kings yoonger sonne created duke of Lancaster.

About this season were certeine ships driuen by force of wind and weather into certeine hauens on the north coasts of England towards Barwike, which ships were of a verie strange forme and fashion, but mightie and strong. The men that were aboord the same ships were of some farre countrie, for their language was vnknowne, and not vnderstandable to any man that could be brought to talke with them. The fraught and balast of the ships was armour and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, speares, bowes, arrowes, crosbowes and darts, with great store of vittels. There laie also without the hauens on the coast diuerse other.

Ships of a strange mold.

other ships of like forme, mold and fashion. Those that were driuen into the hauens were staied for a time by the bailiffes of the ports. But finallie, when it could not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart without losse or harme in bodie or goods.

Gaston de Bierne attempteth to take the citie of Baion.

About Candlemasse, Gaston de Bierne, assembling togither a multitude of the kings enimies, thorough the intelligence of some of the citizens of Baion that fauoured not the king, wrought so, that certeine of his number entred that citie, meaning to haue bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the citizins (namelie those of the meaner sort which fauoured the king) made such resistance, that the enimies which were entred, were apprehended, and diuerse of them suffered punishment, as they had well deserued.

A mutinie in the English armie.

After this, there chanced a mutinie in the English armie, bicause the kings brethren and the bishop of Hereford tooke vpon them to punish certeine Welshmen, for that without commission they had béene abrod to spoile within the French confines. Therfore in asmuch as the punishment séemed to exceed the degrée and qualitie of the offense; and againe, for that the earle of Hereford being constable of the host by inheritance ought to haue had the order of all corrections in cases of such offenses, the Englishmen were in mind to haue slaine all the Poictouins in despite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wise sought to haue appeased their furie.

A mightie storme of haile.

The wind continuing this yeare for the space of thrée moneths and od daies northerlie, did greatlie hinder the growth and increase of floures and fruits: and about the first of Iulie there fell such a storme of haile and raine, as the like had not béene seene nor heard of in those daies, breaking downe the tiles and other couerings of houses, with boughes of trées, by the violent aboundance and force of the water and hailestones, which continued aboue the space of an houre powring and beating downe incessantlie. After this, when the king had remained a whole yeare in Guien, he returned homewards through France, and comming vnto Charters, was honorablie there receiued of Lewes the French king, as then latelie returned out of the holie land, and from thence he was roiallie by the same king Lewes brought vnto Paris. The countesse of Cornewall went ouer with a noble traine of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be present at the méeting of hir two sisters, the queenes of England and France, so that the roialtie of the assemblie on ech part was great.

An. Reg. 39.
The king returneth homwards thorough France.
The countesse of Cornewall.

1255.

After that king Henrie had continued there for his pleasure certeine daies, he returned to England, landing at Douer in Christmasse weeke. This iournie into Gascoigne was verie costlie, and to small purpose (as writers haue recorded) for the kings charges amounted to the summe of 27 hundred thousand pounds and aboue, except lands and rents, which he gaue vnaduisedlie to those which little deserued, but rather sought the hinderance both of him and his realme, besides the gift of 30 thousand marks, which he bestowed vpon his halfe brethren by the mothers side, not reckoning the lands nor rents, neither yet the wards nor the horsses, nor iewels which he gaue to them besides, being of price inestimable. Thus in two iournies which he made, the one into Poictou, which countrie he lost; and the other into Gascoigne, which he hardlie preserued; he spent more treasure than a wise chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had béene set on sale (as Matthew Paris writeth) so that it might be verified in him that is meant by the old prouerbe,

Qui procul excurrit, sed nil mercatur ibidem,
Si via longa fuit, rediens tristatur hic idem.

The pope offereth ye king-dome of Sicill vnto the king of England.

Moreouer to increase the kings vaine charges, so it fell out, that pope Innocent bearing grudge towards Conrade king of Sicill, offered that kingdome (as before is partlie touched) to Richard duke of Cornewall, who refused the offer, aswell for other causes, as chieflie for that the pope would not agrée to such conditions as earle Richard thought necessarie for his assurance. Wherevpon the pope granted that kingdome vnto king Henrie, with manie goodlie promises of aid to his furtherance for atteining the possession thereof.

thereof. King Henrie ioifullie receiued that grant, and called his sonne Edmund openlie by the name of K. of Sicill, and to furnish the pope with monie for the maintenance of his war against Conrade, he got togither all such sums as he could make, aswell out of his owne coffers, and out of the excheker, as by borrowing of his brother earle Richard, and likewise what he could scrape from the Iewes, or otherwise extort by the rapine of the iustices itinerants: all which he sent to the pope, who not content herwith (when he began eftsoons to want) wrote againe to the king for more.

The K. maketh great shift for monie to send to the pope.

The king through the instinct of the diuell, to answer the popes auarice, sent him letters patents obligatorie, signed with his roiall seale, by which he might take by way of lone such summes of monie, as would largelie serue his turne of the merchants Italians, willing him not to sticke at the disbursing of treasure, nor at the great quantitie of the interest rising vpon the vsurie, for he would discharge all: and herevnto he bound himselfe vnder paine to forfeit his kingdome and other his heritages. The pope consenting herevnto, accepted this large offer. If he did well herein (saith Matthew Paris) the Lord the iudge of all iudges iudge it, to whom apperteineth the care of all things. To conclude, much monie was spent, for the pope spared not the king of Englands pursse, though little good was doone therewith. At length Conrade died, not without suspicion of poison. The pope being aduertised of his death, reioised greatlie, as he well vttered in plaine words, saieng; "Let vs all that be the children of the Romish church reioise, for now two of our greatest enimies are dispatched out of the waie; the one a spirituall man, that is to saie, Robert bishop of Lincolne; and the other a laie-man, that is Conrade king of Sicill." But yet the pope missed of his purpose, for Manfred the bastard sonne of the emperour Frederike the second, was shortlie after proclaimed king of Sicill, and so the second errour was greater than the first.

He sendeth to the pope a warant to take vp monie.

Matth. Paris.

The pope is liberall of an others mans pursse.

Manfred proclaimed king of Sicill.

About the quindene of Easter, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which were assembled all the states of the realme in greater number than had beene commonlie seene. This parlement was chéefelie called, to let them vnderstand the kings necessitie of monie for discharging of his debts, and to require them of their aid towards the same. But whereas he requested more than was thought stood with reason, they would not agrée therevnto, but desired that he would confirme, and without all cauillation sweare to obserue the liberties which by the charter he had promised to hold. Moreouer they required, that by the common councell of the realme they might choose to them the cheefe iustice, the chancellour and treasuror, but they were answered plainelie by some of the priuie councell, that this request would at no hand be granted.

A parlement.

The states refuse to grant a subsidie.

Furthermore, the prelats complained, that they were driuen to paie the tenths which they promised conditionallie, as it were now by constreint and of dutie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the church. The Nobles also found themselues gréeued for the exactions which they saw at hand, but finallie, after manie things had beene debated touching these matters, the parlement was adiourned till Michaelmas next, and euerie man departed to his home, with no great trust of the kings good will towards them, nor anie hartie thanks receiued of him for their paines, as may be thought by that which writers haue recorded. Two Noble men, to whom the custodie and guiding of the king and quéene of Scots was committed, that is to say, Robert de Ros, and Iohn de Bailioll, were accused, for misusing themselues in the trust and charge which they had taken vpon them. King Henrie was the same time at Notingham. The information came foorth by a physician, who was sent from the queene of England, vnto hir daughter the quéene of Scots, to be about hir for gard of hir health, but bicause the same physician (whose name was Reignold of Bath) perceiued the quéene of Scots to be impaired in health through anguish of mind, by reason of the misdemeanor of such as had the gouernement of hir and hir husband, he sticked not to blame and reprooue them in their dooings, for the which he was poisoned, as some thinke: for the truth was, he shortlie after sickened and died, signifieng vpon his death-bed vnto the quéene of England what he misliked and thought amisse

The parlemẽt adiourned.

Rob. de Ros & Iohn Bailioll accused.

Reignold de Bath a physician.

amisse in those that had the dooings about hir daughter and hir husband the Scotish king.

An eclipse. The moone suffered a maruellous eclipse on the night following the day of S. Margaret in Iulie. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres. The king in the behalfe of his daughter the queene of Scots raised a power, and drew northwards, sending before

The earle of Glocester & Iohn Mansell sent into Scotland. him the earle of Glocester, and Iohn Mansell that was his chapleine and one of his councell. These two so vsed the matter, that they came to Edenburgh, where the king and queene of Scots then laie in the castell, into the which they entred, and altered the order of the houshold, so as stood with the contentation of the king and queene, which were in such wise vsed before that time, that they were not suffered to lie togither, nor scarse come to talke togither.

Robert de Ros summoned to appeare. Robert de Ros was summoned to appeare before the king of England, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. At the first he withdrew himselfe, but afterwards he came in, and submitted himselfe to the kings pleasure. Diuerse of the nobles of Scotland tooke it not well, that the earle of Glocester and Iohn Mansell should thus come into the castell of Edenburgh, and order things in the kings house in such sort at their pleasure: wherevpon they assembled a power, and besieged the castell, but at length perceiuing their owne error, they raised their siege and departed. Iohn de Bailioll being accused of the like crime that was laid to the charge of his fellow Robert de Ros, for a peece of monie bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lands of Robert de Ros were seized into the kings hands. Finallie, the king and queene of England came to an enteruiew with the king of Scots and the quéene their daughter, and setting all things with them in such order as was thought conuenient, they returned towards the south parts.

A shift to get monie of the bishops deuised by the bish. of Hereford. In the meane season, the bishop of Hereford deuised a shift to helpe the K. with monie, towards the paiments of his debts, by obteining certeine autentike seales of the prelats of this land, wherewith he signed certeine instruments and writings, wherein was expressed, that he had receiued diuerse summes of monie for dispatch of businesse perteining to them and to their churches, of this and that merchant of Florence or Siena, whereby they stood bound for repaiment thereof by the same instruments and writings so made by him their agent in their names. This shift was deuised by the said bishop of Hereford, with licence obteined therevnto of the king, and also of the pope, vnto whome for the same intent the said bishop was sent, with sir Robert Walerane knight. The pope was the sooner persuaded to grant licence for the contriuing of such manner of shift, bicause the monie should go to the discharging of the kings debts, into the which he was run, by bearing the charges of the warres against the king of Sicill.

A parlement. About the feast of saint Edward, the parlement began againe at London, in which the states treated of a subsidie to be granted to the king, but they could not conclude thereof, neither would Richard earle of Cornewall disburse anie monie at that season to his

Richard earle of Cornewall standeth against his brother for the grant of a subsidie. brother the king, bicause he allowed not the maner of laieng it out for the warres against Manfred, being taken in hand without his consent. The same yeare, the king by the procurement of his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, had seized the liberties of the

The liberties of London seized into the kings hands. citie of London into his owne hands, vnder colour that the maior had not doone his dutie in the iust punishing of bakers for breaking of the assises of their bread. Hereypon, where the maior and communaltie of the citie had by the kings grant the citie to farme, with diuerse customes and offices, at a certeine rate and stinted summe of monie; now the king set officers therein at his pleasure, which were accomptable to him for all the reuenues and profits that grew within the citie.

But whereas the malice which the earle of Cornewall bare to the citie, was, for that they would not exchange with him certeine grounds that belonged to their communaltie, they were glad to agree with him, and paie vnto him six hundred marks. After which agréement concluded, about the nintéenth daie of Nouember, they were shortlie after restored to their liberties. This chanced before the kings comming ouer, who at his comming to London,

London, lodged in the tower, and vpon new displeasure conceiued against the citie for the escape of a prisoner (being a clearke conuict) out of Newgate, which had killed a prior, that was of aliance to the king, as cousine to the queene, the king sent for the maior and the shirifs to come before him to answer the matter. The maior laid the fault from him to the shiriffes, for so much as to them belonged the keeping of all the prisoners within the citie: and so the maior returned home againe, but the shiriffes remained there as prisoners by the space of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excused themselues, in that the fault cheefelie rested in the bishops officers: for whereas the prisoner was vnder his custodie, they at his request had granted him licence to imprison the offendor within their ward of Newgate, but so as his officers were charged to see him safe kept. The king notwithstanding demanded of the citie three thousand marks for a fine.

The shiriffes of London imprisoned.

Moreouer, whereas he stood in great need of monie, he required by way of a tallage eight thousand marks of the Iewes, charging them on paine of hanging, not to deferre that paiment. The Iewes sore impouerished with greeuous and often paiments excused themselues by the popes vsurers, and reproued plainelie the kings excessiue taking of monie, as well of his christian subiects as of them. The king on the other side, to let it be knowne that he taxed not his people without iust occasion, and vpon necessitie that droue him thereto, confessed openlie, that he was indebted by his bonds obligatorie, in three hundred thousand marks: and againe, the yearelie reuenues assigned to his sonne prince Edward, arose to the summe of fifteene thousand marks and aboue, where the reuenues that belonged vnto the crowne were greatlie diminished, in such wise, that without the aid of his subiects, he should neuer be able to come out of debt. To be short, when he had fleeced the Iewes to the quicke, he set them to farme vnto his brother earle Richard, that he might pull off skin and all; but yet considering their pouertie, he spared them, and neuerthelesse, to relieue his brothers necessitie, vpon a pawne he lent him an huge masse of monie. These shifts did the king vse from time to time, not caring with what exactions and impositions he burthened the inhabitants of his land, whereby he procured vnto himselfe the name of an oppressor and couetous scraper. But what woonder is it in a king, sith

The king demandeth monie of the Iewes.

The kings debt 300000 marks.

The earle of Cornewall lendeth the king monie.

Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem? *Hor. lib. 2. serm.*

About the same time, Lewes the French king sent vnto king Henrie for a present an elephant, a beast most strange and woonderfull to the English people, sith most seldome or neuer any of that kind had beene seene in England before that time. The French queene also sent for a present vnto the king of England an ewer of pearle like to a peacocke in forme and fashion, garnished most richlie with gold, siluer, and saphires to furnish him foorth in all points of fine and cunning workemanship, to the verie resemblance of a liuing peacocke. ¶ Manie woonders chanced about this time. The sea rose with most high tides, riuers were so filled with abundance of water, by reason of the great continuall raine, that maruellous flouds followed therevpon. A comet also appeared, and manie high buildings were striken by force of tempests. The death of Walter archbishop of Yorke followed these prodigious wonders, who had gouerned that see the space of fortie yeares. After him succeeded one Seuall the 34 archbishop of that citie.

An elephant sent to the K.

An ewer of pearle, peradventure an agat.

Strange woonders.

High tides.

A comet.

The decease of Walter archbishop of Yorke.

About the feast of S. Etheldred, the ladie Elianor wife of prince Edward the kings son, came to London, where she was honorablie receiued of the citizens, & conueied through the citie to S. Iones without Smithfield, and there lodged for a season, and yer long she remooued to the Sauoy. It was not long after, that the king seized the liberties of the citie of London into his hands, for certeine monie which the queene claimed as due to hir of a certeine right to be paid by the citizens, so that about the feast of S. Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the king foure hundred marks, and then had their liberties to them againe restored, and the kings vnder-treasuror discharged, which for the time was made custos or keeper of the citie.

Elianor the wife of prince Edward cometh to the citie.

The liberties of the citie restored to the Londoners.

About the same time came another legat from the pope, namelie, one Ruscand a Gascoigne,

A legat from the pope named Ruscand a Gascoigne.

eoigne borne, to whom, with the archb. of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford, the pope had granted authoritie to collect and gather the tenths of the spiritualtie within England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vse of the pope and the king, notwithstanding all priuiledges, for what cause or vnder what forme of words so euer the same had passed.

Tenths gathered for the pope.

This Ruscand also absolued the king of his vow made to go into the holie land, to the end he might go against Manfred king of Sicill. He also preached the crosse against the same Manfred, promising all those remission of their sins which should go to war against Manfred, as well as if they should go into the holie land, to warre against Gods enimies there, whereat faithfull men much maruelled, that he should promise as great méed for the shedding of christian bloud, as the bloud of infidels.

The crosse preached against Manfred.

The craftie and slie fetches which were vsed in this season by this Ruscand, the bishop of Hereford, and other their complices, to get monie of the prelats and gouernors of mònasteries within this realme, were wonderfull, & verie greeuous to those that felt themselues oppressed therewith; and namelie, for the debt which the said bishop of Hereford had charged them with, they being not priuie to the receipt, nor hauing any benefit thereby. Ruscand called a councell at London, & propounded great causes why the prelats ought to aid the pope, and sò therevpon demanded great summes of monie. Amongst other summes, he demanded six hundred marks of the house of S. Albons.

A councell called at London by the legat.

Matth. Paris.

To conclude, his demands were estéemed vnreasonable, so that the bishops and abbats were in a maruellous perplexitie, perceiuing into what miserable state by reason of immoderate exactions the church of England was brought. The bishop of London sticked not to saie, that he would rather lose his head, than consent that the church should be brought to such seruitude as the legat went about to inforce. And the bishop of Worcester openlie protested, that he would sooner suffer himselfe to be hanged, than to sée the church subiect to such oppression by their examples. Other also taking a boldnesse vnto them, affirmed, that they would follow the steps of Thomas sometime archbishop of Canturburie, which for the liberties of the church suffered himselfe to haue his braines cut out of his head. Yet were those prelats euill troubled, for the king was against them on the one side, and the pope gaping after monie was become their vtter enimie on the other: neither were the Noble men much mooued with pitie towards the church their mother (as the terme then went) now thus in miserie.

The churchmen being pinched by their pursses, fret and fume against the popes procéedings in that behalfe.

The bishops would rather become martyrs, than lose their monie.

Finallie, the prelats appealed from Ruscand, vnto the popes presence, and would not obeie the wilfull and violent oppressions of the same Ruscand, so that much adoo there was, and a great complaint made to the king by Ruscand, of the stubborne disobedience of the prelats, and namelie of the bishop of London. The king was in a great chafe with him, and threatned that he would cause the pope to punish him according to that he well deserued: but the bishop answered thereto; "Let the pope and king (saith he) which are stronger than I am, take from me my bishoprike, which by law yet they cannot doo: let them take awaie my miter, yet an helmet shall remaine."

Ruscand cõplaineth to the king of the frowardnesse of the prelats.

The bishop of London his saiengs.

An. Reg. 40.

This yeare after S. Lukes daie, the king assembled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and thither came the bishop of Bologna la grasse, from the pope, bringing with him a ring, with the which he inuested Edmund the kings sonne king of Sicill and Naples. About the same time, the burgesse of Darbie obteined of the king for a summe of monie to haue the iustices itinerants to hold their assises at Darbie for the countie of Darbie, and likewise the shiriffes to kéepe their tournies there, and not at Nothingham, as before they had beene accustomed for both the shires. But now to returne to the bishops.

Edmund the kings sonne inuested king of Sicill and Naples.

Chro. Dun.

In the meane time, the bishop of Hereford and Ruscand sought to set variance and discord amongst the English prelats, whereby being diuided in parts, and not consenting togither, they should be lesse able to giue true information to the pope, how the verie truth rested. But finallie, bicause the archbishop of Canturburie was in the parts beyond the sea, and for that also the sée of Yorke was vacant, and diuerse bishops were absent, the councell was proroged till the feast of S. Hilarie, and so they departed euerie man

The councell proroged.

man to his home in a maruellous doubt what waie were best for them to take, sith they saw themselues in great distresse, if Ruscand did suspend or excommunicate any of them either iustlie or otherwise. For sure they were, that the king as a lion lieng in wait whome he might deuoure (to get monie) after fortie daies were past, if they submitted not themselues, would spoile them of all their goods as forfeited. So that the pope and the king seemed as though the sheepheard and woolfe had béene confederate togither to the destruction of the poore flocke of shéepe, threatning euerie mans vndooing, to their owne inriching: and not ceasing, till with fulnesse they were forced to fall from the flesh, much like bloudsucking horsleeches, of whose nature it is notablie noted, that

The K. lieth in wait for mens goods.

Non missura prius carnem, quàm plena cruoris,
Quando hæret teneræ mollis hirudo cuti:
Sic ignara dolis emungitur ære caterua,
Imbelles populi quid nisi præda manent?

Thus by reason of couetous greedinesse to get monie for the furnishing of the popes warres against Manfred king of Sicill, both the pope and the king of England ran in slander and hatred of the English nation, namelie, of the spiritualtie, so that such as recorded the acts and doings of that time, spared not to make manifest to the world by their writings, how iniuriouslie they were handled, blaming the practises of the court of Rome in plaine terms, and affirming that the pope had power in those things which worke to edification, and not to destruction. About this season, Iohn lord Grey, being one of the chéefe councellors to the king, a right honourable knight, and for his good demeanor and high valiancie greatly commended of all, withdrew himselfe from the court, either by reason of age that desireth rest, or rather (as was thought) for that he doubted to beare blame for such errors as were dailie committed by them that bare rule about the king, which could not but bring the authors into great infamie at length, and therefore was he loth to be partaker with them of such slander as might haue redounded to him also, if he had still continued and taried amongst them.

Matth. Paris.

The Lord Gray forsaketh the court.

Also, vpon the two and twentith of November, were brought vnto Westminster a hundred and two Iews from Lincolne, that were accused for the crucifieng of a child in the last summer, in despight of Christes religion. They were vpon their examination sent to the towre. The child which they had so crucified was named Hugh, about an eight yeares of age. They kept him ten daies after they got him into their hands, sending in the meane time vnto diuerse other places of the realme, for other of their nation to be present at the crucifieng of him. The murther came out, by the diligent search made by the mother of the child, who found his bodie in a well, on the backe side of the Iews house, where he was crucified: for she had learned, that hir sonne was lastlie seene plaieng with certeine Iews children of like age to him, before the dore of the same Iew. The Iew that was owner of the house, was apprehended, and being brought before sir Iohn de Lexinton, vpon promise of pardon, confessed the whole matter. For they vsed yearelie (if they could come by their preie) to crucifie one christian child or other. The king vpon knowledge had hereof, would not pardon this Iew that had so confessed the matter, but caused him to be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place where he should die, opened more matter concerning such as were of counsell and present at the crucifieng of the poore innocent. Wherevpon at length also eightéene of them that were so brought to London, were conuinced, adiudged and hanged, the other remained long in prison.

Iewes accused & executed for crucifieng a child at Lincolne named Hugh.

Eightéene Iews hanged.

When the feast of saint Hilarie was come, the cleargie met againe at London, and fell to intreat of their former businesse, at what time one maister Leonard alias Reignold that was chosen prolocutor for all the prelats, amongst other answers made to the legat Ruscand, when the same Ruscand alledged that all churches were the popes; "Truth it is," said Leonard, "to defend, and not to vse and appropriate them to serue his owne turne; as we saie, that all is the princes, meaning that all is his to defend, and not to spoile: and

1256.

The prolocutors answer to the popes legat.

and such was the intent of the founders." Ruscand sore offended herewith, said, he would that euerie man should speake afterwards for himselfe, that as well the pope as the king might vnderstand what euerie man said in their businesse and matters. The prelats were striken in a dumpe herewith, for they perceiued how the matter went: they appealed yet against the demands that were made by Ruscand, who would not change a word of that he had written, in which was conteined, that the prelats had acknowledged themselues to haue borrowed of the merchant strangers, no small summes of monie, and the same to be conuerted to the vse of their churches, which was most vntrue as all men well vnderstood: wherevpon the prelats affirmed, and not without reasonable cause, that there was a greater occasion in this cause of martyrdome, than in that of Thomas sometime archbishop of Canturburie.

The prelats appeale.

Make the cause of martyrdome.

Ruscand at length, perceiuing their manner, became somewhat more mild, and promised that he would talke with the pope of this matter. But first there was sent to Rome the deane of Pauls in London, and certeine others, as attornies or agents for the whole cleargie of England. These sped so in their suit, that the pope tooke order that if the prelats paid the monie by force of the contriued writings, whereby they stood bound for them, their houses, and churches; then, to ease their burthen, they might reteine in their hands such parcell of tenths as they ought to paie to the king, for furnishing of his wars against the Saracens, amounting to the summe which they should be constreined to paie for the bonds made to the merchants, by the bishop of Hereford (as before is recited.)

The deane of saint Paules sent to Rome on the behalfe of the prelats.

In this season the deuotion, which manie had conceiued of the pope and the church of Rome, began to wax cold, reputing the vertue which he shewed at his entring into the the papasie, to be rather a colourable hypocrisie, than otherwise, sith his proceedings answered not to his good beginnings: for as it was manifest, where sutors brought their complaints into the court of Rome, such sped best as gaue most bribes, and the two priors of Winchester, the one expelled, and the other got in by intrusion, could well witnesse the same: and all the world knoweth that the viperous generation of Romanists, reckoning from the ringleader to the simplest shaueling, haue made gaine the scope of their holinesse, and as it is truelie said,

Mens deuotion towards the pope waxeth cold.

Antith. de prec. Christi, &c.

Quæ libet arripiunt, lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet, imponunt, hos scelus omne iuuat:
Accipiunt quoduis, si non sonat ære crumena,
Siue siligo adsit, sordida siue pecus, &c.

The b. of Salisburie departeth this life.

This yeare died William of Yorke bishop of Salisburie, which had beene brought vp in the court, euen from his youth. This bishop first caused that custome to be receiued for a law, whereby the tenants of euerie lordship are bound to owe their suit to the lords court, of whom they hold their tenements.

Suit of court when it was first receiued for a law.

In the feast of Easter this yeare, the king adorned Magnus king of Man, with the order of knighthood, and bestowed vpon him great gifts and honors. ¶ The countesse of Warren Auesia or Atesia (as some bookes haue) sister to the king by his mother, departed this life in hir flourishing youth, vnto the great griefe of hir brother, but speciallie of hir husband Iohn earle of Waren that loued hir intierlie. ¶ About the midst of Maie, the Iewes that were in the towre, and in other prisons for the murther of the child at Lincolne, and had beene indited by an inquest vpon the confession of him that had suffered at Lincolne, were now dismissed and set at libertie, to the number of foure and thirtie of them. ¶ In Whitsuntide was holden a great iusts at Blie, where the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne first began to shew proofe of his chiualrie. There were diuerse ouerthrowen and hurt, and amongst other William de Longspee was so brused, that he could neuer after recouer his former strength.

Matth. Paris. Magnus king of Man.

A proclamation for knighthood.

The king caused a proclamation to be set foorth, that all such as might dispend fifteene pounds in lands, should receiue the order of knighthood; and those that would not or could not, should paie their fines. This yeare, three daies after the feast of S. Ciricus,

a maruellous sore tempest of wind, raine, haile, and thunder chanced, that did excéeding much hurt. Mill-whéeles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the wind-milles were no lesse tormented with the rage of wind. Arches of bridges, stackes of haie, houses that stood by water sides, and children in cradels were borne awaie, that both woonderfull and no lesse pitifull it was to see. At Bedford the riuer of Ouse bare downe six houses togither, and did vnspeakeable hurt thereabouts. A sore tempest of wind and raine.

Alexander the third king of Scots with his wife quéene Margaret, came about the beginning of August into England, and found the king at his manor of Woodstoke, where he solaced him a season, and had the lands of the earle of Huntington restored vnto him, which his grandfather king William in his time lost and forfeited. Here he did homage to king Henrie. Upon the daie of the decollation of S. Iohn, the two kings with their quéenes came to London, where they were honorablie receiued, and so conueied vnto Westminster. On the day of S. Augustine the bishop, being the eight and twentith of August, Iohn Mansell the kings chapleine besought the two kings, and other states, to dine with him on the morrow following, which they granted, and so he made a maruellous great dinner. There were seuen hundred messes serued vp, but the multitude of ghests was such, that scarse the same sufficed; his house was not able to receiue them all, and therefore he caused tents and booths to be set vp for them. The like dinner had not béene made by any chapleine before that time. All those that came were worthilie receiued, feasted and interteined, in such sort, as euerie man was satisfied. The king of Scots commeth into England. Iohn Mansell feasted the two kings.

About foure daies before the feast of S. Edward, K. Henrie came into the excheker himselfe, & there deuised order for the appearance of shiriffes, and bringing in of their accompts. At the same time also, there was fiue marks set on euerie shiriffes head for a fine, bicause they had not distreined euerie person that might dispend 15 pounds land, to receiue the order of knighthood, as was to the same shiriffes commanded. The king of Scots, after he had remained a while with the king of England, returned backe into Scotland, and left his wife behind with hir mother till she should be brought to bed, for she was as then great with child. Orders deuised for the appearance of shiriffes. The shiriffes fined. The king of Scots returneth into his countrie.

In the 41 yeare of the reigne of king Henrie, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall was elected emperour, by one part of the Coruosters: and diuerse lords of Almaine comming ouer into this land (vpon the daie of the innocents in Christmasse) presented vnto him letters from the archbishop of Colen, and other great lords of Almaine, testifieng their consents in the choosing of him to be emperour, and withall, that it might stand with his pleasure to accept that honor. Finallie, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, he consented therevnto: whervpon the lords that came with the message, being right glad of their answer, returned with all spéed to signifie the same vnto those from whom they had béene sent. The treasure of this earle Richard now elected king of Almaine, was esteemed to amount vnto such a summe, that he might dispend euerie day a hundred marks, for the terme of ten yeares togither, not reckoning at all the reuenues which dailie accrewed to him of his rents in Almaine and England. An. Reg. 41. Richard earle of Cornewall elected emperour. 1257. The great treasure of Richard king of Almaine.

In this meane time the vnquiet Welshmen, after the death of their prince Dauid, chose in his stéed one Leolin, that was son to the same Griffin that brake his necke as he would haue escaped out of the towre of London; and herewith they began a new rebellion, either driuing out such Englishmen as laie there in garisons within the castels and fortresses, or else entring into the same by some traitorous practise, they slue those which they found within them, to the great displeasure of their souereigne lord Edward the kings eldest sonne, who coueting to be reuenged of their rebellious enterprises, could not bring his purpose to passe, by reason of the vnseasonable weather and continuall raine which fell that winter, so raising the waters & setting the marishes on flouds, that he could not passe with his armie. The Welshmen choose them a gouernour, and rebell against the king.

Moreouer, his father the king wanted monie and treasure to furnish him withall, howbeit prince Edward borrowed of his vncle erle Richard four thousand marks towards the maintenance The king wanteth monie.

maintenance of that war. The rebellion of the Welshmen speciallie rose by the hard dealing of sir Geffrey de Langlie knight, the kings collector amongst them, who handled them so streightlie, that in defense of their countrie, lawes, and liberties (as they pretended) they put on armour. They tooke and destroied the lands and possessions which were great and large, of Griffin Brunet, being fled for safegard of his life vnto the king of England. There were of those Welsh rebels at the point of twentie thousand men, and of them ten thousand were horssemen, the which perceiuing the season to make for their purpose, defended themselues so manfullie, that they droue backe prince Edward and his armie, & so continuing the wars, did much hurt to the English marishes. Their power so increased, that at length they diuided the same in two equall parts, the better to recouer vittels, and in either armie there were estéemed thirtie thousand armed men, after the maner of their countrie, of the which there were fiue hundred men of armes in either host, with barded horsses all couered in iron. Thus being of such puissance, they did much mischéefe to the Englishmen that inhabited on the marshes, neither were the lords marchers able to resist them, although the earle of Glocester aided the same lords all that he might.

Sir Geffrey de Langlies hard dealing, cause of the Welshmens rebellion.

Matth. Paris.

The number of the Welsh enimies.

The Welshmen diuide their power into two parts.

Nic. Trenet.

Stephan Bauzan, aliàs Bauçan.

King Henrie being hereof aduertised, sent with all spéed Stephan Bauzan, a man skilful in feats of warre, with a great number of soldiers into Wales, against the rebels who comming into that countrie, and entring into the lands of a Welsh lord named Rise Vaughan, was intrapt by such ambushments as his enimies laid for him, and thereby was slaine with the more part of his armie. This ouerthrowe chanced by the treason of Griffin de Brunet, who at that present reuolting from the English side to his countrimen, instructed them in all things, how they might vanquish their enimies. At that time, Northwales and Southwales ioined in league and fréendlie amitie togither, which commonlie was not séene in those daies, they being for the more part at variance, the one rather séeking still how to indamage the other: but now in defense of their liberties (as they pretended) they agreed in one.

Englishmen ouerthrowne.

Northwales and Southwales ioined togither in league.

The king sore mooued herewith, determined to go himselfe into Wales, that he might take worthie punishment of those his aduersaries, that could neuer be sufficientlie chastised. Wherevpon raising a great power, he hasted foorth, and comming into Wales, put the rebels in such feare, that they withdrew to their accustomed places of refuge, I meane the woods and mareshes. The king would faine haue had them foorth, that he might haue punished them according to their deserts, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he sent for an armie of soldiers into Ireland, and tarried for their comming at the castell of Brecknoke, but the yeare was farre spent yer his people could be gathered, so that by the aduise of his lords he strengthened certeine castels, and so returned for that yeare into England, leauing the lord Roger Mortimer his lieutenant in Wales, to resist the rebels. But now let vs speake of other dooings which chanced in the meane while that the warres thus continued and lasted betwixt England and Wales.

The king passeth himselfe in person into Wales.

The lord Mortimer the kings lieutenant in Wales.

Polydor.

A legat from Rome.

Matth. Paris.

Yée shall vnderstand, that in the Lent season, the archbishop of Messina came as legat from the pope hither into England, with letters of procuration, to demand and receiue, and also with power, to punish such as should denie and séeme to resist, and so being here arriued with a great traine of seruants and horses, he sent foorth his commandements in writing to euerie prelat, to prouide him monie by way of proxie so that of the house of S. Albons, and of the celles that belonged therevnto, he had one and twentie marks, and when the moonks of S. Albons came to visit him in his house, they could not be permitted to depart, but were kept as prisoners, till they had satisfied his couetous demand: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any monie with them, he asked them whie they were such beggers, and further said, "Send yée then to some merchant, that will lend you monie," and so it was doone: for otherwise they might not haue libertie to depart. This archbishop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (saith Matthew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie. About the same time,

A new order of Friers.

there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not knowen till those daies, hauing yet the popes autentike bulles, which they openlie shewed, so that there seemed a confusion of manie orders, as the same Matthew Paris recordeth, and bicause they were apparelled in sackecloth, they were called sacked Friers.

About the middest of Lent, there was a great parlement holden, to the which the maisters of the Vniuersitie of Oxford were summoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them and the bishop of Lincolne, which had them in suit about their liberties. There came to the same parlement, the earle of Glocester, and sir Iohn Mansell, latelie returned out of Almaine, where they had béene on ambassage from Richard the elect king of Almaine. Thither came also the same elect king of Almaine, and almost all the Nobilitie of the realme, so that scarse might the citie of London receiue the number that repaired to that parlement. The king of Almaine meant to take his leaue at that time of the lords and péeres of the realme, purposing shortlie after, to take his iournie towards Almaine, and to ordeine the bishop of London gouernor of all his lands and possessions within England. A parlement. *Matth. Paris.*

In this parlement, the lord Edmund the kings yoonger sonne was shewed as king of Naples and Sicill, for the obteining of the possession of which dominions and kingdoms, his father king Henrie demanded no small subsidie and aid of monie, both of the temporaltie and also of the spiritualtie, but namlie, he required to haue the tenths of spirituall mens liuings for the terme of fiue yeares, according to the new taxations without any deductions to be allowed except necessarie expenses: also, the fruits for one yeare of benefices that chanced to fall void within the said terme of fiue yeare. Moreouer, sundrie other duties he required to haue of the spirituall men, sore to their gréeuance, and speciallie, bicause they knew that such tyrannie first tooke beginning from the pope. In the end (though loth they were to consent) yet conditionallie that the king would confirme the liberties conteined in the great charter, and obserue the same throughlie, now after it had béene so manie times brought out and redéemed, they offered to giue him towards his instant necessitie two and fiftie thousand marks, to the irrecouerable danger of impouerishing the church. And yet, as it is said, the king refused the gift, as that which he thought not to be sufficient. The lord Edmund the kings sonne. A subsidie demanded. The offer of ye spiritualtie.

¶ Truelie it should séeme, that there was a great vntowardlie disposition in the subiects of that time, for the helping of their king with necessarie aid of monie, towards such great charges as he had béene diuers waies occasioned to be at, since his first comming to the crowne. But bicause it was perceiued that he bestowed no small quantitie of his treasure to the aduancing of his kinsfolke and aliance, namelie strangers, and againe defraied great summes in vaine hope to obteine the kingdoms of both the Sicils which the pope offered to him fréelie inough in words, as before yee haue heard, the English subiects conceiued a great misliking of the whole gouernement, and namelie, for that he séemed to be led and ruled by the aduise and counsell of those strangers, who being not throughlie acquainted with the nature of the English people, nor fullie instructed in the lawes and customes of the realme, caused him to doo manie things, that procured both to him and them much ill will; as well of the hie states as of the commons, which as occasion serued, they were readie inough to discouer, and therefore they were verie inquisitiue, both to learne what he receiued, and also in what sort he bestowed that which he did receiue and take.

It was therefore knowne, that since he first began to waste his treasure, his charges amounted vnto the summe of 950000 marks, as the bookes of accompts remaining in the hands of the clearks of his closet plainelie witnessed, and yet of all those vaine expenses no great aduantage was growne thereby to the king or realme, but rather disaduantage, as the most part of men then tooke it, and no maruell: for there was such hart-burning amongst the nobilitie, one enuieng an others aduancement, & repining at each others doings, that it was not possible to bring any good drift forward amongst men so far at

ods togither. But we will let this passe as a thing manifest inough to them that shall well consider the course of that time, and will returne to the parlement aboue mentioned.

The archbish. of Cullen and other ambassadors of Almaine.

Before the end of this solemne assemblie of states, the archbishop of Cullen with a duke, & an other bishop came ouer out of Almaine, vnto their elect king Richard, to whome they did fealtie and homage, as to their souereigne liege lord and gouernor, which thing once doone, he gaue to the said archbishop fiue hundred marks to beare his charges, with a rich miter set with stones, & furnished with plates of beaten gold; which miter when the archbishop had set it vpon his head; "He hath (saith he) giuen a rich gift to me and to my church, and verelie, euen as I haue put this miter on my head, so will I set on his head the crowne of the kingdome of Almaine; he hath mitered me, and I will crowne him." The other lords of Almaine, which at the same time did homage vnto earle Richard, were also presented with great and rich gifts.

Six archbish. present at London in time of the parlement.

Héere is further to be noted, that there were present at this parlement six archbishops, Canturburie, Yorke, Dubline, Messina, Tarento and Cullen. The archbishop of Messina was come to the king to set him on dotage for the businesse about the conquest of Naples and Sicill. At the feast of Ester next following, the archbishop of Cullen returned into his countrie, and the third day after Easter, the elect king of Almaine tooke his leaue, and departed toward Yarmouth, where he purposed to take the sea, to saile ouer into Almaine, but by reason of contrarie winds he was driuen to remaine there a long time, to his great gréefe and inestimable charges before he could passe ouer; yet finallie, about the latter end of Aprill, he got foorth to the sea, and landed at Dordreigh the first of Maie next insuing.

The elect K. of Almaine taketh his leaue of the king his brother.

He landeth at Dordreigh.

A synod.

About the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie called a synod of the bishops and abbats inhabiting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace of the Holie-ghost, they might foresee some redresse for reléefe of the English church, now in these late yeares sore disquieted by new oppressions, more gréeuous than had béene accustomed: for the king by counsell, or rather by the whispering of some flatterers and enimies to the realme, was so induced, that he permitted certeine euill customs, as thornie brembles to increase in the fruitfull garden of pleasure, and to choke vp the trees that brought foorth fruit in great plentie. Moreouer in this yeare, king Henrie caused the walles of the citie of London, which were sore decaied and destitute of turrets, to be repared in more seemelie wise than before they had béene, at the common charges of the citie.

Matth. Paris.

A decrée made by the pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the pope and his cardinals (which verie diligentlie foresaw to aduance their temporall commodities, not much passing for other mens aduantages) that euerie one which should be chosen an exempt abbat, should come to the court of Rome to be there confirmed, and receiue the popes blessing, by which heinous ordinance, religion was laid open to great danger, and the church depriued of temporall prosperitie (as saith Matthew Paris) for by this means (saith he) it was needfull for religious men, to choose to their gouernour a man not religious, but rather halfe temporall, and such a one as to whome rather Iustinians lawes than Christes which conuerteth soules should be familiar. The moonks of Durham, who onlie with the canons of Gisborne resisted the wicked procéedings of the popes exactors, and stood therefore interdicted a long time, at length, after manie altercations, were absolued. Oh (saith Matth. Paris) if in that their tribulation they might haue had fellows, and in their constant doings aidors, how happilie had the church of England triumphed ouer hir tormentors and oppressors!

Matth. Paris.

The moonks of Durham that were excōmunicated are now absolued.

Matth. Paris.

You haue heard how Richard earle of Cornewall being elected king of Almaine, sailed thither, where on the Ascension day last, he was crowned king by the archbishop of Cullen, of whom, and diuerse other great princes of Germanie he was holden for their lawfull king and gouernour (as in the Dutch histories you may find more largelie expressed) though other of them had chosen Alfonse king of Castile, the which Alfonse wrote to the king of England, as his confederate and alie, requiring aid of him against the said Richard that

that was his owne brother, to the which vnreasonable request the king would in no wise consent.

Moreouer, in this fortie one yeare of king Henries reigne, by reason of a roll closed in greene wax and found in the kings Wardrobe at Windsor, conteining as it were an information against the maior and shiriffes of London, for oppression and wrongs doone to the communaltie of the citie, the king tooke great displeasure, and caused streit inquisition to be made, as well by Fouke Moots, as Ward Moots, & diuerse other means. At length, the maior and shiriffes, with the chamberlaine of the citie, were discharged by Iohn Mansell, one of the kings iustices, afore whom and other the kings councell, the inquisition was taken, and then was the custodie of the citie assigned vnto the constable of the tower, and in place of the shiriffes were appointed Michaell Tonie, and Iohn Audrian. At length, the maior, shiriffes and Aldermen that were accused, perceiuing the kings displeasure towards them, submitted themselues wholie to his mercie, sauing to them and to all other the citizens their liberties & franchises, and so in the excheker chamber at Westminster afore the king, there sitting in iudgement vpon the matter, they were condemned to paie their fines for their offenses committed, and further, euerie of them discharged of his ward and office. Shortlie after was William Fitz Richard by the kings commandement made maior, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grapisgate shiriffes.

Fabian.

An information against the lord maior of London

The lord maior and shiriffs of London discharged.

The lord maior and shiriffes fined.

The archbishop of Yorke was accurssed by the popes commandement through all England, with booke, bell and candle, that by such terror his constancie might be weakened. But the archbishop (saith Matthew Paris) informed by the example of Thomas Becket, and by the example and doctrine of saint Edmund sometime his instructor, and also taught by the faithfulnesse of blessed Robert, late bishop of Lincolne, despaired not of comfort from heauen, in bearing patientlie the popes tyrannie; neither would he bestow the wealthie reuenues of his church vpon Italians, being vnworthie persons and strangers; neither would he obeie and incline to the popes will like a faint-harted person, by leauing and setting apart the rigor of the law, least thereby he might séeme to result from his pastorlike office, and animate the woolfe of Rome to breake into the shéepfold of the church, whose purpose was to sucke the verie bloud quite and cleane out of euerie veine, yea to bite out bowels and all. Which qualitie to rest in him, wofull experience hath taught, and the testimonie of written verities hath shewed, among which this one for the truth thereof is worthie to be reported euen to the praise of the deuiser for his prettie deuise therein comprised, and here set downe as fit for the purpose:

Matth. Paris.

The archbish. of Yorke accursed.

The constancie of the archbishop of Yorke.

Non pontifex sed potifex,
Non potifex sed panifex,
Non panifex sed carnifex,
Est papa pater pontifex.

About the beginning of the two and fortith yeare of king Henries reigne, the lord Iames Audelie that had béene ouer with the king of Almaine, and was latelie returned home in companie of the lord Henrie, sonne to the said king (who came backe from his father about the feast of saint Michaell last past) vnderstanding how the Welshmen in his absence had burnt, wasted, and destroied his lands, possessions, and castels, which belonged vnto him in the confines of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of those injuries, and inuading them, he slue a great number of them, so reuenging the death of those his freends, seruants and tenants, whome they before had murthered. The Welshmen were not so discouraged herewith, but that they brake vpon him out of their starting-holes and places of refuge through the marishes, and slaieng their enimies horsses, put them backe to their power, & ceassed not to doo what mischeefe they could, by spoiling, killing, and burning houses and castels where they might come vnto them, and so the realme of England was dailie put to losses & hinderances. For out of Wales, England was accustomed to be furnished with horsses, cattell, and other things, to the great profit of both the countries. About the same time there was an ambassage sent from the king of England to the French king

The lord Audelie warreth vpon the Welshmen.

Ambassadors sent into France.

king by the bishop of Worcester, the elect of Winchester, the abbat of Westminster, the earle of Leicester, & Hugh Bigod earle Marshall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walcron. The effect of their message was to require restitution of those countries, lands, cities, and townes which had bene euicted out of the hands of king Iohn and others, apperteining by right of inheritance to the king of England. These lords did their message, but as was thought, they had no towardlie answer, but rather were put off with trifling words & scornefull tawnts, so that they returned shortlie again all of them, the abbat of Westminster onelie excepted, who remained there behind for a fuller answer, not onelie to those requests exhibited on the part of the king of England, but also on the behalfe of the king of Almaine. The marshes towards Wales in this season were brought almost desert, by reason of the continuall wars with the Welshmen, for what with fire & sword, neither building nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was spared, that fire & sword might bring to ruine.

The marshes of Wales sore impouerished.

A great dearth. *Matth. Paris.*

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in so much that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for foure and twentie shillings, whereas within two or three yeares before, a quarter was sold at two shillings. It had beene more déerer, if great store had not come out of Almaine, for in France and in Normandie it likewise failed. But there came fiftie great ships fraught with wheat and barlie, with meale and bread out of Dutchland, by the procurement of Richard king of Almaine, which greatlie releeued the poore; for proclamation was made, and order taken by the king, that none of the citizens of London should buy any of that graine to laie it vp in store, whereby it might be sold at an higher price vnto the needie. But though this prouision did much ease, yet the want was great ouer all the realme. For it was certeinelie affirmed, that in three shires within the realme, there was not found so much graine of that yeares growth, as came ouer in those fiftie ships. The proclamation was set foorth, to restreine the Londoners from ingrossing vp that graine, and not without cause: for the wealthie citizens were euill spoken of in that season, bicause in time of scarsitie they would either staie such ships as fraught with vittels were comming towards the citie, and send them some other way foorth; or else buy the whole, that they might sell it by retaile at their plesure to the needie. By means of this great dearth and scarsitie, the common people were constreined to liue vpon hearbs & roots, and a great number of the poore people died through famine, which is the most miserable calamitie that can betide mortall men, and was well marked euen of the heathen, but notablie by Ouid, who making a description of famine, setteth hir foorth in most ouglie and irkesome sort, intending thereby the dreadfulnes of that heauie plague, saieng:

1258.

The greedie dealing of the Londoners to the hurt of the cõmon-welth.

Ouid. lib. 8. Meta. fab. 11.

Quæsitámque famem lapidoso vidit in antro,
Vnguibus & raris vellentem dentibus herbas,
Hirtus erat crinis, caua lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana situ, scabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent,
Ossa sub incuruis extabant arida lumbis,
Ventris erat pro ventre locus, pendére putares
Pectus & à spinæ tantummodo crate teneri,
Auxerat articulos macies, genuúmque tumebat
Orbis, & immodico prodibant tubere tali, &c.

A parlement. *Matth. Paris.*

Hurtred, a messenger frõ the pope.

This yeare after Easter a parlement was holden at London, in the which manie weightie matters were intreated of touching the kings causes, namelie, about the conquest of the realme of Naples, the pope having sent a messenger named Hurtred for the discharge of monie, which the pope had receiued of merchants, as it were to the kings vse, and entred bonds for the paiment thereof. Also, whereas the king was sore disquieted for the warre which the Welshmen made against him, he asked aduise of the states, how he might procéed to seeke his iust reuenge of them, who by reason of their good hap were become verie

verie stout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which had beene accorded betwixt them, spoiled and wasted the most part of Penbrokeshire, of which iniurie the earle of Penbroke, namelie William de Valence, sore complained. The Welshmen spoile Penbrokeshire

But whereas the king knowing him to be rich, willed him to lay out some great portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his wars, the erle tooke great displeasure therewith, as though the king had made that request by the suggestion and setting on of some of the English lords, in somuch that words passed in displeasant sort betwixt him and the earles of Glocester and Leicester, so far foorth, that the earle of Penbroke called the earle of Leicester traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuenged the iniurie, and so would haue doone indéed, if the king had not beene moderator betwixt them. Finallie at this parlement the lords told the king that they might not aid him with any great summes of monie, except it should redound to their great impouerishment: they told him also, that he had not doone wiselie to enter into couenants, for the purchase of the kingdome of Naples for his sonne, without their consents. Variance betwixt the earle of Penbroke and others.

They also declared to him, what articles it should be good for him to propone vnto the pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing the charges of the wars against Manfred. But when those articles were afterwards presented to the pope, he allowed them not. & so the matter remained without any certeine assurance of the promises, which had béene and still were from time to time made to set the king on dotage. The archbishop of Yorke had his crosse taken from him by the popes commandement, but the archbishop would not yet bow his knée vnto Baall, to bestow the benefices of his church vpon aliens, and such as were vnworthie persons, as it had beene to cast pearles vnto swine. The archbishop of Yorke depriued of his crosse.

¶ There came from the pope as his Nuncio, vnto king Henrie, a frier minor named Mansuetus, furnished with great power and authoritie, in somuch that he tooke vpon him to absolue men for changing their vowes, and to iustifie those that were excōmunicated persons, false periured, and such like. Wherevpon, manie of euill disposition presumed to offend: for easinesse to purchase pardon bred boldnesse in manie, howbeit the wise séemed to laugh at such dooings. Mansuetus the popes Nuncio.

The parlement still continued, till the sundaie after the Ascension day, with hard hold betwixt the king and the lords, who laid it sore to his charge, that he had not performed the promises which he made touching the obseruing of the liberties conteined in the great charter. They also complained greatlie of his misgouernance, in that he so much aduanced the Poictouins and other strangers, to the impouerishment of himselfe, and the whole realme, and further, mainteined them so far foorth, that they were readie to offer wrong vnto other, vpon presumption of his fauour and bearing with them, he hauing by commandement restreined that no processe should passe out of the chancerie against certeine of them that were his coosins, as the earle of Penbroke and others. Finallie, when the lords were in doubt which way to worke for their owne safeties, they caused the parlement to be proroged till the feast of saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxford. In the meane time the lords of the realme, as the earles of Glocester, Leicester, Hereford and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themselues togither, bicause they stood in feare to be intrapped by the kings subtill sleights, and by the craftie wiles of those strangers whom he reteined against them. The parlemēt proroged.

In the same yeare by the wind, which continuallie certeine months togither kept northerlie, the flours, with other growing things, were so hindered, that scarselie they appeared to anie purpose, till the most part of Iune was past, wherevpon the hope of receiuing the fruits of the earth was quite taken away, & so vpon the great dearth that happened, a sore death and mortalitie followed, for want of necessarie food to susteine the pining bodies of the poore people. They died so thicke, that there were great pits made in churchyards to laie the dead bodies in one vpon an other A late growth. A dearth accompanied with a death.

About the feast of the Ascension, Seuall the archbishop of Yorke departed this life, who constantlie had resisted the tyrannie of the court of Rome, in defense of his church, Seuall archb. of Yorke departeth this life.

suffering in this world manie greeuous tribulations, but now was remooued from thense
Matth. Paris. vnto the kingdome of heauen, to be crowned with the elect for his good deseruings, as was then certenlie beleeued. About this time a great number of Poictouins were come into England, by reason of their aliance and coosinage to the king, the which by the kings fauour being highlie aduanced, began to wax proud thereof, and to require to be restored vnto such lands and liuings as before time they had possessed: namelie the kings halfe
The kings halfe brethren. brethren, Athelmare or Odomare, that was a préest, with William, Geffrey and Guie, these were the sonnes of Hugh le Brun earle of Marsh, by his wife queene Isabell, the mother of king Henrie, and being come into England, they shewed themselues verie loftie & high-minded, partlie, bicause of their coosinage to the king, & partlie by reason of his courteous interteining of them, insomuch that forgetting themselues, they began to despise (vpon a presumptuous pride) the English nobilitie, looking still for preferment of honor aboue all other. And surelie Odomare obteined at the first a great peece of his purpose, being made by the kings gift bishop of Winchester, and by that means bare a stout port, and greatlie holpe and mainteined his other brethren.

The English barons not well able to suffer such presumption in strangers, who seemed to haue them in derision, complained to the king, in so much that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a parlement was called (as before you haue heard) first at London, and after reiorned to Oxenford, there to be assembled about the feast of saint Barnabe in the moneth of Iune. This (of of some writers) is named Insanum par-
Insanum parliamentum. liamentum, that is to say, The mad parlement; for at this parlement (to the which the lords came with great retinues of armed men, for the better safegard of their persons) manie things in the same yeare enacted contrarie to the kings pleasure, and his roiall pre-
The demand of the lords. rogatiue. For the lords at the first determined to demand the confirmation of the ancient charter of liberties, which his father king Iohn had granted, and he himselfe had so often promised to obserue and mainteine, signifieng plainelie, that they meant to pursue their purpose and intent herein, not sparing either for losse of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutuallie giuen their faiths by ioining of hands, as the manner in such cases is accustomed. Besides the grant of the great charter, they required other things necessarie for the state of the common wealth, to be established and enacted.

Ordinances made. It was therefore first enacted, that all the Poictouins should auoid the land, togither with other strangers, and that neither the king nor his sonne prince Edward should in anie secret manner aid them against the people. Moreouer, that the king & his sonne
An oth exacted of the king. should receiue an oth, to stand vnto the decrees and ordinances of that parlement, and withall spéed to restore the ancient lawes and institutions of the realme, which they both did, rather constreined therevnto by feare, than of anie good will. Thus not onelie the king himselfe, but also his sonne prince Edward receiued an oth, to obserue the ordinances of that parlement. But Iohn earle Warren, and the kings halfe brethren, namelie the earle of Penbroke refused that oth; and likewise the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, excused himselfe by his fathers absence, without whose consent he would not receiue it, vnto whome this answer was made, that if his father would not consent to the agréement of the baronage, he should not possesse one furrowe of land within this realme.

Also, whereas the earle of Leicester resigned the castels of Killingworth and Odiham into the kings hands, which he had latelie receiued by his gift, and newlie repaired, the earle of Penbroke and his other brethren sware déepelie, that they would for no mans pleasure giue ouer such castels, rents, and wardships of theirs, as they had of the kings
The earle of Leicester threatneth the earle of Penbroke. gift. But the earle of Leicester told the earle of Penbroke flatlie and plainlie, that he should either render them vp, or else he should be sure to lose his head. This saieng
The kings halfe brethren shift awaie. was confirmed by the generall voices of all other the barons, bicause it was a speciall article concluded amongst other in that parlement. The kings halfe brethren, perceiuing which waie the world went, stood in doubt of themselues, and secretlie therevpon depart-

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ing from Oxenford, first withdrew vnto Winchester, where Odomare, one of the same brethren was bishop, through whose support, and by reason of the strength of such castels as he held, they trusted to be in more safetie: but finallie, perceiuing themselues not to be so out of danger, sith the barons minded to pursue them, about the eighteenth daie of Iulie they departed the realme with a great number of other of their countriemen; and amongest those, William de saint Herman the kings caruer was one. They depart the Realme.

Henrie Montfort, sonne to the earle of Leicester, vnderstanding of their departure out of the realme, followed; and hearing that they were arriued at Bullogne, he landed in those parts, & by such freendship as he found there amongst those that bare good will vnto his father, he got togither a power, and after a manner besieged the Poictouins within Bullogne, laieng watch for them in such sort, both by sea and land, that there was no waie left for them to escape. Henrie Mõtfort pursueth the kings half brethren.

When they saw themselues in that danger, they sent a messenger with all post hast to the French king, requiring his safe conduct, to passe freelie through his realme, as they trusted he would be content to grant vnto such, as for refuge and safegard of life should repaire vnto him for comfort. The French king courteouslie granted their request, and so they were in safetie permitted to passe quietlie through the countrie. They sent to the French K.

In the meane while one Richard Gray, chatellaine of Douer castell, a right valiant man and a faithfull, suffered no man to passe that waie vnsearched, according to that which he had in commandement: wherevpon he tooke & seized into his hands a great portion of treasure, which was brought thither to be transported ouer to the Poictuins that were fled out of the realme. Also, there was found a great quantitie of treasure in the new temple at London, which they had gathered & hoorded vp there, which also was seized to the kings vse. Richard Gray capteine of Douer castell, and lord warden of the ports.

But now to returne vnto the doings in the parlement holden at Oxford. It was ordeined (as some write) that the king should choose twelue persons of the realme, and the communaltie of the land should choose other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might take in charge the gouernance of the realme vpon them, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurors, and other officers, and see for the safe keeping of the castels which belonged to the crowne. These foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the realme, began to order all things at their pleasure, in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chéeflie to their own aduantages, as well in prouiding eschets and wards for their sonnes and kinsfolks, as also in bestowing patronages of churches (belonging to the kings gift) at their pleasures, so that these prouiders séemed to prouide all for themselues, in so much that neither king nor Christ could receiue ought amongst them: and as for iustice they regarded nothing lesse, their minds were so rauished with desire of priuat wealth; which who so hunteth after, being in place of magistracie, he must néeds neglect the law and course of equitie, and therefore this counsell is good which a good writer giueth in this behalfe, saieng: *Matt. West.* Foure and twentie gouernours. The abuses of those gouernours.

Si iustus vult esse aliquis non vtile quærat,
Iusticia est multis laudata, domestica paucis. *M. Pal. in Virg. Fabian.*

There be that write, how there were but twelue of these gouernours chosen; whose names were as followeth. First, the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke and marshall of England, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Glocester, Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford, the earles of Warwike and Arundell, sir Iohn Mansell cheefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Sauoy, sir Iames Audeley, and sir Peter de Mountfort. To these was authoritie onelie giuen to punish and correct all such as offended in breaking of any the ordinances at this parlement established.

It was not long after the finishing of this parlement, but that strife and variance began to kindle betwéene the king and the earles of Leicester and Glocester, by reason of such officers as the said earles had remooued, and put others in their roomes: among the which Iohn Contention betwixt the earles of Leicester and Glocester.

Iohn Mansell was discharged of his office, and sir Hugh Bigod, brother to earle Marshall, admitted in his roome. Also bicause the foresaid gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinances established at Oxford, they thought to make their part as strong as was possible for them to doo, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feast of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Westminster, the earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, and diuerse other came to the Guildhall of London, where the maior and aldermen, with the commons of the citie were assembled, and there the lords shewed the instrument or writing sealed with the kings seale, and with the seales of his sonne prince Edward, and of manie other lords of the land, conteining the articles of those ordinances which had béene concluded at Oxford, willing the maior and aldermen to set also therevnto their common seale of the citie. The maior and aldermen vpon aduise amongst them taken, required respit till they might know the kings pleasure therein, but the lords were so earnest in the matter, and made such instance, that no respit could be had; so that in the end the common seale of the citie was put to that writing, and the maior with diuerse of the citie sworne to mainteine the same, their allegiance saued to the king, with their liberties and franchises, according to the accustomed manner.

The lords come to the Guildhall to haue their ordinances confirmed.

A proclamation against purueiors.

Vpon the ninth day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse places of the citie, that none of the kings takers should take any thing within the citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of wine, which the king accustomablie had of euerie ship comming from Burdeaux, paieng but 40 shillings for the tun. By meanes of this proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the citie and liberties of the same, except readie paiment were made in hand, which vse continued not long. Herevpon the king held a parlement at Westminster, and another at Winchester, or else proroged and remoued the same thither. Also sir Hugh Bigod lord chéefe iustice, with Roger Turkesey, and other called Itinerarij, kept the terme for plées at saint Sauiours: for you must vnderstand, that in those daies they were kept in diuerse places of the realme, which now are holden altogither at Westminster, and iudges ordeined to kéepe a circuit, as now they kéepe the assises in time of vacation. The foresaid iudges sitting on that maner at saint Sauiours, punished bailiffes, and other officers verie extremelie, which were conuict afore them for diuerse trespasses, and speciallie for taking of merciaments otherwise than law gaue them. After this, the same sir Hugh came vnto the Guildhall, and there sat in iudgement, and kept plees without order of law; yea contrarie to the liberties of the citie, he punished bakers for lacke of true size, by the tumbrell: where before they were punished by the pillorie, & manie other things he vsed after such manner, more by will than good order of law.

A parlement.

The iustices sit at S Sauiours.

Bailiffes and other officers punished.

Bakers punished.

Matth. Paris. The Poictouins suspected to haue poisoned ye English lords.

There was a bruite raised (whether of truth or otherwise we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poictouins had practised to poison the most part of the English nobilitie. Indéed diuers of them were greeuouslie tormented with a certeine disease of swelling and breaking out, some died, and othersome verie hardlie escaped, of which number the earle of Glocester was one, who laie sicke a long time at Sunning a place besides Reading. At length he recouered: but his brother William died of the same disease, and vpon his death-bed laid the fault to one Walter Scotenie, as the occasioner of his death, which afterwards cost the said Walter his life. For although he was one of the chéefe councellors, and steward also to the said earle of Glocester; yet being had in suspicion, and thervpon apprehended and charged with that crime, when in the yeare next following in Iune he came to be arreigned at Winchester, and put himselfe to be tried by a iurie, the same pronounced him guiltie: and when those that were impanneled vpon that iurie were asked by the iudges how they vnderstood that he should be giltie, they answered, bicause that where the said Walter was neuer indebted, that they could heare of, either to William de Valence, or to any of his brethren, they were fullie certified that he had of late receiued no small sum of monie of the said W. de Valence to poison both his maister and other of the English nobilitie as was to be thought, sith there was no other apparant cause why he should

Walter Scotonie arreigned and condemned.

should receiue such a gift at the hands of their enimie the said William de Valence, and so was the said Walter executed at Winchester aforesaid. He suffereth.

The haruest was verie late this yeare, so that the most part of the corne rotted on the ground, and that which at length was got in, remained yet abrode till after Alhallowentide, so vntemperate was the weather, with excessiue wet and raine beyond all measure. Here-vpon the dearth so increased, that euen those which had of late releeued other, were in danger to starue themselues. Finallie solemne fasts and generall processions were made in diuerse places of the realme to appease Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their praiers were heard, for the weather partlie amended, and by reason the same serued to get in some such corne as was not lost, the price thereof in the market fell halfe in halfe. A good and memorable motiue, that in such extremities as are aboue the reach of man to redresse, we should by and by haue recourse to him that can giue a remedie against euerie casualtie. For A late haruest. Dearth of corne increaseth. Fasts & processions vsed.

Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus.

Richard Gray the chattellaine of Douer looking diligentlie vnto his charge, tooke a thousand marks which the bishop of Winchester had sent thither to haue beene transported ouer into France. Erlotus the popes Nuncio perceiuing the trouble that was like to insue within the realme would no longer tarie, but wiselie departed and got him home. Herewith certeine wise personages were sent to Rome on the part of the king and baronage, to informe the pope in what state the realme stood, and to giue him to vnderstand how greeuouslie the people had beene handled by the practise of certeine Romane prelats promoted in this land. Richard Gray lord warden of the ports. Erlotus the popes Nuncio returneth home.

This yeare neere to Carmardin Patrike of Chauton lord of Kedwelli, Hugh de Viun, and diuerse other both horsmen and footmen were slaine through treason by the Welshmen: yet it should appeare by Matthew Paris that the Englishmen procured this mischéefe to light on their owne heads, through their disloiall dealing. For where they were come to the place to talke of an agréement, some of the marchers supposing they had béene too strong for the Welshmen, persuaded the said lord of Kedwellie to assaile them vpon the sudden, in hope to haue destroied them all: but in the end the Englishmen were distressed through the valiancie of Dauid one of the sonnes of the great Leolin and other capteines of the Welsh nation. Neuerthelesse Matthew Westminster saith brieflie, that the English men were treasonablie slaine: so that it séemeth that Matthew Paris speaketh rather of an affection and good will which he bare to the Welsh procéedings in those daies, than otherwise. *Matth. Paris.* The lord of Kedwellie slaine. *Matth. Paris.*

For who so marketh the course of his historie, shall perceiue that he had no good liking of the state in those daies, neither concerning the ecclesiasticall nor temporall policie, in somuch that he sticketh not to commend the Welshmen greatlie for their holding togither against the oppression (as he meaneth it) of the English gouernement, and no doubt there was cause that mooued him to such misliking, namelie the often paiments and collections of monie by the popes agents, and other such misorders as dailie were permitted or rather mainteined to the impouerishing of both estates spirituall and temporall. *Matth. Paris* not well affected towards the gouernement of the realme as it then stood.

Godfrey de Kinton was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, about the feast of Christmasse last past, and so returned from thence home to his cure. There was an ordinance made about this time, for punishment to be had of the extortion of shiriffes, so that aswell the receiuer as the giuer of bribes was punishable. Which law if it were now executed vpon all officers & occupiers whatsoeuer, there would not be so much wealth and substance, so great riches and treasure raked vp togither in the possession of some few men, as the old sage saieng importeth, Godfrey de Kinton archbishop of Canturburie. An ordinance against extortion.

Quisquis ditatur rapidos miluos imitatur.

The bishops of Worcester and Lincolne, with the earles of Norfolke and Leicester, were sent ouer in ambassage vnto a councell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms of England and France, and also the empire: but bicause An. Reg. 43. Ambassadors sent to the councell at Cambrey.

bicause the French king looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the same king came not, he also staied at home, and so no conclusion followed at that assemblie.

Ione countesse of Penbroke

Ione countesse of Penbroke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demanded hir right of dower, in such lands as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length she had to the value of fiue hundred marks assigned hir of the same lands, notwithstanding hir heritage amounted to the sum of a thousand marks and aboue of yearelie reuenues, but for that she should not aid hir husband with part thereof, the one halfe was thought sufficient for hir maintenance. About Aduent next insuing, she went ouer vnto hir husband, either for the desire she had to inioy his personall presence, or for that she thought hirselfe not well dealt with, to be abridged of those reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne. In the firt night of December, there chanced a maruellous sore tempest of lightning and thunder, with mightie winds and raine, as a token and signe of the troubles that after followed, the more noted, for that thunder in the winter season is not commonlie heard of. Guy de Rochford a Poictouin, to whom about two yeares before the king had giuen the castell of Rochester, was now banished the realme, and depriued of all that he held in this land. About this season there rose great variance amongst the scholers of Oxford being of sundrie countries, as Scotishmen, Welshmen, Northern men, and Southern men: who fell so farre at square, that they raised baners one against an other, and fought togither, in somuch that diuerse were slaine, and manie hurt on both parties. ¶ The Welshmen this yeare, notwithstanding their good successe had in these late wars, considered with themselues, that if the barons of England did once ioine in one knot of fréendship, they would with maine force easilie subdue them, wherefore to preuent that which might chance vnto them by stubborne resistance, they made suit to be receiued into the kings peace, offering to giue vnto him the summe of foure thousand markes, and to his sonne the lord Edward thrée hundred marks, and to the queene two hundred marks. Yet the king would not accept those offers, and so the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certeine time. The Welshmen in the meane season attempted not any exploit, but rather sate still in hope to come at length to some reasonable agreement. ¶ The moonks of Winchester meaning to prouide themselues of a bishop, now that Athelmare aliàs Odomare the kings halfe brother was banished the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings chancellor, in hope that the K. would be contented with his election, and so he was, but yet conditionallie, that if the pope would allow his said halfe brother for bishop, then should the other giue place.

A great tempest of lightning and thunder.

Guy de Rochford banished.

Variance and debat betwixt the studēts of Oxford.

The Welshmen séeke to agrée with the king.

Henrie de Wingham elected bishop of Winchester.

1259.

About the feast of S. Hilarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richard of Almaine meant to returne into England, there were sent ouer vnto him the bishop of Worcester, the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, Peter de Sauoy, and Iohn Mansell, as ambassadours from the baronage and communaltie of the realme, to require of him an oth, to stand vnto and obeie the ordinances of the late parlement holden at Oxenford. When the said ambassadors came before his presence, and declared to him the effect of their message, he beheld them with a sterne looke, and frowning countenance, saieng (and binding it with an oth) that he would neither be sworne, nor kéepe any such ordinances as had beene made without his consent; neither would he make them of counsell how long his purpose was to staie within the realme, which the ambassadours required also to vnderstand. Herevnto he further added, that he had no péere in England, for he was the sonne of the deceased king, and brother of the king that now reigned, and also earle of Cornewall, and therefore if the barons of England ment to reforme the state of the kingdome, their duetie had beene first to haue sent for him, and not to haue proceeded so presumptuouslie in such a weightie cause, without his presence or consent. When one of the ambassadours was about to haue made answer somewhat roundlie, and also nippinglie vnto this spéech vttered by the king of Almaine, he was staied by one of his associats. And so the ambassadours vnderstanding his mind, returned with all conuenient speed.

Ambassadors sent to the K. of Almaine.

His protestation to their demand.

The

The king of Almaine had assembled a great host of men on the further side the sea, meaning with all expedition to haue passed hither into England: but when he had aduertisement giuen that there was a power raised in England, and bestowed both by sea and land to resist him, he changed his purpose by aduise of his freends, so that he consented to receiue such manner of oth as the barons required, and herewith taking the sea, he arriued at Douer on saint Iulians daie with his owne hous-hold-seruants, bringing with him no traine of strangers, except onelie two earles of Almaine, which brought with them but onelie three knights, and he himselfe had but eight knights: his brother king Henrie was readie to receiue him, and brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, for neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelousie, least they should be about to breake the ordinances which were concluded. On the morow after, the king of Almaine receiued the oth in the presence of Richard earle of Glocester and others, within the chapter house of Canturburie. And on the day of the Purification of our ladie, the two kings with their queenes and a great number of noble personages made their entrie and passage into the citie of London.

He changeth his purpose and commeth ouer into England.

He receiueth an oth not to infringe the statutes of Oxford.

In the octaues of the said Purification, the parlement began at London, to the which came the earle of Leicester from the parts of beyond the sea, where he had for a certeine time remained. There came also an ambassador from the French king, one that was deane of Burges, and so there was an earnest treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France, which on the day of saint Valentine was accorded and put in articles, with condition that the same should remaine firme and stable, if the kings would assent to that which had beene talked of and agreed vpon by their speciall and solemne agents. For the further perfecting of this agreement and finall peace betwixt the kings of England and France, about the begining of Aprill, the earls of Glocester and Leicester, Iohn Mansell, Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Valerane were sent ouer into France, hauing also with them letters of credence, to conclude in all matters as had beene talked of by their agents. But when the countesse of Leicester would not consent to quite claime and release hir right in such parcels of Normandie as belonged to hir, which king Henrie had couenanted with the residue to resigne vnto the French king. The earle of Glocester fell at words with the earle of Leicester, about the stubborne demeanor which his wife shewed in that matter, and so by reason that either of them stood at defiance with the other (although by meane of freends they staied from further inconuenience) they returned backe without concluding any thing in that whereabout they were sent.

A parlement.

A peace concluded vpon betwixt the kings of England & France.

The countesse of Leicester.

Contention betwixt the earles of Glocester and Leicester.

About the same time there was a certeine mansion house by waie of deuotion giuen vnto the friers that are called preachers within the towne of Dunstable, so that certeine of them thrusting themselues in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the grea annoiance of the prior and conuent of Dunstable, & as it were by the example of the other order called minors (which in the last precéeding yeare, at saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke had practised the like matter against the willes of the abbat and conuent there) they began to build verie sumptuous houses, so that in the eies of the beholders such chargeable workes of building, so suddenlie aduanced by them that professed voluntarie pouertie, caused no small woonder. The said friers building them a church with all spéed, and setting vp an altar, immediatlie began to celebrate diuine seruice, not once staieng for the purchase of anie licence. And so building from day to day, they obteined great aid of such as inhabited neere vnto them, of whome the prior and conuent ought to haue receiued the reuenues that were now conuerted to be imploied on the said friers towards their maintenance. Thus by how much more their house increased, by so much more did the prior and conuent decrease in substance and possessions: for the rents which they were accustomed to receiue of the messuages and houses giuen to the friers, were lost, and likewise the offerings (which were woont to come to their hands) now these friers being newlie entred by occasion of their preachings, vsurped to themselues.

The friers preachers begin to inhabit at Dunstable.

The moonks hindred by the comming of the friers.

Richard

Richard Gray discharged of his office of lord warden.

Richard Graie constable of the castell of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports was this yeare remooued by the lord chéefe iustice Hugh Bigod, who tooke into his owne hands the custodie of the said castell and ports. The cause whie the said Richard Graie was discharged, we find to haue fallen out by this means. He suffered a frier minor called Walascho, comming from the pope (bicause he had the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staieng him, nor warning the lords of his comming, contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouisions enacted at Oxenford. This frier indeed was sent from the pope to haue restored Athilmarus or Odomarus (as some write him) the kings halfe brother, vnto the possessions of the bishoprike of Winchester, to the which he had béene long before elected. But the lords were so bent against him, that vpon such suggestions as they laid foorth, Walascho refrained from dooing that which he had in commandement, and returned to make report what he vnderstood, so that Odomarus was now as farre from his purpose as before.

Walascho a frier sent from the pope.

The bishop of Bangor sent frō the prince of Wales to king Henrie.

About the feast of saint Michaell, the bishop of Bangor was sent from Leolin prince of Wales vnto the king of England, to make offer on the behalfe of the said Leolin and other the lords of Wales, of sixtéene thousand pounds of siluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king and them, and that they might come to Chester, and there haue their matters heard and determined, as in time past they had béene accustomed. But what answer at his returne was giuen to this bishop by the king and his nobles, it is vncerteine. In the fortie and fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the fridaie following the feast of Simon and Iude, in a parlement holden at Westminster, were read in presence of all the lords and commons, the acts and ordinances made in the parlement holden at Oxenford, with certeine other articles by the gouernours therevnto added and annexed. After the reading whereof the archbishop of Canturburie being reuested with his suffragans to the number of nine bishops, besides abbats and others, denounced all them accurssed that attempted in word or déed to breake the said statutes, or anie of them. In the same parlement was granted to the king a taske called scutagium, or escuage, that is to saie, forty shillings of euerie knights fée throughout England, the which extended to a great summe of monie. For as diuerse writers do agree, there were in England at that time in possession of the spiritualtie and temporaltie beyond fortie thousand knights fees, but almost halfe of them were in spirituall mens hands.

The king asketh licence to passe the seas.

Vpon the sixt day of Nouember the king came vnto Paules, where by his commandement was the folkemote court assembled, and the king (according to the former ordinances made) asked licence of the communaltie of the citie to passe the sea, and promised there in the presence of a great multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bigod his chéefe iustice, to be good and gratious lord vnto the citie, and to mainteine the liberties thereof vnhurt. Herewith the people for ioy made a great shout. The eight day of Nouember he rode through the citie towards the sea side, and vpon the thirtéenth daie of Nouember, he tooke the sea at Douer and arriued at Whitsand, and so from thence he rode vnto Paris, where, of the French king he was most honorablie receiued. The cause of his going ouer was chéefelie to conclude some assured peace with the French king, that he should not néed to doubt any forren enimies, if he should come to haue warre with his owne people, whereof he saw great likelihoods, and therefore he made such agreement with king Lewes (as in the French historie more at large appeareth) which (to be short) I here omit.

An. Reg. 44.
A parlement.

The statutes of Oxenford read, and the breakers of the same denounced accurssed.

Escuage granted.

Knights fées how manie were then in England.

Fabian.
A folkemote.

Matth. West.
The king saileth ouer into France.

1260.

He compoundeth all differences with the French K.

This one thing is here to be noted, that besides the monie which king Henrie had in hand, amounting to the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes for his resignation then made vnto Normandie, Aniou and Maine, it was accorded, that he should receiue yearelie in name of a tribute the sum of ten thousand crownes. ¶ Others write that he had three hundred thousand pounds of small Turon monie, which he receiued in readie paiment, and was promised restitution of lands to the value of twentie thousand pounds of yearelie rent; and that after the decease of the French king, that then was, the

Polydor.
N. Triuet.
Wil. Risang.

Matt. West.

countrie of Poictou should returne vnto the English dominion. Some write that immediatlie after king Henrie had concluded his agréement, he began to repent himselfe thereof, and would neuer receiue penie of the monie, nor leaue out of his stile the title of duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that such an agreement was at point to haue béene concluded, or at the leastwise was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with hands and seales, as it ought to haue beene, if they had gone through with it.

In the meane time that king Henrie was thus occupied in France, dissention fell in England betwéene prince Edward and Richard earle of Glocester, for the appeasing whereof a parlement was called at Westminster, to the which the lords came with great companies, and speciallie the said prince and earle. They intended to haue lodged within the citie: but the maior going vnto the bishop of Worcester, to sir Hugh Bigod, and to sir Philip Basset (vnto whome, and to the archbishop of Canturburie, the K. had committed the rule of the land in his absence) required to know their pleasure herein. Wherevpon they thought it good to haue the aduise of Richard the king of Almaine, and therevpon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the said prince nor earle nor anie of their partakers should come within the citie, the gates whereof were by the maiors appointment closed and kept with watch and ward both day and night. Soone after also, for the more safegard of the citie, the gates were by the maiors appointment closed and kept with diligent watch and ward both day and night. Soone after also for the more safegard of the said citie, and sure kéeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the said sir Hugh and sir Philip came and lodged in the citie with their companies, and such other as they would assigne, to strengthen the citie if need required. Wherin their prouident consent to withstand so foule a mischeefe as sedition might haue bred in the citie, deserueth high commendation, for it was the next waie to preserue the state thereof against all occasions of ruine, to vnite harts and hands in so swéet an harmonie, which the law of nature teacheth men to doo, and as by this sage sentence is insinuated and giuen to vnderstand,

Manus manum lauat & digitus digitum,
Vir virum & ciuitas seruat ciuitatem.

Dissention betwixt prince Edward and the earle of Glocester.

Prince Edward and the earle of Glocester are not suffered to come within the citie of London.

Shortlie after, the king returned out of France, and about the feast of S. Marke came to London, and lodged in the bishops palace. And bicause of certeine rumors that were spred abroad sounding to some euill meaning, which prince Edward should haue against his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men in armes being strangers, howbeit he brought them not into the citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parts of Surrie, notwithstanding being entred the citie, he so kept the gates and entries, that none was permitted to enter, but such as came in by his sufferance. The earle of Glocester by his appointment also was lodged within the citie, and the prince in the palace at Westminster. Shortlie after by the kings commandement he remooued to S. Iohns, & all the other lords were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaine remooued againe to Westminster. In which time a direction was taken betweene the said parties, and a new assemblie and parlement assigned to be kept in the quindene of S. Iohn Baptist, and after deferred or proroged till the feast of saint Edward, at the which time all things were pacified a while, but so as the earle of Glocester was put beside the roome which he had amongst other the peeres, and so then he ioined in fréendship with the earle of Leicester, as it were by way of confederacie against the residue, and yet in this last contention, the said earle of Leicester tooke part with the prince against the earle of Glocester.

The king returneth into England.

The earle of Glocester confederateth himselfe with the earle of Leicester.

This yeare the lord William de Beauchampe the elder deceassed. ¶ The lord Edward the kings sonne, with a faire companie of knights and other men of armes, passed the seas to exercise himselfe in iusts, but he himselfe and his men were euill intreated in manie places, so that they lost horsse, armour, and all other things to his great griefe and dislike (as may be estéemed) yet (as some write) he returned home with victorie in the iusts. This yeare at Teukesburie, a Iew falling by chance into a iakes vpon the saturdaie, in reuerence

Chr. Dunstab.

Matth. West.

A Iew at Teukesburie falleth into a iakes.

reuerence of his sabboth would not suffer any man to plucke him foorth, wherof the earle of Glocester being aduertised, thought the christians should doo as much reuerence to their sabboth which is sundaie, and therefore would suffer no man to go about to take him foorth that day, and so lieng still till mondaie, he was there found dead.

Matt. Westm. Death of Noble men.

Diuers Noble men departed this life in this yeare, as the earle of Albemarle, the lord William Beauchampe, Stephan de Longespee lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, and Roger de Turkeby one of the kings chéefe councellors and iustices of the land, William de Kirkham bishop of Durham, and Iohn de Crakehale treasurer of England, a spirituall man, but rich beyond measure: also Henrie de Ba another of the kings iustices of the bench. In the 45 yeare of king Henries reigne, Alexander king of Scotland came to London anon after the feast of S. Edward, with a faire companie of Scotishmen, and shortlie after his wife the quéene of Scots came thither also. Moreouer king Henrie kept a roiall feast at Westminster, where he made to the number of foure score knights, amongst whome, Iohn sonne to the earle of Britaine, who had maried the ladie Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. Shortlie after was sir Hugh Spenser made lord chéefe iustice.

Rach rather.
Matth. West.
An. Reg. 45.
The king of Scots commeth to London.
Matt. West.

1261.
Chro. Dun.

After Christmasse the K. comming into the towre of London, fortified it greatlie, & caused the gates of the citie to be warded, sending forth commandement to his lords that they should come to the towre, there to hold a parlement; but they denied flatlie so to doo, sending him word that if it pleased him, they would come to Westminster, where vsuallie the parlement had béene kept, and not to anie other place, whervpon there rose dissention betwixt him and the barons. After the feast of the Purification, at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse (where the king was present in person, with the king of Almaine, the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other of the Nobles) commandement was giuen to the maior, that euerie stripling of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, should before his alderman be sworne to be true to the king and his heires kings of England, and that the gates of the citie should be kept with armed men, as before by the king of Romans was deuised.

Fabian.
A folkemote holden at Pauls crosse.

An oth to be true to the king.

The lord Spenser discharged of his office.

About Easter the barons of the land with consent of the peeres, discharged sir Hugh Spenser of his office of chéefe iustice, and placed in his roome sir Philip Basset without the kings assent, he being not made priuie therevnto. Wherevpon a new occasion of displeasure was ministered to kindle debate betwixt the king and his lords, but by the policie of the king of Almaine and some prelats, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next insuing, which was the 46 yeare of K. Henries reigne. At that time the barons tooke vpon them to discharge such shiriffes as the king had elected & named gardians of the countries and shires, and in their places put other shiriffes, and besides that would not suffer the iustice which the king had admitted, to doo his office in keeping his circuit, but appointed such to doo it, as it pleased them to assigne, wherwith the king was so much offended, that he laboured by all means to him possible about the disanulling of the ordinances made at Oxford, and vpon the second sundaie in Lent, he caused to be read at Paules crosse a bull, obteined of pope Vrbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other bull before purchased of his predecessour pope Alexander, for the absoluing of the king, and all other that were sworne to the maintenance of the articles agreed vpon at Oxford. This absolution he caused to be shewed through the realmes of England, Wales & Ireland, giuing streight charge that if any person were found that would disobeie this absolution, the same should be committed to prison, there to remaine till the kings pleasure were further knowne.

An. Reg. 46.
The presumptuous proceedings of the barõs against the king.

1262.

A bull read at Pauls crosse.

Matth. West.
Many gouernors pernicious to a commonwealth.

Suerlie the most part of those péeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hand, perceiuing the enormitie that dailie grew of so manifold heads and gouernours, were minded of themselues to dissolue those prouisions and ordinances so made at Oxford, in somuch that there were but fiue which stiffelie stood in defense of the same, that is to saie, the bishop of Worcester, and the earles of Leicester and Glocester, with

Henrie

Henrie Spenser, and Peter de Montfort, the which by no meanes could be brought to confesse that they might with a safe conscience go contrarie to those ordinances which they had confirmed with their solemne oth, notwithstanding the popes dispensation; whereas the same oth was rather a bond of iniquitie (as saith Matth. Westminster) deuised to conspire against Christ and his annointed, that is to saie, their naturall liege lord and lawfull king, than any godlie oth aduisedlie taken, or necessarie to be receiued of good meaning subiects, yea and of such a friuolous oth it is said, that

In aqua scribitur & in puluere exaratur.

In Iune the king of Almaine tooke shipping and sailed ouer into Dutchland, and king Henrie at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse the sundaie after S. Peters day, had licence to saile into France and the morrow after he departed from London towards the sea side, with the quéene and other lords, his two sonnes prince Edward and the earle of Lancaster being at that present in Guien. When he had béene a season in France, he went vnto Burdeaux, and there fell sicke of a feuer quartane, by occasion whereof he taried in those parties till S. Nicholas tide next following. There were few that went ouer with him that escaped frée without the same disease, so that in maner all his companie were taken and sore handled therewith. Manie died thereof to the number of thréescore, and amongst them as chéefe were these, Baldwine de Lisle earle of Deuonshire, Ingram de Percie, and William de Beauchampe.

The king of Almaine goeth ouer into Germanie. *Fabian.*

The king hauing licence passeth ouer into France.

He falleth sick of a feuer quartane. *Chro. Dun.*

Death of noble men.

In this yeare died Richard the Clare earle of Glocester, and his sonne sir Gilbert de Clare was earle after him, vnto whome his father gaue great charge that he should maineine the ordinances of Oxford. In the 47 yeare of king Henries reigne, by reason that a Iew had wounded a christian man at London within Colechurch, in the ward of cheap, not onelie the said Iew was slaine by other christians that followed him home to his house, but also manie other Iewes were robbed and slaine in that furie and rage of the people. The Welshmen with their prince Leolin made wars against the men and tenants of Roger de Mortimer; and tooke two of his castels (the one called Kenet) and raced them both to the ground. The said Roger being sore gréeued herwith, got such assistance as he could of other lords there in the marches, and watching the Welshmen at aduantage, distressed diuerse companies of them, sometime three hundred, sometime foure hundred, and other whiles fiue hundred. But at one time he lost thrée hundred of his footmen that were entred the countrie, and so inclosed that they could make no shift to escape.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life. An. Reg. 47.

Iewes slaine. *Matth. Westm.*

The Welshmen warre against ye lord Mortimers tenants.

He séeketh his reuenge against them.

Vpon the euen of S. Thomas the apostle, the king landed at Douer, and came to London the Wednesdaie before the twelfe day in Christmasse. In this yeare the frost began about S. Nicholas daie, and continued for the space of a moneth and more, so extreamelie, that the Thames was frosen, so that men passed ouer on horssebacke. ¶ The same winter the kings little hall at Westminster, with manie other houses therevnto adioining, was consumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings seruants. Variance rose betwixt the citizens of London, and the constable of the towre, for that contrarie to the liberties of the citie he tooke certeine ships passing by the towre with wheat and other vittels into the towre, making the price thereof himselfe. The matter was had before sir Philip Basset lord cheefe iustice and others, who vpon the sight and hearing of all such euidences and priuiledges as could be brought foorth for the aduantage of both the parties, tooke order that the constable should (when he lacked prouision of graine or vittels) come into the market holden within the citie, and there to haue wheat two pence in a quarter within the maiors price, and other vittels after the same rate.

Fabian. 1263.

Thames frosen.

Variance betwixt the citizens of London and the constable of the towre.

Prince Edward the kings sonne returning from the parts beyond the sea, went with a great power (as well of Englishmen as strangers) against the Welshmen towards Snowdon hils: but the enimies withdrawing themselues to their strengths within the woods and mounteines, he could not much indamage them, wherevpon after he had fortified certeine castels in those parts, with men, munition, and vittels, he returned being sent for backe

Matth. West. Prince Edward goeth against the Welshmen.

The archb. of Canturburie goeth to Rome.

of his father. The archbishop of Canturburie foreseeing the trouble that was like to insue betwixt the king and his barons, got licence of the king to go vnto Rome, about such businesse as he fained to haue to doo with the pope, and so departed the land, and kept him awaie till the trouble was appeased. Vpon midlent sundaie, at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse, before sir Philip Basset and other of the kings councell, the maior of London was sworne to be true to the king, and to his heires kings of England, and vpon the morrow at the Guildhall euerie alderman in presence of the maior tooke the same oth. And vpon the sundaie following, euerie inhabitant within the citie, of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, before his alderman in his ward was newlie charged with the like oth.

Fabian.

The lord maior of London sworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice bursteth out.

The barons raise people. The lord Clifford.

Then began the displeasure betwéene the king and his barons to appeare, which had béene long kept secret, diuers of whom assembling togither in the marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the seale of sir Roger Clifford, beséeching him to haue in remembrance his oth and manifold promises made for the obseruing of the statutes ordeined at Oxford. But although this letter was indited and written verie effectuallie, yet receiued they no answer from the king, who minded in no wise to obserue the same statutes, as by euident tokens it was most apparant. Wherevpon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpose to passe. The king and the quéene for their more safegard got them into the towre of London, and prince Edward laie at Clerkenwell, but in such necessitie and discredit for monie, that neither had they anie store to furnish their wants, neither was there anie man that would trust them with a groat.

Chron. Dun.

Prince Edward taketh monie out of ye treasurie of the temple.

Prince Edward not able to abide such dishonor, in the feast of the apostle Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, and certeine others, went to the new temple, and there calling for the kéeper of the treasure-house, as if he meant to see his mothers iewels, that were laid vp there, to be safelie kept, he entred into the house, and breaking the cofers of certeine persons that had likewise brought their monie thither, to haue it in more safetie, he tooke away from thence the value of 1000 pounds.

Mat. lib. 11. *Hor. lib. car.* 3. *ode* 24.

——ô quantum cogit egestas!
Magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
Quiduis & facere & pati,
Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ.

The Londoners rob the house of the lord Gray.

The citizens of London were so offended herewith that they rose in armour against him and other of the kings councell, in somuch that they assailed the lodging of the lord Iohn Gray without Ludgate, and tooke out of his stables 32 horsses, and such other things as they might laie hold vpon, kéeping such stur that the lord Gray himselfe was forced to flie beyond Fleetbridge. The like rule they kept at the house of Iohn de Passelew.

Iohn Mãsell fléeth into France.

Iohn Mansell departing foorth of the towre to the Thames, with the countesse de Lisle, and other ladies that were strangers borne, sailed into France, and landed at Whitsand, where the said Mansell hearing that the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the barons was in those parts, he caused the lord Ingram de Fines to staie him as prisoner, and so he remained, till king Henrie vpon the agreement betwixt him and the barons, found meanes to get him released, and so then he returned into England.

The barons that rose against the king.

But now touching the barons, they procéeded in their businesse which they had in hand with all earnest diligence of whom these were the chéefe that vndertooke this matter: yoong Humfrie de Boun, the lord Henrie son to the king of Almaine, Henrie Montford, Hugh Spenser, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Richard Gray, Iohn Ross, William Marmion, Henrie Hastings, Haimon le Strange, Iohn Fitz Iohn, Godfrey Lucie, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leiborne, Iohn Vesie, Roger de Clifford, Iohn de Vaus, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacie, and Robert Vepont, the which with one generall consent elected for their chéefe capteins and generall gouernours, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester,

Their chéefe capteins.

Gilbert

Gilbert of Clare earle of Glocester, and Robert Ferries earle of Darbie, and Iohn earle of Warren. On the kings part these persons are named to stand with him against the other. First, Roger Bigod erle of Norffolke and Suffolke, Humfrie de Boun earle of Hereford, Hugh Bigod lord cheefe iustice, Philip Basset, William de Valence, Geffrey de Lucignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Walrand, Iohn Mansell, Geffrey Langley, Iohn Gray, William Latimer, Henrie Percie, and manie other. The barons notwithstanding hauing assembled their powers, resolued to go through with their purpose. The barons that tooke part with the king.

The first enterprise they made was at Hereford, where they tooke the bishop of that sée named Iohn Breton, and as manie of his canons as were strangers borne. After this they tooke sir Matthew de Bezilles shiriffe of Glocester, a stranger borne; and kéeping on their waie towards London with baners displaied, so manie as came within their reach, whom they knew to be against the maintenance of the statutes of Oxford, they spoiled them of their houses, robbed them of their goods, and imprisoned their bodies, hauing no regard whether they were spirituall men or temporall. In diuerse of the kings castels they placed such capteins and soldiers as they thought conuenient, and displaced others whom they either knew or suspected to be aduersaries to their purpose. *Risanger* hot. ath this to be 1264. The barons make hauock.

About Midsummer when they drew néere to London, they sent a letter to the maior and aldermen vnder the seale of the earle of Leicester, willing to vnderstand whether they would obserue the acts and statutes established at Oxford, or else aid and assist such persons as meant the breach of the same. And herewith they sent vnto them a copie of those articles, with a prouiso, that if any of them were preiudiciall, or in any wise hurtfull to the realme and common-wealth, that then the same by the aduise of discréet persons should be amended and reformed. The maior bare this letter and the copie of the articles vnto the king, who in this meane time remained in the towre of London, togither with the quéene and the king of Almaine, latelie returned out of Almaine; also his sonne prince Edward, and manie other of his councell. The king asked of the maior what he thought of those articles? Who made such answer as the king séemed well pleased therewith, and so permitted the maior to returne againe into the citie, who toke much paine in keeping the citie in good quiet now in that dangerous time. The diligence of the lord maior of London.

All such the inhabitants as were strangers borne, and suspected to fauour either of the parties, were banished the citie, but within a while after, prince Edward set them or the most part of them in offices within the castell of Windsore. On the saturdaie next after the translation of saint Benet, as the quéene would haue passed by water from the tower vnto Windsore, a sort of lewd naughtipacks got them to the bridge, making a noise at hir, and crieng; Drowne the witch, threw downe stones, cudgels, dirt, and other things at hir, so that she escaped in great danger of hir person, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further pursued, landed there, and so she staied till the maior of London with much adoo appesing the furie of the people, repaired to the quéene and brought hir backe againe in safetie vnto the tower. And (as some write) bicause the king would not suffer hir to enter againe into the tower, the maior conueied hir vnto the bishop of Londons house by Paules and there lodged hir. The misdemeanor of lewd persons towards the quéene. *Chron. Dunst.*

The barons in this meane time hauing got the citie of Worcester and Bridgenorth, with other places, were come into the south parts, to the end that they might win the castell of Douer, and find some meanes to set the lord Henrie (sonne to the king of Almaine that was prisoner beyond the seas) at libertie. In the meane time the bishops of Lincolne, London and Chester, trauelled betwixt the king and barons for a peace; but the barons would not agree, except that the king and queene would first cause the lord Henrie to be set at libertie, and deliuer into their hands the castels of Windsore, Douer, and other fortresses, and send awaie all the strangers, and take such order that the prouisions of Oxenford might be obserued, as well by the king as others. *Matth. West.* *Chron. Dunst.* Bishops trauell to make peace.

The king although these conditions seemed verie hard and displeasant to his mind, yet was he driuen to such an extremitie that he granted to accept them, and so an agreement

was made and had betwixt him and the lords. But now all the difficultie was to appease the lord Edward, and to remooue the strangers which he had placed in the castell of Windsore, which they had not onelie fortified, but also in manner destroied the towne, and doone much hurt in the countrie round about them. There were to the number of an hundred knights or men of armes (as I may call them) beside a great number of other men of warre. But now after that the king had agréed to the peace, the barons entred the citie on the sundaie before S. Margarets daie; and shortlie after the king came to Westminster with the quéene, and those of his councell. And immediatlie herevpon, by consent of the king and the barons, sir Hugh Spenser was made cheefe iustice and kéeper of the tower. During the time that the lords remained in London, manie robberies and riots were doone within the citie, and small redresse had in correcting the offendors, they were so borne out and mainteined by their maisters and others.

Strangers kéepe the castell of Windsore.

The commons of the citie were farre out of order, for in the assemblies and courts, as well at Guildhall as in other places, the matters and iudgement of things went by the voices of the simple and vndiscreet multitude, so that the substantiall and worshipfull citizens were not regarded. The barons on the morrow following the feast of saint Iames, departed from London toward Windsore, in which meane while prince Edward was gone to Bristow, & there thinking himselfe to be out of danger, by mishap there rose variance betwixt the citizens & his men, so that the whole citie reuolted from him, and prepared to besiege him in the castell, not doubting but easilie to win it. When he saw how the world went, he sent to the bishop of Worcester that was of the barons side, promising that he would agrée with the barons, if he would helpe to deliuer him out of the Bristow mens hands. The bishop taking his promise conueied him foorth in safetie toward the court; but when he came neere vnto Windsore, he turned thither, greatlie to the mislíking of the bishop: yet neuerthelesse when the barons came forward to besiege that castle, the lord Edward met them not farre from Kingston, offering them conditions of peace. Some write that he was staied and not suffered to returne againe to Windsore, after he had ended his talke with the barons: but howsoeuer it was, the castell was surrendred, with condition that those that were within it should safelie depart, and so they did, and were conducted to the sea by Humphrey de Bohun the yoonger. ¶ About the same time, Leolin prince of Wales destroied the lands of prince Edward in Cheshire, and the marshes thereabouts. The two castels of Disard and Gannoc he tooke and destroied, being two verie faire fortresses.

The great disorder in the citie of London.

Abington.

Nic. Treuet.

About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which all the nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present; and then the citie of London, and the cinque ports ioined in league as confederats with the barons: but the king plainly protested before all the assemblie, that by the statutes and prouisions (as they termed them) made at Oxenford, he was much deceiued. For contrarie to that which the barons had promised, he felt himselfe rather charged with more debt than anie thing releeued: and therefore sith he had obteined of the pope an absolution of the oth both for himselfe and his people, his request was to be restored vnto his former estate of all such prerogatiues as in time past he had inioied. The barons on the other side stiffelie mainteined, that they could not with safe consciences go against their oth, and therefore they meant to stand in defense of the articles aforesaid euen so long as they had a daie to liue.

A parlement.

Abington.

The kings protestation against the articles at Oxenford.

Thus whilest both parts kept so farre from all hope of agreement, and were now in point to haue departed in sunder, through mediation of some bishops that were present a peace was concluded, and the parties so agréed, that all matters in controuersie touching the articles, prouisions, and statutes made at Oxenford should be ordered and iudged by the French king, whom they chose as arbitrator betwixt them. Herevpon, on the thirteenth of September, both the king and quéene, with their sonnes, and diuerse other of the nobles of this land, tooke shipping, and sailed ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as

The matter put to the French king.

as then was at a parlement, with a great number of the nobles and péeres of France. The earle of Leicester also with diuerse of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the end vpon due examination, and orderlie hearing of the whole processe of all their controuersies, gaue express sentence, that all and euerie of the said statutes and ordinances deuised at Oxford, should be from thencefoorth vtterlie void, and all bonds and promises made by king Henrie, or anie other for performance of them, should likewise be adnihilated, for-doone, and clearelie cancelled. The French king giueth sentence against the barons.

The barons highlie displeased herewith, refused to stand to the French kings award herein, bicause he had iudged altogither on the kings side. Wherevpon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feast of S. Edward, the king and the barons eftsoones met at London, holding a new parlement at Westminster, but no good could be doone. Then when the king of Almaine and prince Edward, with others of the kings councell saw that by rapine, oppression, and extortion practised by the barons against the kings subiects, as well spirituall as temporall, the state of the realme and the kings honour was much decaied, and brought in manner vnto vtter ruine, they procured the king to withdraw secretlie from Westminster vnto Windsore castell, of which his sonne prince Edward had gotten the possession by a traine. From Windsore he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Oxford, hauing a great power with him. An. Reg. 48. *Matth. Westm.*

At his being at Oxford there came vnto him the lord Henrie, son to the king of Almaine, Iohn earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leiborne, Haimond le Strange, and Iohn de Vaux, which had reuolted from the barons to the kings side, Iohn Gifford also did the like: but he shortlie after returned to the barons part againe. The kings sonne the lord Edward had procured them thus to reuolt, promising to euerie of them in reward by his charter of grant fiftie pounds lands to aid the king his father and him against the barons. The lords that reuolted to the king.

After this the king went to Winchester, and from thence came backe vnto Reading, and then he marched foorth with his armie vnto Douer, where he could not be suffered to come into the castell, being kept out by the lord Richard Gray that was capteine there. Herevpon he returned to London, where the barons againe were entred, through fauour of the commoners, against the will of the chéefe citizens, and here they fell eftsoones to treat of agréement, but their talke profited nothing. And so in the Christmasse wéeke the king, with his sonne prince Edward and diuerse other of the councell sailed ouer againe into France, and went to Amiens, where they found the French king, and a great number of his nobles. Also for the barons, Peter de Montford, and other were sent thither as commissioners, and as some write, at that present, to wit on the 24 daie of Ianuarie, the French king sitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitiue sentence on the behalfe of king Henrie against the barons: but whether he gaue that sentence now, or the yeare before, the barons iudged him verie parciall, and therefore meant not to stand vnto his arbitrement therein. *Chron. Dun.* *Abington.* 1264. The king goeth again ouer to the French king. *Fabian.*

The king hauing ended his businesse with the French king, returned into England, and came to London the morrow after S. Valentines day. And about seuen or eight daies after, the lord Edward his eldest sonne returned also, and hearing that the barons were gone to the marshes of Wales (where ioining with the Welshmen, they had begun to make warre against the kings freends, and namelie against his lieutenant Roger lord Mortimer, whome they had besieged in the castell of Wigmore) the lord Edward therevpon, with such power as he could get togither, marched thitherwards to raise their siege: but the lord Mortimer perceiuing himselfe in danger, fled priuilie out of the castell, and got to Hereford, whither the prince was come. The barons inforced their strength in such wise that they wan the castell. Prince Edward on the other side tooke the castels of Haie and Huntington that belonged vnto the earle of Hereford yoong Henrie de Boun. *Nic. Triuet.* Castels gotten by prince Edward.

The

The castel of Brecknoc was also deliuered into his hands, which he béetooke to the kéeping of the lord Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto belonging. Robert earle of Darbie that tooke part with the barons, besieged the citie of Worcester, and tooke it by the old castell, sacked the citizens goods, and constreined the Iewes to be baptised. The citie of Glocester also was taken by the barons: but prince Edward following them and reparing the bridge ouer Seuerne, which the barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the castell of Glocester with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter bishop of Worcester, a truce was taken betwixt prince Edward and the barons that had taken the towne, during the which truce the barons left the towne, and the burgesses submitted themselues vnto prince Edward: and so he hauing the castell and towne in his hands, imprisoned manie of the burgesses & fined the towne at the summe of a thousand pounds. Then he drew towards his father lieng at Oxford or at Woodstoke, gathering people togither on ech hand.

Worcester taken.

Matth. Westm. The citie of Glocester recouered and put to fine.

In the meane time the lords drew towards London, and the new assurance by writing indented was made betweene the communaltie of the citie and the barons, without consent of any of the rulers of the citie. The commoners herewith appointed of themselues two capteins, which they named constables of the citie, that is to saie, Thomas Piwelsdon & Stephan Bukerell, by whose commandement and tolling of the great bell of Paules all the citie was warned to be readie in harnesse, to attend vpon the said two capteins. About the beginning of Lent the constable of the towre sir Hugh Spenser, with the said two capteins, and a great multitude of the citizens and others went to Thistleworth, and there spoiled the manour place of the king of Almaine, and then set it on fire, and destroied the water milles, and other commodities which he there had. This déed was the cause (as some haue iudged) of the warre that after insued. For where before this time the said king of Almaine had beene, by reason of the alliance betwixt him and the earle of Glocester, continuallie an intreater for peace, he was now euer after this time an vtter enimie vnto the barons, and vnto their side, so farre as laie in his power.

The cõmoners of the citie of London agrée with the barons. *R. Fabian.*

The manor of Thistleworth spoiled.

The chéefe cause that set the K. of Almaine so sore against the barons.

The king hearing of this riotous act, and being informed that Peter de Mountfort was at Northampton, assembling people to strengthen the barons part, he got togither such men of warre as he could from all places, and so he had with him his brother Richard king of Almaine, his eldest sonne the lord Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mothers side, & Iohn Comin of Ward in Scotland with a great number of Scots, Iohn Ballioll lord of Gallowaie, Robert Bruis lord of Annandale, Roger Clifford, Philip Marmion, Iohn Vaux, Iohn Leiborne, Henrie Percie, Philip Basset, and Roger Mortimer.

The lords that followed the king.

Thus the king hauing these Noble men about him, with his armie sped him towards Northampton, and comming thither tooke the towne by force, slue diuerse, and tooke prisoners Peter Mountfort, and Simon Mountfort the earle of Leicesters son, William Ferries, Baldwin Wake, with Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Wateruile, Hugh Gubiun, Robert Buteuilein, Adam of Newmarch, Robert Newton, Philip Dribie, Grimbald Pauncefoet, Roger Beltram, Thomas Mansell, and diuerse other, to the number of 80 knights (or as Matthew Westminster hath 15 barons, and 60 knights) besides a great number of esquires and burgesses, the which were bestowed abroad in sundrie prisons. The towne (as some write) was taken by this meanes. Whilest diuerse of the capteins within were talking with the king on the one side of the towne towards the meadowes, the lord Philip Bassett approched the walles néere vnto the monasterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people hauing spades, mattocks, and other instruments prouided for the purpose, vndermined a great paine of the wall, and reuersed the same into ditches, making such a breach, that fortie horssemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in such moonks of the abbeie as were strangers, as though they should prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howsoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies hands.

Northampton taken by force.

This

This also is to be remembred, that where by reason of variance, which had chanced that yere betwixt the scholers of Oxford and the townesmen, a great number of the same scholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there studied. They had raised a banner to fight in defense of the towne against the king, and did more hurt to the assailants than anie other band; wherevpon the king threatened to hang them all, and so had he doone indéed, if by the persuasion of his councell he had not altered his purpose, doubting to procure the hatred of their frends, if the execution should haue béene so rigorouslie prosecuted against them: for there were amongst them manie yoong gentlemen of good houses and noble parentage. Thus was the towne of Northampton taken on a saturdaie being Passion sundaie euen, and the morrow after the daie of S. Ambrose which is the fift of Aprill. On the monday following, the king led his armie towards Leicester, where the burgesses receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Notingham, burning and wasting the houses and manors of the barons and other of his enimies, and speciallie those that belonged to the earle of Leicester. Here he also gathered more people, and so increased his power in somuch that diuerse Noblemen, as Roger Clifford, Henrie Percie, Richard Gray, Philip Basset, Richard Sward, and Hubert earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in their companions, reuolted incontinentlie to the kings side.

Scholers fight against the king.

Some write that Iohn de Baliol and Robert de Bruis, and Peter de Bruis, came to him here and not before.

He sent his sonne prince Edward into Darbishire and Staffordshire with a strong power, where he wasted the manours and possessions of Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, and namelie he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Tutburie. Wheresoeuer the kings armie, or that which his sonne prince Edward led, chanced to come, there followed spoiling, burning, and killing. The barons on the other side sate not still, for the lord Iohn Gifford, with others that were appointed by the earle of Leicester to keepe Killingworth castell (which was furnished with all things necessarie, maruellouslie, and with such strange kind of engines as had not béene lightlie heard of nor séene in these parts) tooke by a policie the castell of Warwike, and William Manduit earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it; and leading them to Killingworth, there comitted them to prison. The cause was, for that they suspected him that he would take part with the king against them. The castell of Warwike they raced downe, least the kings people should take it for their refuge. In the Passion weeke the Iewes that inhabited in London being detected of treason, which they had deuised against the barons and citizens, were slaine almost all the whole number of them, and great riches found in their houses, which were taken and caried awaie by those that ransacked the same houses.

Matt. West.

The castell of Tutburie defaced.

The castell of Warwike taken.

The castell of Warwike raced.

The Iewes are killed.

After Easter the earle of Leicester, hauing London at his commandement, went to Rochester and besieged that citie, but the capteine thereof Iohn earle of Warren did manfullie resist the enimies; till the king aduertised thereof, with the power of the marshes of the north parts and other came and remooued the siege. This doone, he left a conuenient garrison within the citie to defend it, and comming to Tunbridge, wan the castell, and taking the countesse of Glocester that was within it, permitted hir to depart. This doone, he repaired to the sea side towards France, to staie there till his brethren, Geffrey and Guie, the sonnes of the earle of Marsh should arriue with some band of souldiers, for whom he had now sent and reuoked into the realme, being latelie before banished by the Nobles, as before yée haue heard. They shortlie after landed, wherevpon the king hauing his power increased, came to Lewes, and pight downe his field not farre from that towne.

Rochester besieged.

N. Triuet. Matth. West.

The kings halfe brethren come out of France to his aid.

The king incampeth at Lewes.

In the end of Aprill the barons hearing where the king was, departed from London with a great multitude of the citizens, whom they placed in the vantward, and marched foorth towards the king, and comming neere to the place where he was lodged, set downe their tents, and incamped themselues a little beside him. Either here or by the waie as they came forward, the barons deuised a letter, and sent it vnto the king, conteining an excuse of their dooings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towards him, and the

The barons send a letter to the king.

the wealth of the realme; and heerewith accused those that were about him; and with euill counsell misinformed him, both against them, against the publike wealth of the land, and his owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of Maie, and subscribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part doo here insue, but yet not all; Sir Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester and high steward of England, sir Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, Robert Ferrers earle of Darbie, Hugh Spenser lord cheefe iustice, & Henrie Montfort sonne and heire to the earle of Leicester, Richard Grey, Henrie Hastings, Iohn Fitz Iohn, Robert de Véepont, Iohn Ginuile, Robert Roos, William Marmion, Baldwine Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lucie, Iohn de Veisie, William de Mountchensie, with other. The king answered this letter, in charging them with rebellion, and mooning of open war against him, to the great disquieting of the realme. Also he laid vnto their charge, the burning of the manours, houses and places of his nobles and councellors; and herewith defied them by the same answer, which was dated at Lewes aforesaid on the twelfth of Maie.

The answer to ye barons.

He defieth them.

Also the king of Romanes, and prince Edward sent their defiance to the barons at the same time in writing vnder their seales, for that the barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with misleading the king with vntrue informations and sinister counsell. Thus as they writ to and fro such nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten and laid aside, so that they prepared to battell. The king had indéed the greater number of armed men, but manie of them were vnfaithfull, and cared not greatlie though the losse fell to his side, and so whilest they went to it without order, & vnaduisedlie, they fought at aduenture, & continued but faintly. His capteines made three battels of their armie, the lord Edward led the foreward, and with him William de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Iohn de Warren erle of Surrey and Sussex. In the second, the K. of Almaine, with his sonne Henrie were cheeftaines. The third the king gouerned himselfe.

Matth. West.

N. Triuet.

The ordering of the battels.

The barons diuided their host into foure battels, the first was vnder the gouernment of the lord Henrie de Montfort and others. The second was led by the lord Gilbert de Clare, the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the lord William de Mountchensie. The third, in which the Londoners were placed, the lord Nicholas de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simon Montfort earle of Leicester himselfe, and one Thomas de Peuelston. Thus being ordered, on the fourteenth of Maie being Wednesdaie, they ioined in fight, and at the first incounter, the L. Henrie de Hastings, the lord Geffrey de Lucie, & Humfrey de Bohun the yoonger were wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beaten backe: for prince Edward so fiercelie assailed them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated them indeed aboue all other, namelie for that of late they had misvsed his mother, reuiling hir, and throwing durt and stones at hir, when she passed the bridge (as before ye haue heard) which wrong and abuse by them committed was peraduenture on their parts forgotten, but of prince Edward (as it séemeth) remembred, for

The battels ioine.

Chron. Dunst.

Prince Edward pursueth the Londoners.

Puluere qui lædit, sed læsus marmore scribit.

Herevpon prince Edward now to be reuenged of them, after they began to flie, most egerlie following them, chased & slue them by heaps. But whilest he separated himselfe by such earnest following of the Londoners too farre from the residue of the kings armie, he was the onelie cause of the losse of that field: for the earle of Leicester, perceiuing that the prince with the chiefest force of the kings armie was thus gone after the Londoners (of whom he made no great account) he exhorted his people to shew their valiancie at that instant, and so comming vpon his aduersaries with great courage, in a moment put them to flight. There were taken the king of Almaine, the lords Iohn de Burgh and Philip Basset with all other the chiefest that were about the king, but the king himselfe retired with those few about him that were left, into the priorie of Lewes, and other there were that withdrew into the castell. The barons pursuing them, entered the towne, and tooke or slue so manie as they found within the castell and priorie.

The kings part put to the worse.

Matt. Westm.

Nic. Triuet.

At length, prince Edward returned from the chase of the Londoners, whom he had pursued for the space of foure miles, and finding the field lost, began a new battell: but the earle of Surrie, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, hauing with them thrée hundred armed men, streightwaies fled vnto the castell of Pemsie. Prince Edward then perceiuing slaughter to be made on each hand, cast about the towne, and with his companie got into the priorie to his father. *Matth. Paris.* Seuen hundred hath *Abington.* Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.

In the meane time the barons gaue assault to the castell, but they within valiantlie defended themselues, with whose hardie dooings prince Edward incouraged, gathered his people togither againe, and meant eftsoones to giue battell; but the subtill head of the earle of Leicester beguiled them all, for he caused certeine friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt them, which comming to the king and to the prince his sonne, declared that the barons, to auoid that more christian bloud should not be spilt, would be contented to haue the matter put in compromise of indifferent persons; but if it were so, that the king and his sonne would néeds stand to the vttermost triall of battell, they would not faile but strike off the heads of the king of Almaine and other prisoners, which they would set vpon the ends of their speares in stéed of standards. Friers suborned to treat a peace.

The king and his people hauing the respect of pitie before their eies, changed their purposed intent to fight, and falling to a parle (which continued for the most part of all the night next following) at length it was agreed vpon, that the French king with thrée prelats and three other noble men of the temporaltie, should choose foorth and name two noble men of France, which comming into England should take a third person to them whom they thought good, and they thrée should haue the hearing of all controuersies betwixt the king and the barons, and what order so euer they tooke therein, the same should stand, and be receiued for a perfect conclusion and stable decrée. This agréement was confirmed, and prince Edward and Henrie sonne to the king of Almaine were appointed to remaine as hostages with the barons. An agréement taken. *Matth. West.*

¶ Other write otherwise of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not onelie the king of Romans, but also king Henrie himselfe, hauing his owne horsse thrust through on both sides, was taken, and likewise his sonne prince Edward with other on their side, to the number of fiue and twentie barons and bannerets: and that moreouer, there died on the kings side that day in the battell and chase, six thousand and fiue hundred men, as Polydor noteth: howbeit, Richard Southwell saith, there died on both parts onlie 3400. But Matth. Westminster waiteth, that as the report went, there died fiue thousand on both sides, and amongst other, these he nameth as chéefe, William de Wilton one of the kings iustices, & the lord Fouke Fitz Waren a baron that tooke the kings part. On the barons side, the lord Rafe Heringander a baron also, and William Blunt the earles standard bearer. Of them that were taken on the kings side, beside such as before are recited, we find these named, Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, William lord Bardolfe, Robert lord of Tatshale, Roger lord Somerie, Henrie lord Percie, Iohn de Baliol, Robert de Bruis, and Iohn Comin, with other barons of Scotland, hauing lost all their footmen whom they had brought with them to the kings aid. *Polydor.* *Matth. Westm.* Lords taken on the kings side.

Moreouer, it should appeare by some writers, that the king being thus in captiuitie, was constreined to make a new grant, that the statutes of Oxford shuld stand in force, and if any were thought vnreasonable, the same should be reformed by foure Noble men of the realme of France, two of the spiritualtie and two of the temporaltie. And if those foure could not agrée, then the earle of Aniou and the duke of Burgoigne shuld be iudges in the matter. ¶ But if either those or the other were appointed to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the successe of the battell is true; for if both the king and his sonne had béene taken prisoners in the field, the barons would suerlie haue constreined him to haue consented to the obseruance of the statutes, without putting the same in compromise, to be altered at the discretion of any arbitrators, and namelie strangers. *Fabian.* *N. Trinet.* *Matth. Westm.*

But

Peace proclaimed.

But howsoeuer it was, on the tuesday before the Ascension day, peace was proclaimed in London, betweene the king and the barons; and whereas the king either by constreint for safegard of himselfe or his frèends, either vpon assurance of the barons promise, committed himselfe vnto the companie of the same barons, at their comming with him to London they went from this last agréement, and foorthwith deuised other ordinances as thus.

A new deuise of the barons.

They ordeined, that two earles and a bishop, which being elected out by the communaltie, should choose to them nine other persons, and of these, three of them should still remaine about the king, and by their order and the other nine, all things should be gouerned both in the court and in the realme. They constreined the king and his sonne prince Edward (menacing to depose the one, and to kéepe the other in perpetuall prison) to consent and agrée to this last ordinance: and so the earles of Leicester and Glocester, and the bishop of Chichester were ordeined there the cheefe rulers, and letters sent with all spéed vnto the cardinall Sabinensis the popes legat, and to the king of France, to signifie to them, that the compromise agréed vpon at Lewes was vtterlie reuoked, and that a new peace in freendlie wise was concluded.

But although the bishops of London, Winchester, and Worcester instantlie required the said legat, that he would helpe to further the same peace, yet he sore rebuked them, in that they would giue their consent, so much to abase and bring vnder the kings roiall power. And bicause he might not be suffered to enter the realme, he first cited them to appeare before him at Bullongne. And whereas they séemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both suspended the said three bishops, and excommunicated the said earles of Leicester and Glocester, and their complices, with the citie of London, and the cinque ports: but the foresaid bishops, earles and barons, feigning to make their appeales to the popes consistorie, or if néed were, vnto a generall councell and so foorth, though indeed trusting more to the temporall sword, than fearing the spirituall, they did not forbeare to saie and heare diuine seruice in churches and else-where, as before they had doone, till the comming of the cardinall Othobone.

Matth. West.

The capteines and men of warre, whom the king had left at Tunbridge, immediatlie vpon the agréement concluded betwixt the king and the barons, were commanded by the K. to depart, & repaire euerie man to his home; but they fearing the malice of their enimies, would not breake in sunder, but kéeping togither, went straight to Bristowe, and there remained, till the lord Edward the kings sonne was escaped out of captiuitie. But this is to be remembred, that before their departure from Tunbridge, when by report of William de Saie, who escaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they vnderstood how the matter had passed on both sides, and that the Londoners being chased out of the field, were lodged at Croidon, about the euening tide they came thither, and assailing them in their lodgings, slue manie, and wan a great spoile. The earle of Leicester and the barons hauing the rule of the king and realme in their hands, sought to oppresse all such as they knew to be against them, and not to like of their procéedings; namelie, the northerne lords, and those of the marshes of Wales, as the lord Mortimer and others: but waxing herewith wilfull, they vsed things with small discretion, which at length brought them to confusion. For the foure sonnes of the earle of Leicester, Henrie, Guie, Simon, and an other Henrie, which had serued right worthilie indéed on the daie of the battell, began to waxe so proud, that in comparison of themselues, they despised all others.

N. Triuet.

The Londoners spoiled at Croidon.

Matt. West.

The lords of the marshes of Wales, as Roger de Mortimer, Iames de Audelie, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiborne, Haimon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had escaped from the battell at Lewes, began to make against them that had thus vsurped the rule of the land, vnder colour of hauing the king in their hands. The earle of Leicester aduertised hereof, ioined in league with Leolin prince of Wales, and comming with the king into those parts, entered into the castell of Hereford, into the which he remooued the lord Edward from Douer, where he was first kept in ward, after he had yéelded himselfe at Lewes. After this, the earle of Leicester recouered the castell of Haie, and wasting

ing the lands and manours of the lord Mortimer, constreined Hugh Mortimer to yéeld himselfe, so that his castell called Richar, and other his possessions, were committed to the kéeping of the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn. Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, with a great puissance of horssemen and footmen came to Chester, in fauour of the earle of Leicester, against whome although William de Cousche, and Dauid brother to the prince of Wales, taking the contrarie part with the lord Iames Audelie and other, came to incounter, yet they durst not abide him, but fled, and lost an hundred of their men.

The earle of Darbie commeth to Chester with 20 thousand men.

In the meane time, the earle of Leicester procéeding in his businesse, wan the castell of Ludlow, and after marching towards Montgomerie, whither the lords Roger de Mortimer, and Iames Audelie were withdrawne, he constreined them at length to a feigned agreement, so that they gaue hostages, promising to come to the next parlement that was appointed to be holden, where they were banished the land for a twelue moneths, and all the castels on the marshes, in manner from Bristow to Chester, were deliuered to the earle. After this (as by Nicholas Triuet it appeareth) there was a great assemblie of men of warre made out of all parts of the realme, to resist such strangers as the quéene (remaining in the parts beyond the seas) had got togither, meaning to send them into England to aid the king against the barons, and for that purpose had caused a great number of ships to be brought into the hauen of Dam. But now that the king was in the barons hands, and that such a multitude of horssemen and footmen were assembled on Barham-downe (as a man would not haue thought had béene possible to haue found within the whole relme) to resist the landing of those strangers, the said strangers were sent home againe, without hauing doone anie pleasure to the quéene, other than spent hir monie. The king held his Christmas at Woodstoke; and the earle of Leicester, who séemed then to rule the whole realme, kept his Christmasse at Killingworth.

The lords Mortimer and Audelie banished.

An armie lodged on Barham-downe.

Matth. West. 1265.

Chr. Dunstab.

After this a parlement was holden at London in the octaues of saint Hilarie, and manie things were concluded, couenants accorded, and oths taken for performance by the K. and his sonne prince Edward, which shortlie after came to little effect. Yet prince Edward, and Henrie the sonne and heire of the king of Almaine, which had béene kept as pledges about the tearme of nine moneths and od daies, were in the Lent following set at libertie, vpon assurance made, that the said prince Edward should remaine in the kings court, and not depart from thence without licence of the king and certeine of the barons. He was also constreined to giue vntó the earle of Leicester the countie Palantine of Chester before he might obteine to haue so much libertie. Betwéene Easter and Whitsuntide, the earles of Leicester and Glocester fell at variance, through the presumptuous demeanour of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, and also bicause the earle of Leicester would not deliuer the king of Almaine and other prisoners vnto the earle of Glocester, requiring to haue the custodie of them, bicause he had taken them in the battell at Lewes.

Abington.

The earle of Glocester, perceiuing himselfe not well vsed, secretlie entred into confederacie with the lord Mortimer, and other of the marshes: wherevpon the earle of Leicester hauing thereof some inkeling, came to Hereford, in purpose to haue taken the earle of Glocester, and to haue put him in safe kéeping, as latelie before he had serued the earle of Darbie. But by the practise of the lord Mortimer, shortlie after the lord Edward or prince Edward (whether yee list to call him) assaieng abroad in the fields an horsse or two, such as he should vse at iusts and tornies, which were appointed to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courser, which the said lord Mortimer had sent to him; and bidding the lord Robert Roos and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his keepers) farewell, he galloped from them, and could not be ouertaken of them that pursued him, till at length he came to the lord Mortimer, who with a great troope of men was come foorth of his castell of Wigmore to receiue him. This was on the thursdaie in Whitsunweeke.

Prince Edward escapeth awaie. *Matth. West.*

About the same time, the earle of Warren, with William de Valence earle of Penbroke, the kings halfe brother, and others, who (as yée haue heard) fled from the battell at Lewes,

es, were now returned into the realme, landing first in Southwales with a power of crossebowes and other men of warre, the which hearing that the lord Edward was thus escaped out of captiuitie, came to Ludlow, and there ioined with him, and so likewise did the earle of Glocester. Now after they had communed togither, and were made freends and confederats, they caused all the bridges to be broken, that the enimies should not come to oppresse them, till they had assembled all their forces, and passing forward towards Glocester, wan the citie, and still came people vnto them from all sides, namelie those lords and capteins, which all the time sincce the battell of Lewes had laine in Bristow. After this they came to Worcester, and entred there also. When the earle of Leicester was hereof aduertised (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the king, and ruled all things in the court) he sent in all hast vnto his sonne Simon de Montfort to raise a power of men, the which accordinglie assembled to him much people, and comming with the same vnto Winchester, wan the citie by surrender, spoiled it, and slue the more part of the Iewes that inhabited there. Then he laid siege to the castell, but hearing a feigned rumor that prince Edward was comming thither with his power, he departed from thence with his companie, and went to Killingworth.

The earle of Leicesters sonne raiseth an armie.

He wan Winchester.

On the last day of Iulie, prince Edward with his host came to Killingwoorth aforesaid, and there fighting with the said Simon de Montfort and his armie, with little slaughter discomfited the same, and tooke prisoners the erle of Oxford, the lords William de Montchensie, Adam de Newmarch, Baldwine Wake, and Hugh Neuill, with diuers others: the lord Simon himselfe fled into the castell, and so escaped. In this meane while the earle of Leicester hauing raised his power, came to the castell of Monmouth, which the earle of Glocester had latelie taken and fortified: but they that were within it being driuen to yéeld, it was now raced downe to the ground. This doone, the earle of Leicester entring into Glamorganshire, and ioining his power with the prince of Wales, wasted and burned the lands of the said earle of Glocester: but hearing what his aduersaries went about in other places, he returned from thence, and came forward towards the said prince Edward, who likewise made towards him, and at Euesham they met on the sixt day of August, where was fought a verie fierce and cruell battell betwixt the parties.

The armie of the earle of Leicesters sonne is discomfited. *N. Triuet.*

The castell of Monmouth taken.

The battell of Euesham. *Polydor.*

¶ Some write that the earle of Leicester placed king Henrie in the front of his battell, whom he had there with him as captiue, and had arraied him in his owne cote-armour, that if fortune went against him, whilest the enimies should be earnest to take the king bearing the semblance of the chéefe capteine, he might himselfe escape: but king Henrie, when they came to ioine, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby he escaped the danger of death, for being knowne of them he was saued. The Welshmen which in great numbers the earle of Leicester had there on his side, at the first onset fled and run awaie; which their demeanor, when the earle saw, he exhorted those that were about him to plaie the men, and so rushing foorth into the prease of his enimies, he was inclosed about and slaine, togither with his sonne Henrie. Herevpon, his death being knowne, his people tooke them to flight as men vtterlie discomfited. There died in that battell about 4000 men (as Polydor saith.) But Richard Southwell saith, there were killed of knights or rather men of armes 180, and of yeomen or rather demilances 220, of Welshmen 5000, and of such footmen as were of the earle of Leicesters owne retinue 2000, so that there died in all to the number of ten thousand men, as the same Southwell affirmeth. Among whom of noblemen, these are reckoned, Hugh Spenser lord chéefe iustice, the lord Rafe Basset, the lord Peter de Montfort, the lord Iohn Beauchampe, sir William Yorke, the lord Thomas de Esterlie, the lord Walter de Creppings, Guie de Balioll a Frenchman, the lord William de Mandeuill, the lord Roger S. Iohn, the lord Robert Tregoz, and others.

The Welshmen fled.

The earle of Leicester slaine.

Matth. Westm.

This ruine fell to the barons by the discord which was sproong latelie before, betwixt the earles of Leicester and Glocester, through the insolencie and pride of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, who (as I said before) despising other of the nobilitie, and forgetting

The pride of the earle of Leicesters sons

in

in the meane time the nature of true and vnstained noblenesse, wherof it is said and truelie remembred, that bringeth the barons to confusions.

Nobilitas morum plus ornat quàm genitorum,

spake manie reprochfull words by the said earle of Glocester, and vsed him in such euill sort, that he vpon displeasure thereof, had not onelie procured the scape of prince Edward, but ioined with him in aid, against the said earle of Leicester, and other of the barons, to the vtter confusion, both of them and of their cause. The bodie of the same earle was shamefullie abused & cut in peeces, his head and his priuie members were cut off, and fastened on either side of his nose, and presented vnto the wife of the lord Roger Mortimer.

The people conceiued an opinion, that this earle being thus slaine, fighting in defense of the liberties of the realme, & performance of his oth, as they tooke it, died a martyr: which by the bruted holinesse of his passed life and miracles ascribed to him after his death, was greatlie confirmed in the next age. But the feare of the kings displeasure staied the people from hastie honouring him as a saint at this time, where otherwise, they were inclined greatlie thereto, reputing him for no lesse in their conscience, as in secret talke they would not sticke to vtter. *Polydor.* There were wounded & taken, besides the other that were slaine at that battell of Euesham, Guie de Montfort, the earle of Leicesters sonne, the lords Iohn Fitz Iohn, Henrie de Hastings, Humfrie de Bohun the yoonger, Iohn de Vescie, Peter de Montfort the yoonger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. *Matth. West.* The king being deliuered out of his aduersaries hands, and likewise the king of Romans, went vnto Warwike, and there increasing his power, determined to pursue his enimies.

But first, about the Natiuitie of our ladie was a parlement holden at Winchester, where the statuts of Oxford were cleerelie repealed. Also, all such as had fauoured the barons, and were as then either in prison or abroad, should be disherited. It was also ordeined at this parlement, that the wealthiest citizens of London should be cast into prison, and that the citie should be depriued of hir liberties. Also, that the stulps and cheins, wherewith the streets were fensed, should be had awaie, bicause that the citizens had aided the earle of Leicester against the king and his realme. All this was doone, for the cheefe citizens were committed to ward within the castle of Windsore, till they had paid no small summes of monie for their fines. The liberties of the citie were suspended, and the towre of London was made stronger by the stulps and cheins which were brought into it out of the citie. Moreouer, bicause Simon de Montfort might not agree with the king, being come to this parlement vpon assurance, he was restored to the castell of Killingworth. A parlement at Winchester.

After this, in the feast of the translation of S. Edward, a parlement was holden at Westminster, and the sentence of disheriting the kings aduersaries was pronounced against them, whose lands the king forthwith gaue vnto his trustie subiects, where he thought good. Some of the disherited men redeemed their possessions, with a portion of monie, in name of a fine. Other of them flocking togither, got them into the woods and desart places, where keeping them out of sight as outlawes, they liued by spoiles and robberies. The cheefest of them was Robert erle of Ferrers, who neuertheless was restored to his lands, but yet with condition, that if afterwards he fell into the like crime, he should forfeit his earldome for euer. The Londoners with much adoo, at length, obteined pardon of the king. The maior and aldermen of the citie were glad to submit themselues, though the commons, without consideration of the great perill which they were in, would haue stood still at defiance with the king, and defended the citie against him. It was no maruell though they were of diuerse and contrarie opinions, for in those dates, the citie was inhabited with manie and sundrie nations which then were admitted for citizens. At length, vpon their submission, the king tooke them to mercie, vpon their fine, which was seized at twentie thousand marks. A parlement at Westminster. Erle Ferrers. *Fabian.* An. Reg. 50. The citie of London submitteth hirselfe to the K. The Londoners put to their fine.

About

Cardinall Othobone the popes legat. *Fabian.*

About Alhallowentide, cardinall Othobone came from the pope into England as his legat, to helpe towards some agréement to be had betwixt the king and his barons. He was committed to prison (as some write) by the Londoners, for that he spake against their dooings, when they shut their gates against the king; but he was shortlie released as should appeare. On the sixt day of Nouember in the fiftith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie came to Westminster, and shortlie after, he gaue awaie the number of threescore houses, with the household stuffe in the same conteined, so that the owners were compelled to redeeme them againe of those his seruants, to whome he had giuen the said houses, togither with all such lands, goods and cattels, as the same citizens had within any part of England. Then was one called sir Othon made custos or gardian of the citie, who was also conestable of the tower, he chose to be bailiffes, and to be accomptable to the kings vse, Iohn Adrian, and Walter Henrie, citizens of the same citie. The king also tooke pledges of the best mens sonnes of the citie, which pledges he caused to be put in the tower, and there kept at the costs of their parents. ¶ The king by aduise of his councell ordeined, that within euerie shire of the relme, there should be a capteine or lieutenant appointed with necessarie allowance of the king for his charges, the which, with the assistance of the shiriffe, should punish and keepe downe the wicked outrage of théeues and robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were sproong vp in great numbers, and growen to excéeding great boldnesse; but now, through feare of deserued punishment, they began to ceasse from their accustomed rapine, and the kings power came againe in estimation, so that peace after a manner tooke new root and increase.

One Othon maile gardian of the citie of London. *Matth. West.*

Nic. Treuet. The legat holdeth a synod at Northampton.

Vpon S. Nicholas euen, the king departed from Westminster, towards Northampton, where the cardinall Othobone held a synod, and according to that he had in commandement, pronounced all the kings aduersaries accurssed, and namelie all the bishops which had aided the barons against the king, in time of the late warres, of whome afterward he absolued the most part. But Iohn bishop of Winchester, Henrie bishop of London, and Stephan bishop of Chichester were sent to Rome, to purchase their absolution of pope Clement the fourth, as well for other points of disobedience, as chéeflie for that, where the quéene had procured a cursse of pope Vrbane the fourth, that was predecessor to this Clement, to accurssе all the barons and their supporters, which warred against the king hir husband: the said bishops (to whome the commission was sent to denounce that cursse) for feare of the barons deferred the execution. Walter bishop of Worcester, chancing to fall sicke at that time, died about the beginning of Februarie, confessing first, that he had greeuouslie erred, in mainteining the side of the erle of Leicester against the king, and therefore directed his letters to the popes legat, requiring to be absolued, which his petition the legat granted. Moreouer, in this councell at Northampton, there was published by the cardinall a grant, made to the king by the pope, of the dismes of the english church for one whole yeare then next insuing.

Matt. West. This suspension was pronounced in a councell holden by the said cardinall at Paules as *Fabian* saith. *Matth. West.*

N. Triuet.

A little before the kings departure from London now in this last time, he ordeined sir Iohn Linde knight, and maister Iohn Waldren clearke, to be gardians of the citie and tower, by the names of seneshals or stewards: but such earnest suit was made to the king, to obteine a perfect pardon for the Londoners, that at length after the aforesaid seneshals had taken suerties for the paiment of their fine, the K. caused his charter of pardon to be made vnder his broad seale, and sent it vnto them, wherein all former trespasses committed by them in the last warres was cleerelie pardoned; certeine persons, whose bodies and goods were giuen vnto his eldest sonne Edward, excepted out of the same pardon. This charter was dated at Northampton, the tenth day of Ianuarie, in the fiftith yere of king Henries reigne. Then also were discharged the foresaid seneshals, and the citizens of themselues chose for maior, William Fitz Richard; and for shiriffs, Thomas de la Fourd, and Gregorie de Rockesleg.

The Londoners pardoned.

1266.

Fabian.

Whilest the king laie at Northampton, the lord Simon de Montfort put himselfe vpon the doome and order of the legat Othobone, and was therefore permitted to be at large in the,

Simon de Montfort.

the kings court: but at the kings comming to London, he suddenlie departed out of the court, and rode to Winchelsie, where he associated himselfe with rouers, and after some prices taken, departed from them, and went into France, where he offered his seruice to the French king, and was receiued. Thus saith Matthew Westminster, and other. But Polydor saith, that by Othobons means, he was reconciled to the kings fauour; and therevpon to auoid occasion of further displeasure, he commanded, that the castell of Killingworth should be restored vnto the king, which the capteine refused to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all manner of prouision, and things necessarie to defend a siege. *Matth. West.* *Polydor.*

The wardens of the cinque ports, which (during the time of the barons warre) had doone manie roberies on the sea, as well against the Englishmen as other, were at length reconciled to the king, who was faine to agrée with them vpon such conditions as they thought good, bicause at that time (as the cõmon fame went) they had the dominion of the sea in their owne hands. But in some writers we find it thus recorded, that when certeine prisoners which were kept by the barons of the cinque ports in the castell of Douer, heard how all things prospered on the kings side, they got possession of a tower within the same castell, and tooke vpon them to defend it against their keepers; whereof when aduertisement was giuen to the king and to his sonne the lord Edward, they hasted forth to come & succour their freends. The kéepers of the castell, perceiuing themselues beset with their enimies, sent to the king for peace, who granting them pardon of life and limme, with horsse, armour, and other such necessaries, the castell was yeelded vnto his hands. From thence, prince Edward departing, visited the sea coasts, punishing diuerse of the inhabitants within the precinct of the cinque ports, and putting them in feare, receiued diuerse to the king his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelsie onelie made countenance to resist him, but prince Edward with valiant assaults entred the towne, in which entrie much guiltie blood was spilt, but yet the multitude by commandement of prince Edward was spared. And thus hauing woõne the towne, he commanded that from thencefoorth they should absteine from piracies, which they had before time greatlie vsed. Thus were the seas made quiet, and those of the cinque ports brought to the kings peace, and throughlie reconciled. *Fabian.* The wardens off the fiue ports reconciled to the king. *Matth. West.* Douer castell deliuered to the king. Winchelsie won by force.

In this meane while diuerse of the disherited gentlemen, sore repining at the sentence and order giuen against them, had taken the Ile of Oxholme in Lincolneshire, whither a great number of euill dooers immediatlie resorted, and began to doo mischéefe in all the countries next adioining. They tooke and sacked the citie of Lincolne, spoiled the Iewes, and slue manie of them, entred their synagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length prince Edward, or (as other saie) his brother earle Edmund, was sent against them, who compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obserue, they receiued an oth shortlie after at London, but neuerthelesse were as soone readie to breake and renounce the same, and began a new broile in sundrie parts of the realme. Diuerse of them fortified the castell of Killingworth, prouiding themselues of all things necessarie for defense out of the countries adioining. The king aduertised hereof, sent vnto them a pursuant, commanding them to cease frõ such rebellious attempts, but the messenger had one of his hands cut off, and so with a contemptuous answer was sent backe againe. *Matth. Westm.* The Ile of Oxholme. *Abingdon.* Lincolne taken. *N. Triuet.* Killingworth castell fortified against the king. The kings pursuant had his hand cut off.

Prince Edward in passing through the forrest of Aulton, got sight of sir Adam Gurdon one of the disherited men, with whome he coped and tooke him prisoner with his owne hand, yet sauing him, and pardoning the offence of rebellion, in respect of the valiancie which he tried by proofe to rest in him: but his soldiers and complices being there taken, he caused to be hanged vpon trées within the same forrest. Robert earle Ferrers contrarie to his oth of late receiued, accompanied with the lord d'Euille and others, did much hurt by way of open war against the kings freends in the north parts. Against whom the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine was sent with a great power: the which comming to Chesterfield Adam Gurdon. *Matth. Westm.*

The battell of Chesterfield. Chesterfield fell vpon his enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they had not time to arme themselues, and so were distressed and ouercome.

Yet the lord Iohn d'Euille brake out, and incountring with sir Gilbert Hansard, ouerthrew him, and escaped out of danger. Great slaughter was made on ech hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and gentlemen sought to get out of perill by flight. The earle of Darbie got into a church, but he was descried by a woman, and so was taken. There were manie other also taken: & amongst them the lord Baldwine Wake, and sir Iohn de la Haie with much paine escaped. This battell was foughten about the midst of Maie, *Exercises.* or vpon Whitsun éeue, as the Chronicle of Dunstable saith. Those that escaped, as the lord d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but assembling themselues togither in companies, kéeping within woods and other desert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much mischéefe. On the ninth of August they tooke the Ile of Elie, and so strengthned it, that they held it a long time after, spoiling and robbing the countries round about them, as Norffolke, Suffolke, and Cambridgeshire.

The bishop of Elie had vndertaken to keepe the Ile to the kings vse, but being now dispossessed thereof, he got him awaie, and fell to cursing them that were thus entred against his will, but they séemed to passe litle vpon his thundering excommunications. On the Norwich sacked. 16 of December, they came to the citie of Norwich; and spoiling it, tooke manie of the wealthie citizens, and ransomed them at great summes of monie. The lord Henrie Hastings and Simon de Pateshull, with diuerse others, got them into the castell of Killingworth, and dailie went forth at their pleasures, spoiling and wasting the townes about *Chron. Dunst.* them, or causing them to fine with them to be spared. And this they forced not to doo, although the lord Edmund the kings sonne laie in Warwike, to cut them short of such their licentious doings. The king therfore mening to haue the said castels of Killingworth by force, began his siege about the same vpon the éeuen of S. Iohn Baptist. But The siege of Killingworth castell beginneth. the lord Henrie Hastings, the capteine of that castell, and other his complices defended it so stronglie, that though the king inforced his power to the vttermost to win it of them, yet The lord Hastings. could he not anie thing preuaile, till at length vittels began to faile them within, and then An. Reg. 51. vpon the eeuen of saint Thomas the apostle before Christmasse, the lord Henrie Hastings Killingworth castell deliuered to the K. deliuered the said castell into the kings hands, vpon condition that he and all other should haue life and limme, horsse and armour, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this siege had continued from the 26 of Iune vnto the 20 day of December.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the siege, there were within the castell a thousand and seuen hundred armed men, and eight score women, beside lackies and coisterels. Here is also to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie before Killingworth, by the aduise of the kings councell, and of the legat Othobone, there were twelue péeres appointed and chosen foorth, which should deuise and make ordinances touching the state of the realme, and the disherited persons, who according to their commission, Dictum de Killingworth. ordeined certeine prouisions, the which are conteined within the statute intitled Dictum de Killingworth. The king after that the castell of Killingworth was deliuered to his hand, *Abingdon. Matth. Westm.* left therein his sonne Edmund, and went himselfe to Couentrie or (as other haue) to Oxford, and there held his Christmasse. Shortlie after comming to Westminster he held 1267. a parlement there, studieng to set a quietnesse in all matters and controuersies depending betwixt him and the barons. In this parlement sentence was giuen against earle Ferrers A parlement at Westminster. for the forfeiture of his earledome: then was Edmund the kings yoonger sonne put in Earle Ferrers disherited. possession both of the earledome of Darbie and Leicester.

On the sixt of Februarie being sundaie, the king came to S. Edmundsburie, and staieng there till the two and twentith of the same moneth, set foreward that day towards Cambridge, where he laie with his armie, the better to bridle them that kept the Ile of Elie against him. He laie there all the Lent season. And in the meane time the earle of Glocester taking great displeasure, for that he might not haue his will, as well for the banishing

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of strangers, as for restitution to be made vnto the disherited men of their lands, he began a new sturre, and assembling a great power in the marshes of Wales came neere vnto London, pretending at the first as though he had come to aid the king, at length he got licence of the maior and citizens to passe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, and thither came to him shortlie sir Iohn d'Euille, by Southerie side, bringing with him a great companie. The earle of Glocester with an armie commeth to London.

The maior caused the bridge and water side to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euerie night was the drawbridge drawne vp: but within a while the earle vsed the matter so, that he was permitted to lodge within the citie with certeine of his men, by reason whereof, he drew more and more of his people into the citie, so that in the end he was maister of the citie, and in Easter weeke tooke the keies of the bridge into his hands. The legat comming foorth of the towre, repaired to the church of S. Paule, vnder a colour to preach the croisey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his words to the earle of Glocester, admonishing him to obeie the king as he was bound by his allegiance. And further, whereas the earle had giuen commandement that no victuals should be suffered to be brought into the tower where the popes legat was lodged, he thought himselfe euill vsed in that behalfe, sith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the earle seemed to giue small regard to his words, he got him secretlie againe into the tower, with certeine noble men the kings freends, meaning to defend it vnto the vttermost of their powers. The legat admonisheth the earle of Glocester to obeie the king.

There entred also into the tower a great number of Iewes with their wiues and children, vnto whome one ward of the tower was committed to defend, which they did in that necessitie verie stoutlie. Manie of the citizens fearing a new insurrection, auoided out of the citie, whose goods the earle seized into his owne vse, or suffered his men to spoile the same at their pleasures. The most part of all the commons of the citie tooke part with the earle, and in a tumult got them to the Guildhall, and there chose for their maior or custos of the citie, Richard de Colworth knight, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton and Roger Marshall, discharging the old maior and shiriffes of their roomes. Diuerse aldermen were committed to prison, and their goods sequestred, and much part thereof spoiled. Also all such persons as were prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other prison about the citie, for the quarrell of the barons warre, were set at libertie. The legat & other meane to defend the tower against the earle of Glocester. The citizens of London in vprore chose new officers. Prisoners set at libertie.

The legat perceiuing such disorder, accurssed generallie all such as thus troubled the kings peace, shewing themselues enimies to the king and the realme. He also interdicted all the churches within the citie and about it, licencing onlie diuine seruice to be said in houses of religion, and without ringing of any bell or singing: and whilest seruice was in hand, he appointed the church doores to be shut, bicause none of them that stood accurssed, should enter and be present. The king in the meane time laie at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries, which were dailie attempted by them that held the Ile of Elie against him, of whome at one time he distressed a certeine number at Ramsey. And bicause now after that the earle was thus come to London, another companie of them brake out to rob and spoile, and were stopped by the kings power from entring into the Ile againe, they repaired streight to London, doing mischeefe inough by the waie. The legat accurseth ye troublers of the kings peace. The king laie at Cambridge. Ramsey.

The earle of Glocester greatlie incouraged by their assistance, fell in hand to assaile the tower, within the which the popes legat Othobone, and diuerse other were inclosed, taking vpon them to defend it against the earle and all his puissance. The king vpon the first newes of the earle of Glocester his commotion, ingaged the shrines of saints, and other iewels and relikes of the church of Westminster vnto certeine merchants for great summes of monie, with the which sending into France and Scotland, he reteined men of warre to come to his aid. Hereupon his sonne prince Edward came to his succour vnto Cambridge, bringing thither with him thirtie thousand able men out of the north parts; The king maketh hard shift for monie, to hire soldiers & men of war to assist him.

Scots

The K. remoueth towards Windsore

Scots and other. The king then leauing a conuenient number to defend Cambridge, marched from thence toward Windsore. After his comming thither, his armie dailie increased. The earle of Glocester and his complices began to feare the matter, and sent to him for peace, which could not be granted: wherevpon they appointed to giue him batell vpon Houndslow heath. The king comming thither in the morning, found no man there to resist him, and therefore, after he had staied there a certeine space, he marched foorth and came to Stratford, where he was lodged in the abbeie: his hoast incamped and laie at Ham and therabouts.

The king commeth to Stratford. *Fabian. Matth. Westm.*

This chanced about three weekes after Easter. The souldiers which laie in London and in Southwarke, did much hurt about in the countrie of Southerie, & else-where. They also spoiled the towne of Westminster, and the parish-church there: but the moonks and the goods belonging to the abbeie they touched not, but made hauocke in the kings palace, drinking vp & destroieng his wine, breaking the glasse windowes, and defacing the buildings most disorderlie, yea scarse forbearing to set the house on fire. Also there were of them that brake vp & robbed certeine houses in London, of the which misgouerned persons there were foure taken, that ware the cognisance of the earle of Darbie, whome the earle of Glocester caused to be put in sackes, and so throwne into the Thames.

Westminster spoiled.

Soldiers sacked and throwen into the Thames.

As the king thus laie at Stratford, there came vnto him from the parts of beyond the sea, the earle of Bullongne, and S. Paule, with two hundred men of armes, and their suit of other souldiers. Also there ariued in the Thames a fléet of great vessels fraught with Gascoins, and laie afore the tower, abiding the kings pleasure. ¶ The earle of Glocester had caused bulworks and barbicans to be made betwixt the tower and the citie; and also in sundrie places where need required ditches and trenches were cast, so that the citie was stronglie fortified. Howbeit now that the said erle and his complices perceiued themselues in manner as besieged, they sought for peace. And by mediation of the king of Almaine, the lord Philip Basset and the legat Othobone, the same was granted, the ordinance of Killingworth in euerie condition obserued. The Londoners were pardoned of their trespasse for receiuing the earle, though they were constreined to paie a thousand marks to the king of Romans, in recompense of the hurts doone to him in burning of his house at Thistleworth.

The earles of Bullongne & S. Paule.

A fléet of Gascoins come to the kings aid.

Abington. A peace concluded.

The Londoners pardoned.

Chron. Dun. Buderesch.

Whilest the earle of Glocester kept the citie of London against the king, one Henrie de Guderesch, steward to the said earle, departing from London, came to the manour house of Geffrey saint Leger at Offeld, which he burnt, and turning from thence came to Brickhill. The lord Reignold Graie that held of the knights part, aduertised hereof, followed him with his retinue of men of warre, and comming vpon his enimie at vnwares, tooke the said Henrie, and slue thirtie of the chéefest of his companie, some he tooke, howbeit manie escaped. But now to our purpose. By this agréement concluded betwixt the king & the earle of Glocester, he also accepted to his grace the lord Iohn Eineley, the lord Nicholas de Segraue, the lord William Marmion, the lord Richard de Graie, the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the lord Gilbert de Lucie, with others: so that all parts of the realme were quieted, sauing that those in the Isle of Elie would not submit themselues: yet at length by mediation of prince Edward they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortresses and defenses within that Isle by them made, were plucked downe and destroied.

The lord Graie.

Euersden.

But it appeareth by other writers, that immediatlie after the agreement concluded betwixt the earle of Glocester, prince Edward the kings sonne, by setting workemen in hand to make a caussie through the fens with boords and hurdels, entred vpon them that kept the Ile of Elie, so that manie of them got out, and fled to London vnto the said earle of Glocester, and other their complices. The residue submitted themselues, as the lord Wake, Simon Montfort the yoonger, the Pechees and other, vpon condition to be pardoned of life and member: and further, that prince Edward should be a meane to his father to receiue them into fauour. But by other it may rather seeme, that some of them

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kept and defended themselues within that Ile, till after the agreement made betwixt the king and the earle of Glocester. By order of which agreement there were foure bishops and eight lords chosen foorth, which had béene first nominated at Couentrie, to order and prescribe betwixt the king and the disherited men a forme of peace and redemption of their lands. And so in the feast of All saints, proclamation was made of a full accord and agréement, and what euerie man should paie for his ransome for redéeming his offense against the king. An. Reg. 52.

In the octaues of S. Martine, the king held a parlement at Marleborough, where the liberties conteined in the booke called Magna charta were cõfirmed, and also diuerse other good and wholesome ordinances concerning the state of the common-wealth were established and enacted. ¶ In the moneth of Aprill there chanced great thunder, tempestuous raine, and flouds, occasioned by the same, verie sore & horrible, continuing for the space of fifteene daies togither. The legat Othobone, after he had in the synods holden at Northampton and London, deuised and made manie orders and rules for churchmen, and leuied amongst them great summes of monie, finallie in the moneth of Iulie, he tooke leaue of the king and returned to Rome, where after the deceasse of Innocent the fift, about the yeare of our Lord 1276 he was chosen pope, and named Adrian the fift, liuing not past 50 daies after. He went so néere hand to search out things at his going awaie, that he had inrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and tooke the note with him to Rome. A parlement at Marleborough. 1268. The legat Othobone returneth to Rome. Othobone chosen pope. *Abington.*

Prince Edward the kings sonne, and diuerse other great lords of England before this legats departure out of the realme, receiued the crosse at his hands in Northampton on Midsummer day, meaning shortlie after according to promise there made, to go into the holie land to warre against Gods enimies. In this yeare fell great variance betwéene the corporations or fellowships of the goldsmiths and tailors within the citie of London, wherevnto euill words flowing from the toong gaue originall, for

Pondus valde graue verbosum vas sine claue,

so that one euening there were assembled to the number of fiue hundred in the stréets in armour, and running togither made a fowle fraie, so that manie were wounded and some slaine. But the shiriffes hearing thereof, came & parted them, with assistance of other trades, and sent diuerse of them being taken vnto prison, of the which there were arreigned to the number of thirtie, and thirtéene of them condemned and hanged. Prince Edward receiueth the crosse. *Fabian.* A fraie in Lõdon betwéene the goldsmiths and tailors.

In the fiftie & third yeare of king Henries reigne, there was such an excéeding great frost, beginning at saint Andrewes tide, and continuing till it was néere candlemasse, that the Thames from the bridge vpwards was so hard frosen, that men and beasts passed ouer on féet from Lambeth to Westminster, and so westward in diuerse places vp to Kingston. Also merchandize was brought from Sandwich and other places vnto London by land. For the ships by reason of the yce could not enter the Thames. ¶ And about the feast of S. Vedast, which falleth on the 6 of Februarie, fell so great abundance of raine, that the Thames rose so high, as it had not doone at any time before, to remembrance of men then liuing: so that the cellars and vaults in London by the water side were drowned, and much merchandize marred & lost. An. Reg. 53. Thames frosen. 1369.

About S. Georges day there was a parlement holden at London, for the appeasing of a controuersie depending betwixt prince Edward the kings son and the earle of Glocester: at the which parlement were present almost all the prelats and péeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compromise, into the hands of the king of Almaine, vndertaking to be ordered by him high and low touching all controuersies: and likewise for the iournie to be made into the holie land, but the king of Almaine did little in the matter to any great effect. ¶ In the beginning of Lent the king gaue to his sonne prince Edward the rule of the citie of London, with all the reuenues and profits thereto belonging. After which gift, the said prince made sir Hugh Fitz Othon constable of the towre and custos of the citie of London. ¶ Vpon the ninth day of Aprill, Edmund the kings sonne, surnamed *Abington.* A parlement holden at London.

Crouchbacke, married at Westminster Auelina the daughter of the earle of Aumarle.

Prince Edward appointeth the maior and shiriffes of London.

Prince Edward commanded the citizens of London to present vnto him six citizens, of the which number he might nominate two shiriffes, and so appointed William de Hadstocke and Anketill de Alberne, which were sworne to be accomptants as their predecessours had beene.

In those daies a new custome or toll was vsed to be paid, which prince Edward let to farme vnto certeine strangers, for the summe of twentie marks by yeare. Wherefore the citizens being greeued therewith, bought it of him for two hundred marks. Also this yeare

An aid granted to the king.

there was granted to the king towards his iournie by him purposed into the holie land, the twentith penie of euerie mans moueable goods thoroughout the realme of the laie fee, and of the spiritualtie was granted by the assent of pope Gregorie the tenth, three dismes

The liberties of the citie confirmed.

to be gathered within the terme of three yeares. This yeare the kings sonne the lord Edward obteined a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, so that the citizens did then choose vnto them a maior and two shiriffes, which shiriffes by vertue of the same charter, had their office to farme, in maner as before time

The rent of the farme of the shiriffes of London increased.

was accustomed: sauing that where they paid afore but three hundred and fiftie pounds, they paid now foure hundred and fiftie pounds. After which confirmation granted and passed vnder the kings broad seale, they chose for their maior Iohn Adrian, and for shiriffes Walter Potter and Iohn Tailor, the which were presented the 16 day of Iulie vnto the king at Westminster by his sonne prince Edward, and there admitted and sworne. Then was sir Hugh Fitz Othon discharged of the rule of the citie. The citizens of their owne freewill gaue vnto the king an hundred marks, and to his sonne prince Edward fiue

Chron. Dunst.

hundred markes. There was no great disorder attempted this yeare to the disquieting of the realme, sauing that certeine of the disherited gentlemen that belonged to the earle of Darbie, withdrew vnto the forrest of the Peake in Darbishire, and there making their abode, spoiled and wasted the countries next adioining.

An. Reg. 54. 1270.

In the moneth of Maie, prince Edward the kings sonne set forward on his iournie towards the holie land, and taking the sea at Douer, passed ouer into France, and came to Burdeaux, where he staied a while, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there tooke

Wil. Rish.

Prince Edward setteth forward towards the holie land.

shipping, first sailing (as some write) vnto Thunis, where the christian armie, which Lewes the French king as then deceassed had brought thither, was readie to depart, and so prince Edward, with the new French king Lewes and other princes passed ouer into Sicill,

Matth. West.

The king sick.

where he soiourned for the winter time. In this yeare the king was vexed with a greeuous sicknesse: and the Irishmen in rebellion slue a great sort of Englishmen, as well magistrats as others in that countrie.

An. Reg. 55. 1271.

When the spring of the yeare began to approach, prince Edward eftsoones tooke the sea, and finallie arriued at Acres with a thousand chosen men of warre, though there be

Prince Edward arriueth at Acres.

writers that affirme, how there arriued with him of sundrie countries fiue thousand horsemen, and double the same number of footmen. But amongst those that went out of England with him, these we find as principall, Iohn de Britaine, Iohn de Vescie, Otes de Grantson, and Robert de Bruse, besides other. Of his noble chiualrie there atchiued,

Abington.

yee shall find a breefe note in the description of the holie land, and therefore here we omit the same. Howbeit this is to be remembred, that whilest the lord Edward soiorned there in the citie of Acres, he was in great danger to haue beene slaine by treason: for a

Arsacide, of some named Assassini.

traitorous Saracen of that generation which are called Arsacidæ, and latelie reteined by the same lord Edward, and become verie familiar with him, found means one day as he

Prince Edw. is traitorouslie wounded.

sat in his chamber, to giue him three wounds, which suerlie had cost him his life, but that one of the princes chamberleins staied the traitors hand, and somewhat brake the strokes, till other seruants came to the rescue, and slue him there in the place.

¶ There be that write, how prince Edward himselfe, perceiuing the traitor to strike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: and as the Saracen offered to haue striken againe, he thrust him backe to the ground with his foot, and catching him by the hand,

wrested

wrested the knife from him, and thrusting him into the bellie, so killed him, though in strugling with him, he was hurt againe a little in the forhead: and his seruants withall comming to helpe him, one of them that was his musician, got vp a trestill and stroke out the braines of the traitor, as he laie dead on the ground, and was blamed of his master for striking him, after he saw him once dead before his face, as he might perceiue him to be. Some write, that this traitor was sent from the great admerall of Iapha, on message to the prince Edward, and had beene with him diuerse times before, & now making countenance to take forth letters, got foorth his knife, and attempted so to haue wrought his feat. Whatsoeuer the man was, the prince was in great danger, by reason of the enuenimed knife wherewith he was wounded, so that it was long yer he could be perfectlie whole. These Saracens called Arsacidæ, are a wicked generation of men, infected with such a superstitious opinion, that they beléeue heauenlie blisse is purchased of them, if they can by anie means slea one of the enimies of their religion, & suffer themselues for that fact the most cruell death that may be deuised. ¶ Prince Edward, after he was whole and recouered of his wounds, perceiuing that no such aid came into those parts out of christendome, as was looked for, tooke a truce with the enimies of our faith, and returned towards England, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Port Iapha.

The generation of the Arsacide, or Assassini.

An. Reg. 56

On the fourth noues of Aprill (as some saie) or in the moneth of Februarie (as other write) in the six and fiftith yeare of K. Henries reigne at Berkhamstéed, died Richard king of Almaine and earle of Cornewall, and was buried in the abbeie of Hailes which he himselfe had founded: he was a worthie prince, and stood his brother king Henrie in great stead, in handling matters both in peace and warre. He left behind him issue begotten of his wife Sanctia two sonnes, Edmund and Henrie. This Edmund was he that brought the blood of Hailes out of Germanie: for as he was there vpon a time with his father, it chanced that as he was beholding the relikes, and other pretious monuments of the ancient emperors, he espied a box of gold: by the inscription whereof he perceiued (as the opinion of men then gaue) that therein was conteined a portion of the bloud of our sauiour.

1272.

Nic. Triuet. Matt. West.

The deccasse of the king of Almaine.

His issue.

Edmund erle of Cornewall.

He therefore, being desirous to haue some part thereof, so intreated him that had the kéeping of it, that he obteined his desire, and brought it ouer with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof after his fathers deceasse in the abbeie of Hailes, as it were to adorne and inrich the same, bicause that therein both his father and mother were buried; and the other two parts he did reserue in his owne custodie, till at length mooued vpon such deuotion as was then vsed, he founded an abbeie a little from his manour of Berkhamsteed: which abbeie was named Ashrug, in the which he placed moonks of the order of Bonhommes, being the first that euer had beene seene of that order here in England. And herewith he also assigned the two other parts of that bloud to the same abbeie. Wherevpon followed great resort of people to those two places, induced therevnto by a certeine blind deuotion.

The bloud of Hailes.

Ashrug abbeie built. Bonhommes.

Henrie the brother of this Edmund, and sonne to the foresaid king of Almaine, as he returned from Affrike, where he had beene with prince Edward, was slaine at Viterbo in Italie (whither he was come about businesse which he had to doo with the pope) by the hand of Guie de Montfort, the sonne of Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester, in reuenge of the same Simons death. This murther was committed afore the high altar, as the same Henrie kneeled there to heare diuine seruice. The foresaid Guie vpon that murther committed, fled vnto his father in law, the earle of Anguilare, then gouernour of Tuskain. There was at Viterbo the same time Philip king of France, returning homewards from the iournie which his father made into Affrike, where he died. Also Charles king of Sicill was there present, whome the said Guie then serued. Both those kings were put in much blame, for that the murther and wilfull escape was doone and suffred in their presence and no pursuit made after the murtherer. Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, when he had ruled the sea seauen and thirtie yeares, departed this life: and after his deceasse, about

The L. Henrie sonne to the K. of Almaine murdered in Italie.

Robert Kilwarbie archb. of Cãturburie.

about two yeares or more, was one Robert Kilwarbie appointed in his place by pope Gregorie, which Robert was the six and fortith archbishop that had gouerned the sée of Canturburie.

About the moneth of Iune there fell great debate and discord betwixt the moonks of Norwich and the citizens there; which increased so farre, that at length the citizens with great violence assaulted the monasterie, fired the gates, and forced the fire so with reed and drie wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to that abbeie were cleane burned, wasted, and destroied, so that nothing was preserued except one little chapell. The king hearing of this riot, rode to Norwich, and causing inquirie to be made thereof, thirtie yoong men of the citie were condemned, hanged and burnt, to the great greefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the priour of the place was the occasion of all that mischéefe, who had got togither armed men, and tooke vpon him to kéepe the belfraie and church by force of armes: but the prior was well inough borne out, and defended by the bishop of Norwich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maister of the mischéefe, though hands were not laid vpon him nor his adherents: perhaps for feare, peraduenture for fauour; & no maruell though the lesse faultie lost their liues as most guiltie, for

A fraie betwixt the moonks and citizens of Norwich.

Thirtie of the citizens of Norwich hanged and burnt.

———rarus venator ad vrsos
Accedit, tutos conseruat sylua leones,
Debilibus robusta nocent, & grandia paruis,
Ales fulminiger timidos infestat olores,
Accipiter laniat turdos mollésq; columbas,
Versicolor coluber ranas miserásq; lacertas,
Irretit muscas transmittit aranea vespas.

The king returning by saint Edmundsburie, after he had doone his deuotions to S. Edmunds shrine, began to waxe somewhat crasie: but after hauing a little recouered his health, he called a councell there, wherein he went about to haue taken order for the punishment of rebels: but his sicknesse againe renewing, he brake vp the assemblie, and with all spéed hasted to London. Prince Edward vpon his returne out of the holie land came to Chalons in Burgogne, & at the request of the earle he did attempt with his companie to hold a iustes and tournie against the said earle & all other commers. And though through disdaine and spite there was homelie plaie shewed, vpon purpose to put the Englishmen to the foile & reproch; yet by high valiancie prince Edward and his companie bare themselues so worthilie, that in the end the aduersaries were well beaten, and constreined to leaue the honor of that enterprise to the said prince Edward and his partakers. After this, he kept on his iornie till he came vnto Paris, where he was honourablie receiued of the French king, and from thence he went to Burdeaux, and there remained till after his fathers death.

A iusts and tornie holden at Chalons.

In this meane time king Henrie, being returned to London from saint Edmundsburie (as before yee haue heard) his sicknesse so increased vpon him, that finallie he departed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Sauiour 1272, after he had liued threescore and fiue yeares, and reigned fiftie and six yeares, and seauen and twentie daies. A little before his death, when he perceiued that he could no longer liue, he caused the earle of Glocester to come before him, and to be newlie sworne to keepe the peace of the land, to the behoofe of his sonne prince Edward. His bodie was buried at Westminster. He had issue by his wife quéene Elianor two sonnes, the foresaid Edward, prince of Wales, that succéeded him; and Edmund earle of Lancaster, by some authors surnamed Crouchbacke, though (as other affirme vntrulie) that this Edmund was the elder brother: but bicause he was a deformed person, therefore his yonger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdome, which was deuised of purpose to conueie a right to king Henrie the fourth, which fetched the descent from the said Edmund, and by force vsurped and held the crowne, as after it may appeare. Moreouer, king Henrie had

An. Reg. 57.

King Henrie departeth this life.

The earle of Glocester.

The issue of king Henrie the third.

thrée

three daughters by the said Elianor, as Margaret maried to Alexander king of Scots, Beatrice whom the duke of Britaine had to wife, and Catharine which died before she was mariable.

His proportion of bodie.

His conditiõs.

He was of bodie well cast and strong, of a good stature in heigth, well fauoured of face, with the lid of one of his eies comming downe, so as it almost couered the apple of the same eie. Of nature he was courteous, and of stomach rather noble than stout; a deuout prince and liberall towards the poore and needie. Yet he wanted not dispraise in some points, namelie for that in ordering of things and weightie affaires, he vsed small consideration. He was also noted to be a great taker of monie by loanes, taxes, and subsidies: but therevnto he was inforced by necessitie, to beare the charges of warre and other publike affaires, than of any couetous mind or purpose to serue his owne turne. ¶ What capteins of honour among the nobilitie liued in his time, it may appeare by the course of the historie of his age.

Of sundrie learned men these we find mentioned in maister Bales centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an historiographer: Radulphus Niger that wrote both histories and other treatises, Geruasius de Melkelie, Albricius of London, Robert Curson a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and humaine letters, so that comming to the court of Rome he there grew in such estimation, that he became a cardinall, of whom we find this recorded by Matthew Westminster and Matthew Paris. [At the taking of Damiate, a citie in Aegypt, there was with Pelagius, the cardinall of Alba, the popes legat, master Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous clerke, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.] These are reported to florish in the daies both of king Iohn and king Henrie his sonne.

In the said kings time also there liued other learned men, as these; Hugh Kirkestéed, Richard of Elie, Peter Henham, Iohn Giles or de Sancto Egidio an excellent physician, Caducan a Welshman borne and bishop of Bangor, Alexander a singular learned man that wrote diuerse and manie treatises aswell in diuinitie as philosophie and humanitie, both in verse and prose; also Stephan Langton, that for his singular knowledge was made high chancellor of the vniuersitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archbishop of Canturburie, against the will of king Iohn, in which quarell so great trouble insued, as before yée haue partlie heard; Rafe Coggeshall also liued in king Henries daies, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Ralfe Niger, he was abbat of Coggeshàll abbeie in Essex, whereof he tooke his surname: William Lanthonie, Peter of S. Sauior, a canon of the house called S. Sauior, or of the trinitie by London; Alexander Hailes a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote manie treatises in diuinitie; Richard surnamed Medicus a most learned physician, and no lesse expert in philosophie and the mathematicals. There be also remembred by maister Bale, Randulfe the earle of Chester, the third and last of that name, who hauing great knowledge and vnderstanding in the lawes of this land, compiled a booke of the same lawes, as a witnesse of his great skill therein: Alexander Wendocke bishop of Chester, Iohn Blund, Edmund Rich, Robert Rich, Henrie Bracton, that excellent lawier, who wrote the booke commonlie called Bracton after his name, intituled De consuetudinibus Anglicanis; Richard surnamed Theologus, Walter de Euesham, Ralfe Fresborne, Laurence Somercote, brother, as it is thought to Robert Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romane church; Nicholas Fernham a physician, Robert Bacon a notable diuine, Simon Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton; Richard Fisaker, Simon Stokes, Iohn of Kent or Kantianus, William Shirwood, Michaell Blaunpaine, Iohn Godard, Vincent of Couentrie, Alberike Veer, Richard Wich, Iohn Basing aliàs de Basingstoke, Roger Waltham, William Seningham, Robert Crosted that learned bishop of Lincolne, whose memorie amongst the learned will remaine while the world lasteth.

Thus farre Henrie the third.

EDWARD THE FIRST,

surnamed Longshanks, the eldest sonne of Henrie the third.

1272. EDWARD, the first of that name after the conquest, began his reigne ouer this kingdome of England, the 16 day of Nouember, in the yeare of the world, 5239, An. Reg. 1. of our Lord 1272, of the Saxons 814, after the conquest 206, the vacation of the empire after the deceasse of Frederike the second as yet induring (though shortlie after in the yeare next following, Radulfe of Habspurge was elected emperour) in the third yeare of Philip the third then reigning in France, and Alexander the third yet liuing in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome.

This Edward the first, when his father died, being about the age of 35 yeares, was as then in the holie land, or rather in his iournie homewards: but wheresoeuer he was at that present, the nobles of the land, after his father was departed this life, assembled at *Matth. West.* the new temple in London, and causing a new seale to be made, they ordeined faithfull A new seale made. ministers and officers, which should haue the treasure in keeping, and the administration of iustice for the maintenance of peace and tranquillitie within the land, and on the 22 *Chro. Dun.* day of Nouember he was proclaimed king. Who after he had remained a time in the holie land, and perceiued himselfe destitute of such aid as he looked for at the hands *Matth. Westm.* both of the Christians and Tartarians, he left in the citie of Acon certeine stipendarie 1273. souldiers, and taking the sea sailed homewards, arriuing first in Sicill, where, of Charles K. of that land he was honorablie receiued and conueied, till he came vnto Ciuita Vecchia in Italie, where pope Gregorie as then laie with his court, of whome (as of his old frend that had been with him in the holie land) he obteined that earle Aldebrandino Rosso, and Guy of Montfort, that had murthered the lord Henrie, eldest sonne to Rich-Guy de Mātfort excommunicated. ard king of Almaine, might be sent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged himselfe, but Guy de Montfort was excōmunicated, as a violator of the church, a murderer and a traitor, so as he was disherited euen vnto the fourth generation, till he had reconciled himselfe to the church, as he was inioined.

After this, it is woonderfull to remember with what great honor king Edward was receiued of the cities, as he passed through Tuscaine and Lumbardie. At his comming ouer the mounteins at Chalon in Burgundie, he was at a iusts and tornie, which then was there holden by the Frenchmen against the Englishmen, the honor whereof remained with the Englishmen. In this tornie the fight of the footmen was great: for the Englishmen being sore prouoked, slue manie of the French footmen, but bicause they were but rascals, no great accompt was made of them, for they were vnarmed, gaping for the spoile of them that were ouerthrowen. K. Edward passing foorth came to the French court, where of his coosine germane king Philip he was ioifullie receiued. ¶ Here king Edward, dooing homage to the French king for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France, passed into Guien.

AnnoReg. 2. A tenth was granted of the cleargie to the K. and to his brother Edmund earle of Lei-*Matth. Westm.* cester and Lancaster by the popes appointment for two yeares, a chapleine of the pope a A disme grāted to the king & his brother. Gascoine borne named Reimond being sent into England for that purpose, who gaue part vnto them, and part thereof he kept to himselfe towards his charges, but the most part 1274. was reserued to the popes disposing. ¶ Whilest the king remained in Gascoigne, he had somwhat to do against certeine rebels, as Gaston de Bierne, and other that were reuolted from

from him. The castels belonging to the said Gaston he subdued, but his person he could not méet with. Finallie, after he had set things in order as well in Guien as in other places in the parts of beyond the seas, he hasted homewards, and came to London on the second day of August, where he was receiued with all ioy that might be deuised. The stréets were hanged with rich cloths of silke, arras, and tapestrie, the aldermen and burgesses of the citie threw out of their windowes handfuls of gold and siluer, to signifie the great gladnesse which they had conceiued of his safe returne: the conduits ran plentifullie with white wine and red, that ech creature might drinke his fill. Vpon the 19 day of August, in this second yeare of his reigne he was crowned at Westminster, togither with his wife quéene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Canturburie. *Nic. Treuet.* King Edward his returne home. *Matth. West.*

At this coronation were present Alexander king of Scots, and Iohn earle of Britaine, with their wiues that were sisters to K. Edward. The king of Scots did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had doone to other kings of England ancestours to this king Edward. At the solemnitie of this coronation there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) fiue hundred great horsses by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornewall, Glocester, Penbroke, Warren, & others, as they were allighted frō their backs. ¶ On S. Nicholas euen there chanced such an earthquake with lightning and thunder, and therewithall the appearing of the burning drake, and a blasing starre called a comet, that the people were brought into no small feare vpon consideration thereof. But now to the point of the historie. *Caxton.*

King Edward at the first like a prudent prince chose the wisest and worthiest men to be of his councell, & to purchase the loue of his subiects, whose minds were somewhat offended towards his father (by reason that he refused to kéepe promise with them, touching the restitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) king Edward shewed himselfe so gentle towards all degrées of men, that he séemed to exceed the reasonable bounds of courteous humanitie, much more than became his roiall estate. After this he reformed diuerse lawes and statutes, and deuised some new ordinances, greatlie for the wealth of the realme. He held his first parlement at Westminster, where the ordinances were made, called the statutes of Westminster the first. 1275. An. Reg. 3. A parlement. The statutes of Westminster.

To this parlement was Leolin the prince of Wales summoned to come and doo his homage, hauing béene requested first to come to the kings coronation, but he refused; and now hauing summons to come to this parlement, he excused himselfe, affirming that he durst not come for feare of certeine noblemen that laie in wait for his life, requiring to haue pledges deliuered for his safe comming and going, the kings sonne, and Gilbert earle of Glocester, with Robert Burnell the lord chancelor. The king was greatlie offended with such a presumptuous demand, but passed it ouer, till after the end of the parlement, & then repairing to Chester he sent eftsoones messengers to the said Leolin, requiring of him to come & doo his homage, but he still detracted time, so that in the end the king raised an armie, meaning to recouer that by force, which otherwise he could not obteine by quiet meanes. ¶ This yéere the people paid a fifteenth to the king of all their temporall goods, which was said to be granted first to his father. The prince of Wales Leolin. The king cōmeth to Chester.

The same yeere departed this life Iohn Breton bishop of Hereford, who being verie expert in the lawes of the land, compiled a booke of them called Le Breton. The 11 of September, a generall earthquake chanced betwixt the first houre and the third of the same daie, the church of S. Michaell on the hill without Glastenburie, was therwith throwne down to the ground. After this, it rained bloud in the countrie of Wales, as a prodigious euill token to that nation, with whose bloud shortlie after that region was in manie places moistened and stained. For as it chanced shortlie after, Leolin the sonne of Griffin came to haue the gouernment of Wales, who partlie to raise new seditions in England, and partlie to purchase him friendship and aliance in France, sent vnto *Matth. Westm.* Breton bishop of Hereford departeth this life. It rained bloud. 1276. An. Reg. 4.

5 king

king Philip, requiring of him that he might haue in marriage the ladie Elianor daughter to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, the which togither with hir mother and brother Emerike, remained as banished persons in France. The French king granted his request, and sent hir vnder the conduct of hir said brother to be conueied into Wales vnto Leolin, who had promised to marrie hir. But yer they approched to Wales, at the Ile of Silie both the brother & sister were taken by foure ships of Bristow, the owners whereof that so tooke them, sent them vnto king Edward. When Leolin vnderstood that his wife was taken from him by the waie as she was comming, he was not a little wroth, and incontinentlie began to make warre vpon king Edwards subiects that bordered neere vnto Wales, killing the people, spoiling their goods, and burning vp their townes and houses on each side.

The earle of Montforts daughter appointed wife to the prince of Wales taken.

Leolin prince of Wales beginneth to make wars.

Matth. West.

Herewith the king of England was so moued, that although the said Leolin made sute for peace, and offered no small sum of monie to haue the daughter of the earle of Leicester his fianced wife deliuered to him, yet would not the king by any meanes consent to that marriage, nor receiue any monie of him, except he would restore vnto the right owners such lands as he had inuaded and got into his possession, and further repaire such castels as he had destroied. Herevpon grew no small grudge betwixt the Welshmen and Englishmen, so that to represse the inuasion of the enimies in the parts towards Bristow, Mountgomerie and Chester, the king sent three hundred men in armes on horssebacke. In the quindene of Easter, the king departing from Westminster, hasted towards Wales with a mightie power, and caused the courts of the excheker and of his bench to remooue vnto Shrewesburie, that they might be neere vnto him, making forward with all conuenient speed to come to the aid and succour of his liege people.

Matth. Westm. The excheker and the kings bench remoued to Shrewsburie.

Hervpon entring into Wales he tooke the castell of Rutland, and sent into Westwales a valiant capteine named Paine de Camureijs, who with fire and sword wasted that countrie, so that the people offering themselues to the kings peace, deliuered vnto the said Paine the castell of Stridewie with the countrie adioining. Then Leolin the prince of Wales, perceiuing that he was not able to resist the kings power, and knowing that if he did attempt the conflict against him the danger would redound to himself & his traine, did as th' old verse counselleth,

The castell of Rutland taken. An. Reg. 5. 1277.

The castell of Stridewie.

Leolin sueth for peace.

Peruigili cura semper meditare futura,

and therefore made suit for peace, in so much that finallie it was agreed, that commissioners for both parts should talke concerning certeine articles, and whatsoeuer they concluded, aswell the king as the said Leolin should hold the same for firme and stable. The king appointed one of his commissioners, to wit, the lord Robert de Tiptost, to take an oth for him, & authorised the said Robert Anthonie Beke, and frier William de Southampton, prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commissioners, nominated on his behalfe, to receiue the like oth of the said Leolin. Which Leolin appointed commissioners for his part, Tuder ap Edeuenet, and Grono ap Helin, the which commissioners with good deliberation concluded vpon certeine points and articles, of which the principall were as followeth.

N. Trivet. Cõmissioners appointed.

First, that the said Leolin should set at libertie all prisoners which he held in captiuitie for the king of Englands cause, freelie and without all challenge.

Secondlie, that to haue peace and the kings of Englands fauour, he should giue vnto the said king fiftie thousand pounds sterling, the daies of the paiement whereof to rest in the kings will and pleasure.

Thirdlie, that the land of the foure cantreds without all contradiction should remaine for euer to the king and his heires, with all lands conquered by the king and his people, the Ile of Anglesey excepted, which Ile was granted to the prince, so that he should paie for the same yearelie the summe of one thousand marks, and fiue thousand marks for an income. Prouided, that if the prince chanced to die without issue, then the said Ile to reuert againe into the kings hands.

Fourthlie,

Fourthlie, that the prince shall come to Rothelan or Rothland (as it is commonlie called) there to doo fealtie to the king, and before his comming thither, he should be absolued and haue the interdiction of his lands released, and at his being at Rothelan, a daie shall be appointed him by the king for his comming to London, there to doo his homage. Herevpon was order taken for his safe conduct, aswell in his comming to Rothelan, as to London. There be that write that he was appointed to come vnto London, at the feast of the natiuitie of our Lord. 4

Fifthlie, it was couenanted, that all the homages of Wales should remaine to the king, except onelie of fiue barons which inhabited neere vnto the castell of Snowdon: for otherwise the said Leolin could not conuenientlie call himselfe prince, except he had some barons vnder him. 5

Sixtlie, that he should receiue the title and name of prince so long as he liued, and after his deceasse the homages of those fiue barons should reuert to the king and to his heires for euer. 6

Seuenthlie the king granted vnto the said Leolin, the lands that belonged to his brother Dauid, for tearme of the said Leolins life, and in recompense thereof was contented to satifie the said Dauid with other lands in some other place, the which after the decease of the said Leolin or Dauid should reuert to the king and his heires. 7

W. Triuet. Dauid Leolins brother prouided for.

For the assurance of which articles and couenants the prince deliuered for hostages ten persons of the best in Wales, which he could get, without imprisonment, disheriting, or terme of deliuerance: and of euerie cantred twentie persons, of the best and most sufficient, to be chosen by such as the king shall send thither yeerelie, & shall from yéere to yéere be sworne vpon the euangelists, in presence of the bailiffes of the said Leolin, that whensoeuer the prince shall breake any of these articles, and vpon admonition dooth not reforme himselfe, they shall forsake him, and in all things, being vnto him open enimies, shall beare him deadlie hostilitie.

An oth to be receiued.

Besides this, the prince shall (as farre as in him may lie) pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in prison, Owen and Roderike: the third named Dauid, escaping his hands, fled into England, and remained many yéeres with king Edward, who receiuing him into his seruice, made him knight in this warre, and gaue vnto him a castell at Denbigh in Wales, with lands to the yéerelie value of a thousand marks, in recompense of those possessions which he ought to haue had in Anglesey, the which (as before is said) the king granted vnto Leolin for tearme of his life, and after his deceasse to reuert vnto the king and to his heires. Moreouer, he preferred Dauid to the marriage of a iollie widowe, that was daughter to the earle of Darbie.

Leolins brethren.

Dauid rewarded by king Edward.

Dauid preferred in marriage.

As concerning Owen, through the kings fauour he was deliuered out of prison, by force of the articles concluded at this present by the commissioners, vnder this forme and maner: that vpon his being set at libertie, certeine persons appointed by the king should make offer to him, to choose whether he would first compound with his brother, and therevpon come to the king, and beseech him to allow the composition, or else to put himselfe vnder the safe keeping of the king, till according to the lawes and customes of Wales, in the place where he did transgresse, iudgement should be giuen of the matter: and if he were acquit, then might he demand his heritage if he thought it so expedient: and which of these two waies he should choose, the same should be made firme and stable in the kings presence.

The article concerning Owen.

All these articles, with other additions, were accorded by the said cõmissioners at Aberconweie, on the tuesdaie before the feast of S. Martine, in the yeare 1277, and letters of confirmation made thereof by the king, dated at Rutland on the tenth daie of Nouember, inthe fift yéere of his reigne. Also the said Leolin, by the name of Leolin ap Griffin prince of Wales, with letters vnder his seale, confirmed the abouesaid articles on his behalfe, for the releasing of his right to the foure cantreds and other things that should remaine to the king, which letters bare date at Aberconweie, on the foresaid tuesdaie in the said

yeere 1277. Also the K. released to the said Leolin, the said summe of fiftie thousand pounds, and the said summe of a thousand marks yéerelie to be paid for the Ile of Anglesey, as by his letters dated at Rutland on the said 10 daie of Nouember in the said fift yéere of his reigne more at large it appéereth. Neuerthelesse by his letters dated at Rutland, on the said eleuenth of the said month of November, it is euident that he receiued of the said Leolin the summe of two thousand marks sterling, by the hands of Thomas Beke kéeper of his wardrobe.

The castell of Lamperdeuaur built.

An. Reg. 6. 1278.

Moreouer, the king in the west part of Wales built at the same time a castle at Lamperdeuaur, to kéepe vnder the rebellious attempts of the Welshmen. King Edward gaue in marriage by waie of restitution to the fore-remembred Leolin prince of Wales the earle of Leicesters daughter, which was taken (as ye haue heard) at the Ile of Sillie. He also bare all the charges of the feast at the daie of the marriage, and honoured the same with the presence of himselfe and the queene. ¶ A subsidie of the twentieth part of cuerie mans goods was granted to the king towards his charges susteined in the Welsh warres.

Leolins wife restored to hir husband.

Statutes of Glocester.

Moreouer, in the sixt yéere of his reigne K. Edward held a parlement at Glocester, in the which were certeine acts and statutes made for the wealth and good gouernment of the realme, which vnto this daie are called the statutes of Glocester. ¶ Alexander king of Scots came into England, to common with K. Edward, of matters touching his kingdome of Scotland. ¶ Shortlie after king Edward went ouer into France, and there receiued certeine townes that were restored to him, but not the moitie of those that were promised to his father, when he released his title vnto the dutchie of Normandie.

The archbish of Yorke being made cardinal resigneth his archbishoprike.

Iohn Peckham archbish. of Yorke.

Clippers of monie.

An. Reg. 7. *Nic. Trivet.*

Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Canturburie, was by pope Nicholas aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and made bishop of Portua, so that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbishoprike of Canturburie to the which through the popes grant frier Iohn Peckham was admitted archbishop. This yéere there was inquirie made in London for such as had clipped, washed, & counterfaited the kings coine, wherevpon the Iewes of the citie and diuerse goldsmiths that kept the exchange of siluer were indited, and after to the number of two hundreth foure score and seuenteene persons were condemned, and in diuers places put to execution. There were but 3. Englishmen among them, all the residue were Iewes; but diuerse christians that were participants with them in their offenses were put to their fines, and not without iust cause.

Chron. Dunst.

About the same time the king remooued all such shiriffes as were either prests or strangers, and in their places appointed knights to be shiriffes, that were of the same countrie were their offices laie. Moreouer, about this season king Edward builded the castell of Flint, and fortified the castell of Rutland and others, placing garrisons of Englishmen in the same to defend the countrie, and to kéepe the Welshmen vnder obedience. But Leolin so smallie regarded all couenants made, and benefits receiued, that shortlie after, vpon the death of his late married wife, being summoned to come to a parlement holden by king Edward, he disdained to obeie, and vpon a verie spite began to make new warre to the Englishmen, in wasting and destroieng the countrie: notwithstanding king Edward had so manie waies doone him good, and had giuen him iust cause of thankfulnesse, which is the common reward of benefits, and which little recompense whoso neglecteth to make, being but a little lip-labour,

The castels of Flint & Rutland built.

1279.

Leolin beginneth new war.

Non est laudari dignus, nec dignus amari.

He sueth for peace.

But being put in feare with the kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armor aside, and began eftsoones to require peace, which the king now the second time did not denie to grant; bicause he would not lose time to warre with the mounteins, woods and marishes, the places of refuge for Welshmen in those daies, when they wanted power to abide battell and keepe the feelds. About the same time the king gaue vnto Dauid the brother of Leolin the lordship of Frodesham in Cheshire, and made him knight.

The statute of Mortmaine.

Moreouer, in this yeare the king held a parlement, in which the statute of Mortmaine was established.

Frier Iohn Peckham, whome the pope had alreadie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie,

turburie, being the 47 in number that had gouerned the said see, came this yeare ouer into England to supplie the roome. ¶ Also Walter Gifford archbishop of Yorke departed this life, in whose place succéeded William Wickham, the 37 archbishop there. The archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at Reading about the latter end of Iulie, wherin he renewed the constitutions of the generall councell, as thus: That no ecclesiasticall person should haue aboue one benefice to the which belonged cure of soule; and againe, that all those that were promoted to any ecclesiasticall liuing, should receiue the order of priesthood within one yere after his being promoted therevnto. A synod at Reading.

In this yeare the king tooke order for the amending of his monie and coine, which in that season was fowlie clipped, washed and counterfeited by those naughtie men the Iewes, and other, as before you haue partlie heard. The king therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie sent foorth commandement to all the shiriffes within the land, that such monie as was counterfeited, clipped or washed, should not be currant from thencefoorth: and furthermore he sent of his owne treasure, good monie and not clipped, vnto certeine cities and townes in the realme, that exchange might be made with the same till new monie were stamped. About the third daie of August, the first exchange was made of the new monie of pence and farthings; but yet the old monie went all this yeare togither with the new, and then was the old coine generallie forbidden, and commandement giuen by publike proclamation, that from thencefoorth it should no more be allowed for currant. Herewith also halfpence, which had beene stamped in the meane time, began to come abroad the same day in which the old monie was thus prohibited. The kings coine amended.

The lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feast at Killingworth, with iusts and triumphs of an hundred knights and as manie ladies, to the which resorted lords, knights, & gentlemen from diuerse countries and lands, to shew proofe of their valiancie in the practise of warlike feats and exercises. In the meane season king Edward standing in need of monie, deuised a new shift to serue his turne, as this: namely that whereas he was cheefe lord of many lordships, manours, possessions and tenements, he well vnderstood, that partlie by length and proces of time, and partlie by casualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, manie mens euidences, as their charters, déeds, copies and other writings were lost, wasted, and made awaie, he therfore vnder colour to put the statute of (Quo Warranto) in execution which was ordeined this yeare in the parlement holden at Glocester in August last past (as some write) did now command by publike proclamation, that all such as held any lands or tenements of him, should come and shew by what right and title they held the same, that by such meanes their possessions might returne vnto him, by escheat as cheefe lord of the same, and so to be sold or redeemed againe at his hands. An. Reg. 8. 1280. *N. Triuet. Polydor. Abington.* A shift to get monie.

This was thought to be so sore a proclamation, as that a more greeuous had not lightlie been heard of. Men in euerie place made complaint and shewed themselues gréeuouslie offended, so that the king by meanes thereof came in great hatred of his people: but the meane sort of men, though they stood in defense of their right, yet it anailed them but little, bicause they had no euidence to shew, so that they were constreined to be quiet with losse, rather than to striue against the streame. Manie were thus called to answer, till at length the lord Iohn Warren earle of Surrie, a man greatlie beloued of the people, perceiuing the king to haue cast his net for a preie, and that there was not one which spake against him, determined to stand against those so bitter and cruell procéedings. And therefore being called afore the iustices about this matter, he appeared, and being asked "by what right he held his lands?" suddenlie drawing foorth an old rustie sword; "By this instrument (said he) doo I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them. Our ancestors comming into this realme with William the Conquerour, conquered their lands with the sword, and with the same will I defend me from all those that should be about to take them from me; he did not make a conquest of this realme alone, our progenitors were with him as participants and helpers." Ordinances for monie. The saieng of the earle of Surrie.

The

The king vnderstanding into what hatred of his people by this meanes he was fallen, and therfore desirous to auoid ciuill dissention and war that might thereby insue, he left off his begun practise: so that the thing which generallie should haue touched and béene hurtfull to all men, was now suddenlie staied by the manhood and couragious stoutnesse onelie of one man, the foresaid earle, who in his rare act of defending cõmon equitie against the mightie in authoritie (who spared not to offer extreme iniurie) shewed himselfe a verie true and naturall branch of nobilitie,

——— cupit quæ grandia semper,
Vilia contemnit, quæ sursum tendere vt ignis
Nititur, & summas penetrat velut ardea nubes.

A synod at Lambeth.

The archbishop of Canturburie held an other synod at Lambeth, in the which he receiued and confirmed the orders and constitutions decréed and established by the legats Otho and Othobone, in councels by them kept here within this realme, adding diuerse other of his owne: & in the same councell he went about to adnihilate certeine liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of patronages and the kings prohibitions In placitis de catallis, and such like, which séemed méerlie to touch the spiritualtie. But the king by some in that councell withstood the archbishop openlie, and with menaces staied him from concluding any thing that might preiudice his roiall liberties and prerogatiues.

A parleen t.

King Edward held a parlement at London, in the which he demanded a fifteenth of the cleargie, which latelie before he had got of the temporaltie.

The archbishop of Yorke. The archbishop of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Yorke was content at the first to grant this fifteenth to be paid of the cleargie within his diocesse in two yeares; but the archbishop of Canturburie held off, and required respit till the next parlement to be holden after Easter, and then he granted vnto the king the dismes of all his cleargie for thrée yeares, that in some point he might be different from the archbishop of Yorke.

An. Reg. 9. 1281.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the feast of the round table was kept at Warwike with great and sumptuous triumph. Whilest these things were in dooing, Dauid brother to Leolin prince of Wales, forgetting the great benefits which he had receiued at the hands of king Edward, became his aduersarie, and caused his said brother the prince of Wales with a great number of other noble men of that countrie to rebell: and to incourage them the sooner to attempt the warre, he began the first exploit himselfe, taking the said lord Roger Clifford (a right worthie and famous knight) in his castell of Hawardine, vpon Palmesundaie, the said lord being in no doubt of any such matter. Diuerse knights and other that were in the same castell at that time, and made resistance, were slaine.

The feast of the round table holden at Warwike.

Dauid the brother of Leolin reuolteth, and becommeth a rebell.

The lord Clifford taken.

The castell of Rutland besieged.

After this the foresaid Dauid returned to his brother the prince, and therewith assembling an armie, they went both togither and besieged the castell of Rutland. King Edward at the same time being in the parts about Salisburie, where he kept his Easter at the Vies, sent out commissioners to leauie an armie, and commanded such men of warre as he had then in a readinesse, to hast foorth to the rescue of the castell of Rutland. And in the meane time, the castell of Lamperdeuaux was taken by Rice ap Malgone and Griffith ap Meridoc. Also diuerse other castels were taken by other of the Welsh nobilitie. Moreouer, about this time by the labour and suit of Iohn the archbishop of Canturburie, Emericke de Montfort, which had béene reteined in prison (sith that he was first taken togither with his sister at the Ile of Sillie by the Bristowmen) was now set at libertie and permitted to returne into France. The said archbishop of Canturburie was sent into Wales to persuade Leolin and his brother with the other rebels vnto peace and quietnesse, but returning into England, without bringing anie thing to passe, he denounced them accursed.

The castell of Lamperdeuaux taken.

Emericke de Montfort set at libertie.

Leolin and other the Welsh rebels accursed.

An. Reg. 10. 1282.

The king entreth into Wales.

The king hasted foorth to come to the rescue of his people, wherevpon Leolin and his brother Dauid retired with their people to Snowdon hilles, and fortified the castell there with a strong garrison of men. The king entring into Wales, when he heard that his

enimies were withdrawne into the mounteins, passed foorth till he came neere vnto them, where he pitched downe his field, and the next day causing his horssemen to issue foorth of the campe, filled all the plaines which compasse the foot of those hilles (aswell on the east side as toward the south) with the same horssemen, and herewith placed his footmen more aloft on the side of the hilles in couert: this doone he prouoked his enimie to come foorth to fight, but when he saw this would not be, then that he might stop them from all places of refuge, he caused his ships to take the Isle of Anglesey, bicause the Welshmen vsed to flie thither oftentimes for their safegard, in the which enterprise the mariners of the cinque ports bare themselues right manfullie. The mariners of the cinque ports.

After this, ioining certeine vessels togither, he caused a bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other small riuer falleth that riseth at the roots of those hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enimies from lodging on the further side of that riuer. This bridge conteining roome for threescore armed men to passe afront, was made ouer the riuer of Sient, by the which men saile into the Isle, which by the course of the sea ebbeth and floweth euerie twelue houres. But so it came to passe, that before the bridge was well boorded ouer, whilest the king yet remained at Aberconwaie, diuerse of the English nobilitie, to the number of seauen banerets with three hundreth armed men rashlie passed ouer, and as they surueied the foot of the mounteine, the tide began to come in so swiftlie, that where the Englishmen were aduanced a good prettie waie from the water side, they could not now get backe againe to the bridge which as yet was not fullie made vp. Meneth.

The Welshmen perceiuing this, came downe beside the mounteine, and assailed the Englishmen verie fiercelie, and with their great multitude so oppressed them, that for feare the Englishmen were driuen to take the water, and so by reason they were loaden with armour, manie of them were drowned: and amongst other, that famous knight sir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, sir William Lindsey, and two gentlemen of good accompt that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then bishop of Bath. There perished in all (as some saie) thirtéene knights, seuentéene yoong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundred footmen. Yet sir William Latimer, as good hap would, escaped, and diuerse other. This mischance happened on S. Leonards day. The Englishmen distressed by Welshmen. The lord Clifford. *Chron. Dunst.*

In this meane time in an other part of the countrie the earle of Glocester with an armie, made sore warre to the Welshmen, and néere vnto the towne called Lantilaware, fought a sore battell with them, in the which manie of the Welshmen being slaine, the earle lost also fiue knights vpon his partie, as William Valence the yonger, being one of that number, who was the kings cousine. The earle of Glocester then departing from thence, Leolin the prince of Wales entered into the countrie of Cardigan and Stradwie, destroieng the lands of Rice ap Meridoc, which now held with the king against the said prince. At length, prince Leolin going towards the land of Buelth with a small companie, left his maine armie behind him aloft vpon the top of the mounteine, néere to the water called Waie, and he had set a number of his people to keepe the bridge of Orewin: and so the Welshmen kept on the one side, and the Englishmen on the other, of whome were capteins the lord Iohn Gifford and the lord Edmund Mortimer, the which perceiuing the Welshmen that were readie to defend the bridge, and a great host of them vpon the top of the mounteine, they consulted togither what they were best to doo. The earle of Glocester maketh warre on the Welshmen. An. Reg. 11. Leolin inuadeth the kings freends. The lord Gifford and Mortimer.

At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Walewaine they drew on the one hand alongst the riuer, where was a foord passable in déed, though not without danger: but yet the Englishmen by the conduct of the same Helias, got ouer by the same foord, so that it bare the name long after of Helias way. And so the Welshmen that kept the bridge (perceiuing the Englishmen to be got ouer vnto that side) fled, whereupon the residue of the English armie passed ouer at the bridge, whereof rose a great noise, which Leolin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the first he could not be brought to thinke that by any possible means the Englishmen were got ouer to that side of the water. Helias Walwaine.

water. But yet perceiuing it to be true, he drue backe toward the heigth of the mounteine againe, neuerthelesse being discouered by one Stephan de Franketon, named by some writers Sward, he was so narrowlie pursued of the same Stephan, that he was ouertaken and slaine.

Prince Leolin slaine by Stephan de Franketon.

Stephan not knowing whome he had slaine, returned to the host, the which was now mounting vp the hill to ioine with the Welsh armie that stood still looking for the returne of their prince Leolin (though in vaine) yet they manfullie abode by their tackle, discharging plentie of arowes and darts at the Englishmen as they came vp towards them. The English archers which were mingled amongst the horssemen, paid them home againe with their shot, so that finallie the English horssemen, winning the top of the hill, slue manie of them standing stoutlie at defense, and put the residue to flight. Stephan Sward that had slaine Leolin, after the victorie was atchieued, rode to the dead bodie which he had slaine in the beginning of the battell, and vpon vew taken of him perceiued who he was, of which good hap the Englishmen were verie ioifull. His head was herewith cut off, which the lord Edmund Mortimer tooke with him vnto Rutland (where the king as then was lodged) vnto whome he presented it: and the king sent it vnto London, appointing that there should be an yuie crowne set vpon it; in token that he was a prince, and so being adorned, a horsseman carried it vpon the end of his staffe through Cheapside, holding it as he rode on heigth, that all men might sée it, till he came to the tower, & there it was pight vp aloft vpon one of the highest turrets, remaining there a long time after.

Leolins head presented to the king.

Thus was the prophesie fulfilled, which was told to him by an old woman taken for a southsaier, of whome he required to know how he should speed in this warre, wherevnto she answered, that he should boldlie go forward in them, for he should ride with a crowne on his head through Cheapside: and so by the deceiuable prophesie he was deluded & brought to destruction. The incounter wherein the Welshmen were vanquished (as before ye haue heard) chanced on the fridaie before S. Lucies day. King Edward being certified thus of the victorie, streightwaies marched foorth with his people, and appointed at euerie passage certeine bands of souldiers to lie in wait for the enimies. Also at the foot of the hilles he left his horssemen, and mounted vp the hilles himselfe, with the residue of his armie. There were certeine Gascoignes, whome the lord Iohn Vescie had brought with him out of their countrie, to serue the king, which burned manie townes, and slue great numbers of the Welshmen, all that came in their waie, and finallie, giuing an assault to Snowdon castell, they wan it in fine by force.

A prophesie fulfilled.

The Gascoigns pursue the Welshmen egerlie.

In this meane time, the Welshmen, when they saw themselues inclosed, and stopped from all waies to escape, after the maner of wild beasts, fled into the thicke woods & caues, some of them making shift to get downe through the steepe and broken rocks, and some of them séeking to escape by flight, fell into their enimies hands, & were either slaine or taken, and amongst these, about Midsummer was Dauid taken, togither with his wife, his two sonnes, and seauen daughters, and brought to the king, who sent them first to Rutland castell, there to be safelie kept.

King Edward hauing subdued the Welshmen that inhabited in the mounteins, went about all the countrie to conquer the residue, assembling all his armie togither, and then pursuing his aduersaries, made great slaughter of them on each side, so that there were slaine aboue thrée thousand men: then hauing the countrie at his will, he gaue vnto the English lords townes in the middest of Wales, and diuided the countrie into shires, ordeined shiriffes, and other officers as then were vsed in England. At Aberconow he builded a strong castell, where before was an house of white moonks, the which he remooued to the Vale roiall in Chesshire, where he builded a faire abbeie of the Cisteaux order, and endowed it with great lands and reuenues. He also made and fortified the castell of Carnaruan fast by Snowdon, and repared againe the towne of Lambaterwhir, otherwise called Abreswich, which Leolin had before beaten downe. Also he placed

Wales diuided into shires.

The Vale roiall built by K. Edward the first.

English

English garrisons in the castels and holds by the sea sides, and made Englishmen lords of the grounds and possessions belonging to the same. Rees ap Bouan one of the chéefest and mightiest capteins of all Wales, which during the warres, had doone more displeasure to the Englishmen than any other, in spoiling their confines, and making great slaughters vpon them, vnderstanding now both of the death of prince Leolin, and the taking of his brother Dauid, and also perceiuing himselfe pursued on each side, at length yéelded himselfe and his complices to Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, who straightwaies sent him to the king, and the king sent him to London, there to be kept prisoner in the tower.

Rees ap Bouan yéeldeth himselfe vnto K. Edward.

Thus king Edward, hauing brought the rebellious Welshmen vnder his correction, appointed his generall lieutenant there, the lord Robert Tiptost, and when he had set all things in good order, about Michaelmas he came to Shrewesburie, where at a parlement by him there holden, the foresaid Dauid (that was brought thither) as cheefe procurer of all this warre, was condemned of treason, and was afterward executed, according to iudgement pronounced against him, that is to saie, he was hanged drawne and quartered. His head was sent to London, and set vp by the head of his brother Leolin. His quarters were diuided, and sent to be set vp on the gates of foure of the chéefest cities of England. This reward reaped he for his proditorious attempts, before God, angels, and men: an horrible punishment for an heinous offense; and no maruell, sith

A parlement at Shrewesburie.

Dauid condemned of treason.

He is executed.

Ante Dei vultum nihil vnquam restat inultum.

During these warres, the king had of the temporaltie, the thirtith part of all their goods, and of the spiritualtie, the twentith part, towards the maintenance of the same warres.

N. Triuet.

The same yeare also after Michaelmas, the king held a parlement at Acton Burnell, wherein those statutes were ordeined, which vnto this daie beare the name of the place where they were made. In the twelfth yeare of this kings reigne, his eldest sonne Alfonse departed this life at Windsore, and on S. Markes daie his sonne Edward, that after succeeded him in the kingdome, was borne at Carnaruan, where the king had builded a strong castell, and was come thither with the quéene at that time, to see the same. ¶ Also this yeare, in the quindene of saint Michaell, the iustices itinerants began to go their generall circuits.

An. Reg. 12. 1284.

Edward the second borne.

Abington.

On Easter daie, which fell this yeare on the ninth of Aprill, being also leape yeare, in the morning about the rising of the sunne, the element was shadowed with such darkenesse and thicknesse of aire, that it seemed to waxe night againe, and suddenlie rose an horrible tempest, first of haile and raine, and after of snow, that couered all the earth; and then followed such thunder and lightning, that men were maruellouslie amazed therewith, considering it séemed to be against the nature of the season, for scarse in Aprill shall yée heare anie such thunder. Yet at length it brake vp, and the element recouered hir accustomed cléerenesse.

A great tempest on Easter daie in the morning.

In the thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward kept his Christmasse at Bristowe, and held there a priuate councell, but no generall parlement; and this was the first time that anie English king can be remembred, to haue kept any solemne feast at Bristow. The king then leauing his court of chancerie at Bristow, with his children, came to London, where he had not béene almost of three yeares before. Héere came messengers to him from the French king, requiring him to come in person, with a certeine number of men of warre, to aid him in the warres against the king of Aragon, as of right he ought to doo, by reason of the dutchie of Guien which he held of him. The same yeare died William the archbishop of Yorke, after he had gouerned that see six yeares, and then succéeded one Iohn surnamed Romane. About this season, was Marton colledge in Oxenford founded by Walter Marton that was lord Chancellour of England, and after bishop of Rochester. ¶ King Edward seized the franchises and liberties of London into his hands, and discharged Gregorie Rokkeslie the maior then being, and appointed for custos and gardian of the citie,

An. Reg. 13. 1285.

Bristow.

Ambassadors from the French king.

William the archbishop of Yorke deceassed.

Iohn Roman archbishop of Yorke.

Marton colledge in Oxford built.

citie, one Stephan Sandwich, the which from the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, till the monday following the Purification of our ladie, continued in that office, and was then discharged, and sir Iohn Breton knight charged therewith for the residue of the yeare. There is no certeine knowledge left in records, whie the king tooke such displeasure with the citie, saue that the said Gregorie Rokkeslie then maior, as the fame went, tooke bribes of the bakers, and suffered them to sell bread, lacking six or seauen ounces of weight in a penie lofe. ¶ The new worke of the church of Westminster, to the end of the quier, begun (as before is shewed) in the third yeare of king Henrie, was in this yeare fullie finished.

The death of the Scotish king.

The nineteenth of March, died Alexander king of Scotland, by a fall which he caught as he ran a stirring horsse: he left no issue behind him, nor any certeine knowne heire to succéed him, by reason wherof insued great harme to that relme (as in the Scotish historie may more at large appeare.) The manner of whose death (as in Richard Southwell I find it reported) I haue thought good breeflie to touch, for that in recitall thereof, he somewhat disagreeth from the Scotish historie. There went (saith he) a common speach through Scotland all this yeare, before the kings death, that on the same nineteenth of March the daie of iudgement should be: wherevpon, as the said king sat at dinner in the castell of Edenburgh, hauing a dish of excellent good lampries before him, he sent part thereof to one of the lords that sat at some other table not far from him, and willed him by the gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and haue in mind that this was the day of doome. The lord sent him thanks againe, and praied the messenger to tell the king merilie, that if this were the daie of doome, they should rise to iudgement speedilie with their bellies filled with good meats and drinks. After they had dined, and the night began to draw on, he tooke his horsse, and onlie accompanied with three gentlemen, would needs ride to Kingorne, where the queene his new wife then laie, and before he could get vnto Innerkenin, it was darke night, so that he tooke there two guides to lead him the waie: but they had not ridden past two miles, but that the guides had quite lost the waie, so that they were driuen to giue their horsses libertie to beat it out themselues.

Rich. South.

Herewithall the king being seuered from his companie, how he ruled his horsse it is hard to saie, but downe he was throwne, and immediatlie died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, either headlong downe one of the cliffes or otherwise, and thus he came to his end, on a mondaie, being saint Cuthberts euen the nineteenth of March (as before is noted) after he had reigned six & thirtie yeares and nine moneths, as the same Southwell saieth; who also (contrarie to that which Hector Boetius writeth) affirmeth, that the same daie was so tempestuous with wind, snow, haile and raine, that he and manie other that then liued and felt it, durst not vncouer their faces, in going abroad against the bitter northerne wind, that droue the snow and sleet most vehementlie vpon them. And although that such fowle weather might haue staied him from taking his iournie in that sort, yet he made no accompt thereof, as he that was accustomed to ride as well in fowle weather as faire, and spared neither for tempest, waters, nor craggie rocks, thicke nor thin; for all was one to him, oftentimes taking his iournie in disguised apparell, accompanied onlie with one seruant. But to returne vnto the doings in England.

In this yeare the king tooke escuage, fortie shillings of euerie knights fee, towards the charges of his last wars in Wales. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, at the which were made the statutes called Additamenta Glocestriæ, or rather the statutes of Westminster the second. In the fouretéenth yeare of king Edward, a citizen of London named Thomas Piwilesdon, who in time of the barons warres had béene a great doer, to stir the people against king Henrie, was now accused, that he with other should go about to make new disturbance within the citie: whereof inquirie being made and had before sir Rafe Standish, then custos or gardian of the citie, the said Piwilesdon and other, to the number of fiftie, were banished the citie for euer. ¶ Also, whereas of old time before this

An. Reg. 14. *Fabian.*

Thomas Piwilesdon a citizen of London.

He with other are banished the citie.

this season, the merchant strangers were vsed to be lodged within the dwelling houses of the citizens of London, and sold all their merchandize by procuration of their hosts, for the which their said hosts had a certeine allowance, after the rate of euerie pound: now it was ordeined, that the said merchant strangers might take houses to hire, for to inhabit therein, & for stowage of their wares, & no citizen to intermeddle with them or their wares: by reason whereof they vsed manie deceits, both in vttering counterfeit wares, and also vniust weights. Moreouer, much of those wares, which they should haue waied at the K. beame, they weighed at home within their houses, to the hinderance of the kings custome. Wherevpon search being made vpon a sudden, and their weights found and prooued false, twentie of the said strangers were arrested and sent to the towre, and their weights burnt, destroied and broken to péeces in Westcheape, on thursdaie before the feast of Simon and Iude. Finallie, the said merchants were deliuered, being put to a fine of a thousand pounds, after sore and hard imprisonment.

A new order for merchant strangers.

Strangers committed to the towre.

The Iewes in one night were generallie apprehended, and put in prison through all the parts of England, and so kept in durance, till they had fined at the kings pleasure. ¶ It is reported that the commons of England granted to the king, the fift part of their mooueables, to haue the Iewes banished out of the land: but the Iewes, to put the Englishmen frō their purpose, gaue to the king great summes of monie, whereby they tarried yet a while longer. King Edward went ouer into France vpon the fiue and twentith of Maie, passing through Picardie vnto Amiens, and there the French king, to doo him honor, was readie to receiue him. Here king Edward did homage vnto the French king, for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France. And after, he was also present at a parlement, which the said French king held at Paris, in the which he obteined manie things for the liberties of his said lands, as then by diuerse waies wrongfullie oppressed, though such grant continued not long in force. After Whitsuntide, king Edward departed from Paris and went into Gascoigne, togither with his wife queene Elianor, who was with him in all his iournie.

1286.

Nic. Triuet.

The king passeth ouer into France.

This yeare the king went into Aragon, where his authoritie auailed much, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragon and Naples; whereby Charles king of Naples was then set at libertie, vpon certeine contracts or couenants passed and agreed betwixt them. ¶ The kings mother queene Elianor this yeare forsooke the world, and tooke vpon hir the habit of a nunne at Ambresburie; but yet she still reteined and inioied hir dower by the popes authoritie and dispensation. About this time a squire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, set fire on the merchants boothes, at S. Butolphes faire; and whilest the merchants were about to quench the fire, the said squire and his complices set vpon the said merchants, slue manie of them, and robbed them of their goods. In this yeare fell variance betweene the lord Paine Tiptost, wardeine of certeine castels in Wales, and a Welsh knight called sir Rees ap Meridoc, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwixt them, and men slaine on both sides, to the great disturbance of the countrie.

An. Reg. 15. 1287.

Rich. South.

Bristow faire robbed.

Variance betwixt the lord Paine Tiptost, and Rice ap Meridoc.

The cause of this warre rose chéeflie, for that the said lord Tiptost, and the lord Alane Plucknet, the kings steward in Wales, would haue constreined the said Rées to appeare at counties and hundreds, as the vse in other parts of Wales then was, contrarie to such liberties as he had obteined of the king as he pretended. But when the king wrote vnto the same Rées, requiring him to kéepe the peace, till his returne (at what time he promised to reforme all things in due and reasonable order) Rees hauing alreadie put armour vpon his backe, would not now incline to any peace, but to reuenge his cause, assembled a great multitude of Welshmen, with whose helpe he burnt & destroied manie townes in Wales, so that the K. being then beyond the seas, sent to the earle of Cornewall, whom in his absence he had appointed his lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to send an armie into Wales, to resist the malice and riotous attempts of the Welshmen. The earle shortlie therevpon prepared an armie, and went with the same into Wales, or (as other write) the bishop of Elie, the lord prior of S. Iohns, the earle of Glocester, and diuerse

N. Triuet.

barons of the land went thither, and chasing the said Rées, dispersed his armie, and ouerthrew and raced his castels, but by vndermining and reuersing the wals at the castell of Druslan, with the fall therof, the baron Stafford, and the lord William de Montchensie, with manie other knights and esquiers, were oppressed and brused to death. ¶ This yeare, the king at Blankfort in Gascoigne, tooke vpon him the crosse, purposing eftsoones to make a iournie against Gods enimies.

In the winter of this yeare great flouds chanced, by reason of the exceeding abundance of raine that fell: and the sea alongst the northeast coasts from Humber to Yarmouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the same by the space of three or foure leagues in breadth (as the author of the Chronicle of Dunstable affirmeth) ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning vp men and cattell that could not auoid the danger by the sudden comming in thereof, namelie, about Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Gippeswich. Likewise in the Mers land of Lincolnshire it did passing great hurt, bringing all the countrie into water. This chanced in the verie night of the beginning of this yeere, to wit, in the feast of the circumcision of our Lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, where it did much harme, namelie about Yarmouth.

Chron. Dunst.

An. Reg. 16. 1288. This yeare, and likewise the yeare last past, was such plentie of graine, that wheat was sold in some places of this land for twentie pence a quarter, and in some places for sixteene pence, and pease for twelue pence a quarter. The summer this yeare exceeded in heat, so that men thorough the intemperate excesse thereof died in diuers places. ¶ It chanced in Gascoigne, that as the king & queene sate in their chamber vpon a bed talking togither, the thunder-bolt comming in at the window behind them, passed through betwixt them as they sate, and slue two of their gentlemen that stood before them, to the great terror of all that were present. ¶ This yeare diuerse of those that robd the faire at Boston, were executed.

Chron. Dunst. Nic. Treuet.

O woonder by thunder!

Ri. Southwell.

Moreouer, whereas Rees ap Meridoc continued still in his mischieuous dooings, at length, the lord deputie of Wales, Robert Tiptost, vsing both speedie diligence and timelie counsell, gathered all such power as he could make, & passed foorth against his aduersaries. Whereof when sir Rées was aduertised, and vnderstanding that the Englishmen were farre fewer in number than his Welshmen, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleasure, and therefore incouraging his people with manie comfortable words, to shew their manhood vpon the Englishmens approch, he hasted to méet them. The Welshmen, being for the more part but yoong souldiers, and not trained to kéepe any order of battell, ran fiercelie vpon their enimies, assailing them on the front before, on the sides a flanke, and on the backe behind, inforcing themselues to the vttermost of their power to breake their arraie.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. N. Triuet.

But the Englishmen valiantlie resisted, so that there was a sore battell for a while, and the more couragiouslie the Welshmen assailed, the more stoutlie the Englishmen defended, in keeping themselues close togither, and beating backe their aduersaries: and at length perceiuing them to faint and wax wearie, they rushed foorth into the middle of the Welshmen, & brake them in sunder, so that when they saw themselues thus repelled by the Englishmen, contrarie vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to doo, for they durst neither fight nor flée, and so by that meanes were beaten downe on euerie side. Meridoc himselfe was taken, but the most part of all his armie was slaine, to the number of foure thousand men. Thus were the Welshmen woorthilie chastised for their rebellion. Sir Rées ap Meridoc was had to Yorke, where at length, after the king was returned out of Gascoigne, he was hanged, drawen and quartered.

The Welsh discomfited. Rées ap Meridoc taken.

An. Reg. 17. 1289. This yeare on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 9 daie of Iulie, fell a woonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not beene seene nor heard of by any man then liuing. And after, there insued such continuall raine, so distempering the ground, that corne waxed verie deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at three pence a bushell, the market so rose by little and little, that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth

Hen. Marl. A sore tempest of haile. *Ran. Higd.*

dearth increased still almost by the space of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the second, in so much that sometime a bushell of wheat London measure was sold at ten shillings. A great dearth beginneth.

The king, after he had remained and continued three yeares, two moneths, and fiftéene daies in Gascoine, and in other parts there beyond the sea, he returned into England on the fourth day of August, and vpon the euen of the Assumption of our ladie he came to London, where he was most ioifullie receiued, & so came to Westminster: where shortlie after were presented vnto him manie gréeuous complaints and informations against diuerse of his iustices, as sir Thomas Weiland, Adam Stretton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thervpon found giltie of manie trespasses and transgressions, in so much that it was giuen him to vnderstand, that there were among them that had giuen consent to the committing of murthers and robberies, and wittinglie had receiued the offendors. Wherevpon, the king caused streight inquirie to be made by an inquest of 12 substantiall personages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iustice of the kings bench, had caused a murther to be doone by his seruants, and after succoured and mainteined them: hervpon he was by the kings officers arrested, but escaping their hands, he tooke sanctuarie in the church of the friers minors at saint Edmundesburie, and was admitted into their habit, but within fourtie daies after, order was giuen by the king that no kind of vittels should be suffered to be conueied to that house, so that all the friers came foorth, except three or foure, and at length he was constreined to take vpon him a laie mans apparell, and comming foorth was deliuered to the hands of Robert Malet knight, who had before the custodie of him, and now hauing him againe brought him to the towre of London. At length, he was put to his choise of three waies, which soeuer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tried by his péeres, or to remaine in perpetuall prison, or to abiure the realme: he chose the last, and so bare-footed and bare-headed, bearing a crosse in his hand, he was conueied from the towre to Douer, where taking the sea, he was transported to the further side of the sea; his goods, mooueable and vnmooueable, being confiscate to the kings coffers. *Chron. Dun.* Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iustice of the kings bench. Robert Malet.

William Brampton, Roger Leicester, Iohn Luneth, associats of the said Thomas, and iustices of the kings bench: also, Robert Lithburie chapleine, and maister of the rolles, being accused of wrongfull iudgements and other trespasses were committed to prison within the tower, and at length with much adoo, escaped with paieng their fines, so that he which paied least, gaue a thousand marks. Moreouer, Salomon of Rochester, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boiland, and Walter de Hopton, iustices itinerants, were likewise punished, and for the semblable offenses put to their fines. Sir Rafe de Hingham a iustice also, to whome in the kings absence the ordering of the realme chéefelie apperteined, being accused of diuerse transgressions, and committed to the tower, redeemed his offense for an infinit summe of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord chéefe baron of the excheker, being conuicted of manie hainous crimes, a man plentifullie prouided both of temporall possessions, and ecclesiasticall reuenues, lost all his temporall liuings, and foure and thirtie thousand marks in readie coine, beside other mooueables, in cattell, iewels and furniture of houshold, which were all confiscated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he was gentlie dealt with, that he escaped with life, and such spirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie Braie escheator, and the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue committed manie greeuous offenses, but for monie they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amongst all the iustices and officers cleere and void of vniust dealing except Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham, who onelie among the rest had behaued themselues vprightlie. When therefore such gréeuous complaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the earle of Lincolne, the bishop of Elie, and others, to heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due examination & triall, to sée them answered accordinglie as right and equitie should require. William Brampton. Roger Leicester. Iohn Luneth. Salomon de Roffa. Thomas de Sudington. Richard de Boiland. Walter Hopton. Rafe de Hingham. Adam de Stratton, L. chéefe baron. Henrie Braie. Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham.

quire. In which administration of iustice against euill iusticiaries, the king performed the charge imposed and laid vpon all such as are in gouernement and magistracie; namelie,

Eob. Hess. in Psal. 2.

Nunc igitur reges resipiscite, quærite rectum,
Quorum iudicijs terra regenda data est.

An. Reg. 18. 1290. In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, the king married two of his daughters, that is to saie, Ioane de Acres vnto Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, and the ladie Margaret vnto the lord Iohn sonne to the duke of Brabant. ¶ The king ordeined, that all the wooll, which should be sold vnto strangers, should be brought vnto Sandwich, where the staple thereof was kept long time after. In the same yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, wherein the statutes of Westminster the third were ordeined. It was also decreed, that all the Iewes should auoid out of the land, in consideration whereof, a fifteenth was granted to the king, and so heervpon were the Iewes banished out of all the kings dominions, and neuer since could they obteine any priuilege to returne hither againe. All their goods not moueable were confiscated, with their taillies and obligations; but all other their goods that were moueable, togither with their coine of gold and siluer, the king licenced them to haue and conuey with them. A sort of the richest of them, being shipped with their treasure in a mightie tall ship which they had hired, when the same was vnder saile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyond Quinborowe, the maister mariner bethought him of a wile, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same, till the ship by ebbing of the streame remained on the drie sands. The maister herewith entised the Iewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length, when he vnderstood the tide to be comming in, he got him backe to the ship, whither he was drawne vp by a cord. The Iewes made not so much hast as he did, bicause they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceiued how the matter stood, they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather vnto Moses, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the red sea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to helpe them out of those raging flouds, which now came in vpon them: they cried indéed, but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed vp in water. The maister returned with the ship, and told the king how he had vsed the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as some haue written. But other affirme, (and more truelie as should seeme) that diuerse of those mariners, which dealt so wickedlie against the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practise, and so receiued a iust reward of their fraudulent and mischéeuous dealing. But now to the purpose.

H. Marle. N. Trivet.

The statutes of Westminster the third established.

The Iewes banished out of England.

Iewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

In the foresaid parlement, the king demanded an aid of monie of the spiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iournie into the holie land, to succour the christians there: wherupon they granted to him the eleuenth part of all their moueables. He receiued the monie aforehand, but letted by other businesse at home, he went not foorth vpon that iournie. In the ninetéenth yeare of king Edward quéene Elianor king Edwards wife died vpon saint Andrews eeuen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as some haue) neere to Lincolne, the king being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but hauing now lost the iewell which he most estéemed, he returned towards London to accompanie the corps vnto Westminster, where it was buried in S. Edwards chapell, at the féet of king Henrie the third. She was a godlie and modest princesse, full of pitie, and one that shewed much fauour to the English nation, readie to releeue euerie mans greefe that susteined wrong, and to make them frends that were at discord, so farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and place, where the corps rested by the waie, the king caused a crosse of cunning workmanship to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the same was a picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like crosses were set vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in Westcheape. Morouer, he gaue in almes euerie Wednesday wheresoeuer he went, pence a péece, to all such poore folkes as came to demand the same.

The eleuenth part of ecclesiasticall reuenues granted to the K.

An. Reg. 19. The deceasse of Q. Elianor.

Thom. Walsin.

The praise of the quéene deceassed.

Charing-crosse & other erected.

About

About the same time, bicause the king should be the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had promised to doo, hauing monie to furnish him foorth, the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenues belonging vnto the same for six yeares. He wrote to the bishops of Lincolne and Winchester, that the same tenth should be laid vp in monasteries and abbeies, till the king was entred into the sea, called Mare Maggiore, forwards on his iournie eastwards, and then to be paid to his vse. But the king afterwards caused the collectors to make paiment to him of the same tenth gathered for three yeares and laid vp in monasteries, although he set not one foot forward in that iournie, as letted through other businesse. 1291.

The tenth of spirituall reuenues grãted to the K.

Also, by reason of the controuersie which depended as then betwixt diuerse persons, as competitors of the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts and kept his easter at Newcastell, and shortlie after, called a parlement at Northampton; where, by the aduise of the prelats and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by search of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he caused all the prelats and barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the parish-church of Norham, he declared vnto them his right to the superioritie of the kingdome of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they would recognise the same, protesting that he would defend the right of his crowne, to the shedding of his owne bloud, that a true certificat and information might come to light of his title and rightfull claime, vnto the direct and supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

Controuersie about the crowne of Scotland.

He had caused verelie all the histories, chronicles, and monuments that were to be found within England, Scotland and Wales, to be sought vp and perused, that it might be knowen what right he had in this behalfe. Wherevpon it was found by the chronicles of Marianus the Scot, William of Malmesburie, Roger Houeden, Henrie Huntington, Rafe de Diceto, and others, that in the yeare of our Lord 910, K. Edward surnamed Senior, or the elder, subdued to him the kings of Scots and Welshmen, so that in the yeare 921, the same people chose the said Edward to be their king and patrone. And likewise in the yeare 926, Athelstan king of England vanquished Constantine king of Scotland, and permitted him yet to reigne vnder him. Moreouer, Edred the brother of Athelstan, and king of England, ouercame the Scots and Northumbers, the which submitted themselues to him and sware him fealtie. Also Edgar king of England vanquished Kineth the son of Alpine king of Scotland, who sware fealtie to him. Likewise Cnute king of England and Denmarke, in the 16 yeare of his reigne ouercame Malcolme king of Scots, & so became king of foure kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norwaie.

Furthermore, that blessed king S. Edward, gaue the kingdome of Scotland vnto Malcolme the sonne of the king of Cumberland, to hold the same of him. Againe, William Bastard the Norman conqueror, in the sixt yeare of his reigne vanquished Malcolme king of Scotland, and receiued of him an oth of fealtie. Also, Will. Rufus did the like vnto Malcolme king of Scots, and two of his sonnes that successiuelie reigned ouer that realme. Also, Alexander succeeded his brother Edgar in the kingdome of Scotland, by consent of K. Henrie the first. Also Dauid king of Scotland did homage to K. Stephan, & William K. of Scots did homage to Henrie, the son of K. Henrie the second, when in his fathers life time he was crowned; and againe, to Henrie the father in the 20 yeare of his reigne, as by an agreement made betwixt them two it dooth appeare. Also, Roger Houeden saith, that William king of Scotland came to his souereigne lord king Henrie into Normandie, and likewise to king Richard, and moreouer to king Iohn at Lincolne, doing to them his homage. Also, in the chronicles of S. Albons it is found, that Alexander king of Scotland married at Yorke Margaret the daughter of king Henrie the third, in the 35 yeare of his reigne, and did to him homage.

And further, when king Edward himselfe was crowned at Westminster, in the yeare of our

our Lord 1274, being the second of his reigne, the last deceassed K. of Scotland, Alexander the third of that name did homage vnto him at Westminster the morrow after the coronation. All which homages and fealties thus done by sundrie kings of Scotland, vnto sundrie kings of England, were directlie and most manifestlie prooued to be doone for the realme of Scotland, and not onelie for the lands which they held of the kings of England within England, as the Scotish writers would séeme to colour the matter. But things being then fresh in memorie, no such cauillation might be auerred. And so hereK. Edward recognised for superior lord of Scotland. vpon king Edwards title being substantiallie prooued, he was recognised superiour lord of Scotland, of all them that pretended title at that time to that kingdome, by writings thereof made and confirmed vnder their seales, the which being written in French conteined matter as here followeth.

The copie of the Charter in French.

A TOUS ceulx, qui ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orrunt, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Iehan Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenne, Iehan Comin seigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Vescy pur son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous entendons d'auger droyt en reaume d'Escoce, & celle droyt monstrer, chaleger, & auerer deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iurisdiction, & reeson, eust de trier nostre droyt, & l'noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de Dieu, roy d'Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & suffisaunt reesons, que aluy apent, & auer doit la souerein seigneurie, du dict reaume d'Escoce, & la cognisaunce de oir, trier & terminer nostre droyt. Nous de nostre propre volunté, sanz nulle maniere de force ou destresse, voluns, otrions, & grantons de receiuré droyt deuaunt luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre. Et voluns ia lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, & tendrons, ferme, & estable son fait, & que celuy emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En testimoigne de ceste chose, nous auons mis nous seaules a ceste escript. Fait & donné a Norham, le mardi prochein apres la Ascension, l'an de Grace, 1291.

In English thus.

TO all them that these present letters shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbar earle of March, Iohn de Baliol lord of Gallowaie, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuennie, Iohn de Vesey in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, & Walter Ros, send greeting in our Lord. Whereas we intend to haue right in the kingdome of Scotland, and intend to declare, chalenge and proue the same before him that hath the best authoritie, iurisdiction and reason to examine our right, and that the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, by good and sufficient reasons hath informed vs, that the superior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes, without all violence and constraint, will, consent and grant, to receiue our right before him, as the superior lord of the land. We will also & promise, that we shal haue and hold his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall haue the kingdome, vnto whome before him best right shall assigne the same. In witnesse whereof we haue to these letters put our seales. Giuen at Norham, the tuesdaie next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

The recognising therefore made of the superioritie and submission of grant to receiue that, which before the king of England should by law be defined, the said king required to

to haue the castels, and the whole land deliuered vnto his possession, that by peaceable seizine thereof had, his right of superioritie now recognised by their letters and writings, might be the more manifest and apparent to the whole world. They streightwaies agreed to the kings request, and writings thereof were made and confirmed with their seales, being written in French, as followeth.

The copie of the second charter touching the possession of the land, in French.

A TOUS iceulx, que ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orront, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Iehan de Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenny, Ichan Comin seigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Vescy, pour son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaume de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous aions otrie, & graunte, de nostre bonne volunté, & commune assent sans nulle destresse, a noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de Dieu, roy de Angleterre quil come souerein seig. de la terre de Escoce puisse oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monstrer, & auerrer pur nostre droyt en la reaume de Escoces & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemains que son fait auerons & tendrons ferme & estable, & qu' il emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy.

Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puist nulle manier conusance faire ne a complier sauns iugement, ne iugement doit estre sauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement, sauns la possession, & seysine de mesme la terre, & de chasteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, qu il come souereine seigneur, a parfaire les choses auant dictes, ait la seysine de toute la mesme terre, & de chasteaux de Escoce, tant que droyt soit feit & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu' il eit le seysine auant dict face bone seurte, & suffisante as demandants & as gardiens, & a la commune du reaume d' Escoce, a faire la reuersion de mesme le reaume, & de chasteaux, oue toute la royauté, dignité, seignourie, franchises, coustomes, droitures, leys, vsages, & possessions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en mesme le estate, quils estoient quant la seysine luy fust bailleé, & liuereé a celuy que le droyt emportera par iugemẽt de sa royauté, sauue au roy d' Anglterre le homage de celuy, qui serra rey. Yssint quela reuersion soit feit dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt sera trieé & affirmé. Et que les yssues de mesme la terre en le moyne temps resceus, soient sauuement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le chamberleyn d' Escoce que ore est, & de celuy qui serra assigné a luy de par le rey d' Angleterre, & de sous leur seaus sauué renable sustinance de la terre, & des chasteaux & des ministres du royaume. En testimoigne de cestes choses auandicts, nous auons mis nos seaules a ceste escript. Fait & donné a Norham le mecredie prochein apres l' Ascension, l' an de Grace, 1291.

The same in English.

TO all them that these present writings shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn de Balioll lord of Galloway, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuenny, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre the earle of March, Iohn de Vescy in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, William de Ros, send greeting in our lord. Bicause that of our good will and common assent, without all constraint, we doo consent and grant vnto the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as superiour lord of Scotland, may heare, examine, define and determine our claimes, chalenges, and petitions, which we intend to shew and prooue for our right, to be receiued before him as superiour lord of the land, promising moreouer, that

we shall take his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whose right shall by declaration best appeare before him.

Whereas then the said king of England cannot in this manner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be doone without possession and seizine of the said land and castels of the same; we will, consent, and grant, that he as superiour lord to performe the premisses may haue the seizine of all the land and castels of the same, till they that pretend title to the crowne be satisfied in their suit, so that before he be put in possession and seizine, he find sufficient suertie to vs that pretend title, and to the wardens, and to all the communaltie of the kingdome of Scotland; that he shall restore the same kingdome with all the roialtie, dignitie, seigniorie, liberties, customes, rights, lawes, vsages, possessions, and all and whatsoeuer the appurtenances, in the same state wherein they were before the seizine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, sauing to him the homage of that person that shall be king: and this restitution to be made within two moneths after the daie in the which the right shall be discussed and established, the issues of the same land in the meane time shall be receiued, laid vp, and put in safe keeping, in the hands of the chamberlaine of Scotland which now is, and of him, whome the king of England shall to him assigne, and this vnder their seales, reseruing and allowing the reasonable charges for the sustentation of the land, the castels and officers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the which premisses, we haue vnto these letters set our seales. Giuen at Norham the wednesday next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

These two letters the king of England sent vnder his priuie seale vnto diuerse monasteries within his realme, in the 19 yéere of his reigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus passed, it might be registred in their chronicles. Thus by the common assent of the chéefest of the lords in Scotland, king Edward receiued the land into his custodie, till by due and lawfull triall had, it might appeere who was rightfull heire to the crowne there. The homage or fealtie of the nobles of Scotland was expressed in words as followeth.

Rich. South.

The forme and tenor of the homage doone by the Scots.

BICAUSE all we are come vnto the allegiance of the noble prince Edward king of England, we promise for vs and our heires, vpon all the danger that we may incurre, that we shall be faithfull, & loiallie hold of him against all maner of mortall men, and that we shall not vnderstand of any damage that may come to the king, nor to his heires, but we shall staie and impeach the same to our powers. And to this we bind our selues & our heires, and are sworne vpon the euangelists to performe the same. Besides this, we haue doone fealtie vnto our souereigne lord the said king in these words ech one by himselfe; I shall be true and faithfull, and faith and loialtie I shall beare to the king of England Edward and his heires, of life, member, and worldlie honour against all mortall creatures.

Master Stephansons booke of Records. Wardens of the realme of Scotland appointed by K. Edward.

The king hauing receiued as well the possessions of the realme, castels, manours, as other places belonging to the crowne of Scotland, he committed the gouernement and custodie of the realme vnto the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, to the lords Iohn Comin, and Iames Steward, who had put him in possession, so that vnder him they held the same, in maner as they had doone before. But in diuerse castels he placed such capteines as he thought most meetest to keepe them to his vse, till he had ended the controuersie, & placed him in the kingdome, to whom of right it belonged. He also willed the lords of Scotland to elect a sufficient personage to be chancellour of the realme, which they did, naming Alane bishop of Catnesse, whom the king admitted, ioining with him one of his chapleins,

named Walter Armundésham, so that on the 12 of Iune, vpon the greene ouer against the castell of Norham, neere to the riuer of Tweed, in the parish of Vpsetelington, before Iohn Baliol, Robert Bruce, the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, the lords Comin and Steward, wardens of Scotland; the bishop of Catnesse receiued his seale, appointed him by the king of England as supreme lord of Scotland, and there both the said bishop & Walter Armundesham were sworne trulie to gouerne themselues in the office. The bishop of Catnesse elected Chancellor of Scotland. He receiueth his seale. He is sworne.

The morrow after were the wardens sworne and with them as associated Brian Fitz Alane, and there all the earles and lords of Scotland that were present sware fealtie vnto king Edward, as to their supreme souereigne lord, and withall there was peace proclaimed, and publike edicts set foorth in the name of the same king, intituled supreme lord of the realme of Scotland. The residue of the Scotish nobilitie, earles, barons, knights, and others, with the bishops and abbats, vpon his comming into Scotland, sware fealtie either to himselfe in person, or to such as he appointed his deputies to receiue the same, in sundrie towns and places, according to order giuen in that behalfe. Such as refused to doo their fealties, were attached by their bodies till they should doo their fealties as they were bound. Those that came not, but excused themselues vpon some reasonable cause, were heard, and had day giuen vntill the next parlement: but such as neither came, nor made any reasonable excuse, were appointed to be distreined to come. The wardes sworne. The Scotish nobilitie dooth fealtie to king Edward.

The bishop of S. Andrews, and Iohn lord Comin of Badenoth, with Brian Fitz Alane, were assigned to receiue such fealties at S. Iohns towne. The bishop of Glasco, Iames lord steward of Scotland, and Nicholas Seagraue were appointed to receiue them at Newcastell of Are. The earle of Southerland, and the shiriffe of that countrie, with his bailiffes, and the chatellaine of Inuernesse were ordeined to receiue those fealties in that countie: the chattelaine first to receiue it of the said earle, and then he with his said associats to receiue the same of others. The lord William de Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appointed to receiue fealtie of the bishop of Whitterne, and then the said bishop with them to receiue the fealties of all the inhabitants of Gallowaie. Amongst other that did their homage to the king himselfe, was Marie quéene of Man, and countesse of Stratherne, vpon the 24 daie of Iulie, the king being thus in S. Iohns towne, otherwise called Perth. To conclude, he was put in full possession of the realme of Scotland, & receiued there homages and fealties (as before ye haue heard) as the direct and supreme lord of that land.

This doone, and euerie thing ordered as séemed most expedient, king Edward returned into the south parts of his realme, to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane time was departed this life. Hir hart was buried in the church of the Graifriers at London, & hir bodie at Ambresburie in the house of the nunnes. ¶ After the funerals were ended, king Edward returned into the north parts againe: he staied a while at Yorke, and during his abode there, Rées ap Meridoc (of whome ye haue heard before) was by order of law condemned & executed. ¶ This yeare after Easter, as the fléet laie before S. Matthewes in Britaine, there rose certeine discord betwixt the Norman mariners, and them of Baion, and so farre the quarell increased, that they fell to trie it by force, the Englishmen assisting them of Baion, and the French kings subiects taking part with the Normans, and now they fraught not their ships so much with merchandize as with armour & weapon. At length the matter burst out from sparkes into open flame, the sequele wherof hereafter shall appeare, as we find it reported by writers. The kings mother deceassed. An. Reg. 20. 1292. *Nic. Triuet.*

But now touching the Scotish affaires. At length the king comming into Scotland, gaue summons to all those that claimed the crowne, to appeare before him at the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist next insuing, that they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Hervpon, when the daie of their appearance was come, and that king Edward was readie to heare the matter, he chose out the number of 40 persons, the one halfe Englishmen, and the other Scotishmen, which should discusse with aduised deliberation and great diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall

finall sentence vnto the feast of S. Michaell next insuing, the which feast being come, after due examination, full triall, and assured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by all their assents was adiudged vnto Iohn Balioll, who descended of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scotland. Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the same Balioll at length (the other being excluded) the question and triall onlie rested, was descended of the second daughter of king Dauid, though otherwise by one degrée he was néerer to him in bloud. Thus writeth Nicholas Triuet.

Iohn Balioll obteineth the kingdome of Scotland.

Nic. Triuet.

Polydor.

But others affirme, that after long disputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appointed 80 ancient and graue personages, amongst the which were 30 Englishmen, vnto whom (being sworne and admonished to haue God before their eies) authoritie was giuen to name him that should be king. These 80 persons, after they had well considered vnto whome the right apperteined, declared with one voice, that Iohn Balioll was rightfull king. King Edward allowed their sentence, and by his authoritie confirmed vnto the same Iohn, the possession of the kingdome of Scotland, with condition that if he did not gouerne that realme with iustice, then vpon complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hand of reformation, as he was bound to doo by his right of superioritie, that in him was inuested. Herevpon king Edward awarded foorth his writ of deliuerie of seizine at the suit of the said I. Balioll, to William and Robert, bishops of S. Andrewes and Glasco, to Iohn lord Comin, Iames lord Steward of Scotland, and to the lord Brian Fitz Alane, wardens of Scotland, commanding them to deliuer vnto the said Iohn Balioll the seizine and possession of that realme, sauing the releefes and debts due to him of the issues and profits of the same realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, which was the ninetéenth day of Nouember, in the twentie yere of his reigne. Also there was another writ made, and directed to such as had the kéeping of the castels in their hands, in forme as followeth.

The copie of the writ for the deliuerie of the castels.

EDWARDVS Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, & superior dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto & fideli suo Petro Burdet, constabulario castri de Berwike salutem. Cùm Iohannes de Baliolo nuper in parlamento nostro apud Berwicum super Tuedam, venisset coram nobis, & petiuisset prædictum regnum Scotiæ sibi per nos adiudicari, & seisinam ipsius regni vt propinquiori hæredi Margaretæ filiæ regis Norwegiæ dominæ Scotiæ iure successionis liberari, ac nos auditis & intellectis petitionibus & rationibus diligentur examinatis, inuenerimus præfatum Iohannem de Baliolo esse propinquiorem hæredem prædictæ Margaretæ, quo ad prædictum regnum Scotiæ obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotiæ, & seisinam eiusdem, saluo iure nostro, & heredum nostrorum, cùm voluerimus inde loqui, prædicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quòd seisinam prædicti castri de Beruico cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, vnà cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per chirographum traditis, secundum quod in prædicti castri tibi commissa custodia res huiusmodi recepisti, sine dilatione præfato Iohanni de Baliolo, vel attornatis suis has litteras deferentibus, deliberari facias. Teste meipso apud Beruicum super Tuedam 19 die Nouembris, Anno regni nostri 20.

In English thus.

EDWARD by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and superiour lord of the realme of Scotland, to his welbeloued and faithfull seruant Peter Burdet conestable of the castell of Berwike, sendeth greeting. Where Iohn de Balioll late in parlement holden at Berwike vpon Tweed, came before vs, and demanded

the

the said realme of Scotland to be adiudged to him by vs, and seizine of the same realme to be to him deliuered as next heire to Margaret daughter to the king of Norwaie, ladie of Scotland by right of succession. We hauing heard and vnderstood the same petitions; and reasons being diligentlie weighed and examined, we find the said Iohn Balioll to be next heire vnto the said Margaret, as to obteine the said kingdome of Scotland, whervpon we haue deliuered to him the said kingdome of Scotland, and the seizine therof, sauing the right of vs & our heires, when it shall please vs to speake therof. We therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the said Iohn Balioll, or to his attornies, that shall bring with them these our present letters, the seizine of the said castell of Berwike, with all the appurtenances, togither with all other things to you by indenture deliuered accordinglie as you did receiue the same, with the custodie of the said castle to you committed: and this without delaie. Witnesse our selfe at Berwike vpon Tweed the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentith yeare of our reigne.

In the same forme of words were writs awarded forth, to all and euerie other the keepers of castels and manors belonging to the crowne of Scotland, and being at that time in K. Edwards hands, the names of places and the persons that had them in custodie onelie changed. On the same day also in the castell of Berwike was the seale broken, which had beene appointed to the gouernors, during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure parts, and put into a pursse to be reserued in the treasurie of the king of England, in further and more full token of his superioritie and direct supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland. The seale broken.

These things were doone in presence of the said Iohn Balioll then king of Scotland, Iohn archbishop of Dubline, Iohn bishop of Winchester, Anthonie bishop of Duresme, William bishop of Elie, Iohn bishop of Carleil, William bishop of S. Andrewes, Robert bishop of Glasco, Marke bishop of Man, and Henrie bishop of Aberdene, with diuerse other bishops, besides abbats and priors of both the realmes; Henrie earle of Lincolne, Humfrie earle of Hereford, Roger earle of Norffolke, Iohn earle of Buchquane, Douenald earle of Mar, Gilbert earle of Angus, Patrike earle of March, and Malisius earle of Stratherne; with the foure and twentie auditors of England, and the foure score auditors of Scotland: chapleins also, Henrie de Newmarke deane of Yorke, Iohn Lacie chancellour of Chichester, William de Greenefield canon of Yorke, and Iohn Ercurie notarie, and manie other. Iohn Balioll being thus created K. of Scotland, on the twentith day of Nouember, in the castell of Norham, did fealtie to king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland, in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Balioll king of Scots to the king of England in protestation.

THIS heare you my lord Edward king of England, souereigne lord of the realme of Scotland, that I Iohn de Balioll king of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, that I shall be faithfull and loiall, and owe faith and loialtie to you, I shall beare of life and member, and of earthlie honour, against all people, and lawfullie I shall acknowledge and doo the seruices which I owe to doo to you, for the realme of Scotland aforesaid. So God me helpe and his holie euangelists.

Hereof also he made letters patents, witnessing that he had thus doone fealtie vnto king Edward, which letters he sealed and deliuered in presence of William bishop of saint Andrews, Robert bishop of Glasco, Iohn earle of Bouchquane, William earle of Ros, Patrike earle of March, Walter earle of Menteth, Iames lord steward of Scotland, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Balioll lord of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de

de Saintclere. This doone, king Edward appointed Anthonie bishop of Duresme, and the lord Iohn saint Iohn to passe with Balioll into Scotland, and there to put him into the corporall possession of the same realme of Scotland, which they did, and so he was crowned at Scone vpon saint Andrews day, being placed in the marble chaire within the abbeie church there. The solemnitie of which coronation being ended, he returned into England, and comming to Newcastell vpon Tine, where K. Edward in that yeare kept his Christmasse, he there did homage vpon saint Stephans daie vnto the said king Edward, in forme of words as followeth.

An. Reg. 21. Iohn Balioll crowned king of Scotland.

The forme of the king of Scots homage to king Edward, in action.

MY lord, lord Edward king of England, superior lord of Scotland, I Iohn de Balioll king of Scotland, doo acknowledge and recognise me to be your leigeman of the whole realme of Scotland, with all the appurtenances, and whatsoeuer belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heires kings of England, and I shall beare faith and loialtie to you and to your heirs kings of England, of life, of member, and earthlie honour, against all men, which may liue and die.

1293. This homage in forme aforesaid did king Edward receiue, his owne and others right saued. Then did the king of England without delaie restore vnto the said Iohn Balioll the kingdome of Scotland, with all the appurtenances. This yeare, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the shiriffes of London led a prisoner towards the gaile, three persons rescued the said prisoner, and tooke him from the officer, the which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement of law then vsed, were brought vnto Westcheape, and there had their hands striken off by the wrists. On the 14 daie of Maie fell a woonderfull snow, and therewith blew such an excéeding wind, that great harme was doone thereby in sundrie places of England. In the same yeare died frier Iohn Peckham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was Robert of Winchelsie elected archbishop the 48 in number that had ruled that sée. About the middle of September following, the earle of Bar a Frenchman, married the ladie Elianor the kings daughter in the towne of Bristow. ¶ This yeare wheat was sold at London for two shillings a bushell.

Richard Bagley. A prisoner rescued.

The offenders lost their hand.

A great snow and tempest of wind in Maie.

The archbishop of Canturburie deceasseth.

The kings daughter maried to the earle of Bar.

War betwixt England and France.

This yeare also the war was begun betwéene the kings of England and France. For whereas king Edward had furnished foorth six ships of warre, and sent them vnto Burdeaux for defense of the coasts thereabouts, two of them as they sailed alongst the coast of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enimies, were taken by the Norman fléet, and diuerse of the mariners hanged. The lord Robert Tiptost that was admerall of the English fleet aduertised therof, got thither a great number of ships, and directed his course with them streight towards Normandie, and finding no ships of the Normans abroad in the seas, vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and set vpon the Norman ships that laie there at anchor, slue manie of the mariners, and tooke six ships awaie with him, and so returning to the sea againe, cast anchor not far off from the land, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come foorth with their fléet to giue battell. And as he laie at anchor, it chanced that certeine Norman ships fraught with wine came that waies, as they returned out of Gascoigne. The lord Tiptost setting on them, tooke them with little adoo, and sleaing neere hand the third part of all the mariners, sent the ships into England.

Two English ships taken.

The lord admerall of England setteth vpō the Norman ships.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepared a nauie, and furnishing the same with souldiers went foorth to the sea, to incounter the Englishmen: but yer they met, messengers were sent to and fro, the Englishmen accusing the Frenchmen of truce-breaking, and the Frenchmen againe requiring restitution of their goods taken from them by violence.

And

And now forsomuch as this businesse had beene mooued rashlie betwixt the Englishmen and the Normans, without any commission of their princes, their minds therefore were not so kindled in displeasure, but that there had been good hope of agréement betwixt them, if Charles earle of Valois the French kings brother (being a man of a hot nature & desirous of reuenge) had not procured his brother to seeke reuengement by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fléet made toward the Englishmen, who minding not to detract the batell, sharplie incountred their enimies in a certeine place betwixt England and Normandie, where they had laid a great emptie ship at anchor, to giue token where they meant to ioine. There were with the Englishmen both Irishmen and Hollanders, and with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, and certeine vessels of Genowaies.

1. Charles earle of Valois procureth warre betwixt England and France.

The fight at the first was doubtfull, and great slaughter made, as in the meeting of two such mightie nauies must néeds insue. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Englishmen, and the French ships put to the chase and scattered abroad. The number of ships lost is not recorded by such writers as make report of this conflict, but they write that the losse was great. King Philip being aduertised of this discomfiture of his fleet was sore displeased, and as though he would proceed against king Edward by order of law, he summoned him as his liegeman to appeare at Paris, to answer what might be obiected against him; but withall bicause he knew that king Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepared an armie.

The English men victors by sea.

K. Edward summoned to appeare at Paris.

In the meane time king Edward sent his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster to be his attornie, and to make answer for him before all such iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the iudges meaning nothing lesse than to trie out the truth of the cause, admitted no reasons that the earle could alledge in his brothers behalfe, and so pronounced king Edward a rebell, and decreed by arest, that he had forfeited all his right vnto the duchie of Guien. These things thus doone, he sent priuie messengers vnto Burdeaux, to procure the citizens to reuolt from the Englishmen, and appointed constable of France the lord Arnold de Neale to follow with an armie, who comming thither easilie brought them of Burdeaux vnder the French dominion, being alreadie minded to reuolt through practise of those that were latelie before sent vnto them from the French king for that purpose. After this, the said constable brought the people néere adioining vnder subiection, partlie mooued by the example of the chéefe and head citie of all the countrie, and partlie induced therevnto by bribes and large gifts. The Englishmen that were in the countrie, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incontinentlie vnto the townes situat néere to the sea side, but speciallie they fled to a towne called the Riolt, which they fortified with all speed. Thus saith Polydor.

Edward earle of Lancaster sent to the French king.

K. Edward condemned in the French kings court.

Arnold de Neale sent into Gascoigne with an armie.

Nicholas Triuet, writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this manner. The English merchants being diuerslie vexed vpon the seas, made complaint to the king for losse of their merchandize. The king sent Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne vnto the French king, instantlie requiring, that by his assent there might some waie be prouided with speed by them and their councell, for some competent remedie touching such harmes and losses by sea as his people had susteind. In the meane time whilest the earle taried for answer, a nauie of the parts of Normandie conteining two hundred ships and aboue, being assembled togither, that they might the more boldlie assaile their enimies, and the more valiantlie resist such as should encounter them, sailed into Gascoigne, determining to destroie all those of their aduersaries that should come in their waie. But as these Normane ships returned backe with wines, glorieng as it were that they had got the rule of the sea onelie to themselues, they were assailed by threescore English ships, which tooke them, & brought them into England the friday before Whitsunday: all the men were either drowned or slaine, those onelie excepted which made shift to escape by botes. The newes hereof being brought into France, did not so much

N. Triuet.

Henrie earle of Lincolne.

mooue

mooue the king and the councell to woonder at the matter, as to take thereof great indignation.

Ambassadors were appointed to go into England which on the behalfe of the French king, might demand of king Edward restitution of those ships and goods thus taken by his subiects, and conueied into his realme, without all delaie, if he minded to haue any fauour in the French court touching his affairs that belonged to his countrie of Gascoigne.

The bishop of London sent with an answer vnto the French king.

The king of England hearing this message, tooke therein deliberation to answer, and then sent the bishop of London, accompaned with other wise and discréet persons into France, to declare for answer vnto the French king and his councell as followeth; that is, "Whereas the king of England hath his regall court without subiection to any man, if there were therefore any persons that found themselues hurt or indamaged by his people, they might come to his court, and vpon declaration of their receiued iniuries, they should haue speedie iustice, and to the end they might thus doo without all danger, whosoeuer minded to complaine, he would giue vnto them a safe conduct to come and go in safetie thorough his land: but if this waie pleased not the French king, then he was content there should be arbitrators chosen on both sides, who weieng the losses on both parts, might prouide how to satisfie the complaints: and the king of England would for his part enter into bonds by obligation to stand to and abide their order and iudgement herein, so that the French king would likewise be bound for his part, and if any such doubt fortuned to arise, which could not be decided by the said arbitrators, let the same be reserued vnto the kings themselues to discusse and determine, and the king of England vpon a sufficient safe conduct had, would come ouer to the French K. if he would come downe vnto any hauen towne néere to the sea coast, that by mutuall assent an end might bée had in the businesse: but if neither this waie should please the French king nor the other, then let the matter be committed to the order of the pope, to whom it apperteined to nourish concord among christian princes; or bicause the see was as then void, let the whole colledge of cardinals or part of them take order therein, as should be thought necessarie, that strife and discord being taken awaie and remoued, peace might againe flourish betwixt them and their people," as before time it had doone, and bring with it the blessings thereupon depending; namelie, althings that may make an happie & fortunat state, according to the nature of peace, whereof it is said,

Pax est cunctorum mater veneranda bonorum,
Fit sub pace forum, fit felix cultus agrorum,
Pax pietas mentis, pax est pincerna salutis.

The French councell weied nothing at all these offers, and would not so much as once vouchsafe to giue an answer to the English ambassadors earnestlie requiring the same. Finallie, the French K. sent vnto the citie of Aniou, which is knowne to belong vnto the dutchie of Guien, where he there caused the king of England to be cited to make his appeerance at Paris, at a certeine daie, to answer to the iniuries and rebellions by him doone in the countrie of Gascoigne, at the which daie when he appéered not, the French king sitting in the seat of iudgement in his owne proper person, gaue sentence there against the king of England, for making default, and withall commanded the high constable of France to seize into his hands all the duchie of Guien, and either to take or to expell all the king of Englands officers, souldiers, and deputies, which were by him placed within the said duchie. The king a little before had sent thither a valiant knight, named the lord Iohn saint Iohn, which had furnished all the cities, townes, castels, and places, with men, munition, and vittels, for defense of the same.

The king of England cited to appéere. Sentence giuen against the king of England.

An. Reg. 22.

In the meane time the king of England, desirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appointed his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, as then soiourning in France, to go vnto the French kings councell to procure some agréement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not be dishonorable vnto him. But when the earle could not preuaile in his sute, he tooke his iournie towards England, vtterlie despairing to procure

any

any peace. But yer he came to the sea side, he was sent for backe againe by the two quéenes of France, Ione wife to king Philip, and Marie his mother in law, which promised to frame some accord betweene the two kings, amd so therevpon after diuerse communications by them had in the matter with the said earle of Lancaster, at length it was accorded, that for the sauing of the French kings honour, which séemed to be touched by things doone by the king of Englands ministers in Gascoigne, six castels should remaine at the said kings pleasure, as Sanctes, Talemond, Turnhim, Pomeroll, Penne, and mount Flaunton. Also there should be set a seruant or sergeant in the French kings name, in euerie citie and castell within all the whole duchie of Guien, except Burdeaux, Baion, and the Rioll. And further, hostages should be deliuered at the French kings pleasure, of all ministers to be placed by the king of England in Gascoigne and other places through all the country. These things doone, the French king should reuoke the summons published and pronounced in the court of Paris against the king of England. Also he shuld restore all the castels (his seruants being remoued which he had placed in the same) togither with the pledges incontinentlie, at the request of the same queenes, or of either of them. The king of England hauing a safe conduct should come to Amiens, that there méeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and ingrossed touching the forsaid articles of agréement, one part deliuered to the earle, sealed with the seales of the quéenes, and other remained with the foresaid quéenes sealed with the seale of the earle. 1294.

The peace of the quéenes.

The king of England certified hereof, sent his letters patents, directed vnto all his officers and ministers in Gascoigne, commanding them to obeie in all things the French kings pleasure. These letters patents were first sent vnto the earle of Lancaster, that he might cause them to be conueied into Gascoigne when he should sée time. The earle hauing receiued those letters, doubting whether the French K. would obserue the agreement which the queenes had made and concluded, or not; required of them that he might heare the French king speake the word, that he would stand vnto that which they had concluded. Wherevpon in the presence of the said earle and his wife Blanch queene of Nauar, mother to the French queene, also of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Veere sonne to the earle of Oxenford, and of a chapline called sir Iohn Lacie, the French king promised by the faith of a prince, that he would fulfill the promises of the said quéenes, and the couenants by them accorded.

Letters patents.

Herevpon a knight of the earles of Lancaster, called sir Geffrey de Langley, was spéedilie sent into Gascoigne with letters from the French king, directed to the conestable, to call him backe againe from his appointed enterprise. And the foresaid chapleine sir Iohn Lacie was sent also thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed vnto his officers there, in forme as is aboue mentioned, whervpon the lord Iohn saint Iohn the king of Englands lieutenant in Gascoigne, vnderstanding the conclusions of the agreement, sold all such prouisions as he had made and brought into the cities, townes, and fortresses for the defense of the same, and departing out of Gascoigne, came towards Paris to returne that waie into England.

Sir Geffrey Langley.

But behold what followed; suddenlie by the enimie of peace was the French kings mind quite changed. And where the king of England was come vnto Canturburie, and kept his Easter there, that immediatlie vpon the receipt of the safe conduct he might transport ouer the seas, and so come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement; now not onelie the safe conduct was denied, but also the first letters reuocatorie sent vnto the conestable to call him backe, by other letters sent after were also made void, and he by the latter letters appointed to kéepe vpon his iournie, so that the conestable entring into Gascoigne with a power, found no resistance, the capteins and officers submitting themselues with the townes and fortresses at his pleasure according to the tenor of the letters patents latelie to them deliuered: All the officers and capteins of the fortresses were brought to Paris as captiues and pledges.

The French kings mind changed.

His vniust dealing.

Within a few daies after, the earle of Lancaster required the quéenes, that they would call vpon the king to grant his safe conduct for the king of England, to reuoke the citation or summons, to restore the lands taken from him; and to deliuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouths of certeine knights sent vnto the earle, renounced all such couenants as before had béene concluded. The earle of Lancaster then perceiuing that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into England, and informed the king & his councell from point to point of all the matter. Herevpon a parlement being called at Westminster, at the which the king of Scotland was present, it was decréed by the states, that those lands which were craftilie taken so from the K. should be recouered againe by the sword. And the king herewith sent vnto the French king a frier preacher named Hugh of Manchester, and a frier minor called William de Gainesbourgh, both being wise and discréet men, and doctours of diuinitie, to declare vnto him, that sith he would not obserue such agréements as had béene concluded betwixt their ancestours; and further had broken such couenants as were now of late agreed vpon betwixt them, by the trauell of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster: there was no cause whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guien, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound vnto him by reason of his homage.

The French K. renounceth what he had said.

Hugh of Manchester a frier sent to the French king.

The king of England renounceth the French king.

About the same time did the king of England send the archbishop of Dubline, and the bishop of Duresme into Germanie, about the concluding of a league with Adolph king of Romans, to whome was giuen a great summe of monie (as was said) vpon couenants, that he should aid the king of England against the French king, with all his maine force, and that neither of them should conclude peace with the said French king without consent of the other. About the Ascension tide, king Edward staied the woolles of this land, aswell belonging to spirituall men as temporall men, till the merchants had fined with him for the same, so that there was a subsidie paied for all sarpliers of wooll that went out of the reime, and in semblable wise for felles and hides. He also sent an armie by sea into Gascoigne, vnder the conduct of his nephue Iohn of Britaine that was earle of Richmond, appointing to him as councellors, the lord Iohn saint Iohn, and the lord Robert Tiptost; men of great wisdome, and verie expert in warlike enterprises.

Ambassadors sent into Germanie.

Wolles staied. *Fabian.*

A subsidie raised of wols. An armie sent to Gascoigne.

He also caused thrée seuerall fléets to be prepared, and appointed to them thrée sundrie admerals, for the better kéeping of the seas. To them of Yarmouth and other of those parts, he assigned the lord Iohn Botetourt: to them of the cinque ports, William de Leiborne: and to them of the west countrie, and to the Irishmen, he appointed a valiant knight of Ireland as their chéefteine. This yeare in England was a great dearth and scarsitie of corne, so that a quarter of wheat in manie places was sold for thirtie shillings: by reason whereof poore people died in manie places for lacke of sustnance. About Michaelmas, the English fléet tooke the sea at Portesmouth, and after some contrarie winds, yet at last they arriued within the riuer of Garon, and so passing vp the same riuer, wan diuers townes, as Burge, Blaines, Rions, and others.

N. Triuet. Thrée fléets appointed to the sea.

A dearth. *Rich. South.*

The English armie passeth to Gascoigne. Towns won. *Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Abington.*

The kings coffers by reason of furnishing foorth of this armie, and other continuall charges which he had susteined, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, William March one of the kings treasurers, purposed with other mens losses to supplie that want. He knew that in abbeies and churches was much monie kept in store, the which if he commanded to be taken from thence, he thought that he should not commit any offense, but rather doo a good déed, that the monie might come abroad to the vse of the people, whereby the souldiers might be satisfied for their wages. Such capteins therefore, as he appointed to worke the feat, placing their souldiers in euerie quarter through the realme, made search at one time, in Iulie, at thrée of the clocke in the afternoone, for all such monie as was hid and laid vp in all hallowed places, and taking the same awaie, brought it vnto the king, who dissembling the matter, as he that stood in need, excused the act doone by his treasurer so well as he could, to auoid the enuie of the people;

Matth. West. A shift for monie.

Abington.

The treasurer accused.

people; and not content herewith, he called togither shortlie after, to wit, on saint Matthewes day the apostle, at London, all the archbishops, bishops, deanes, & archdeacons, not in their proper persons, but by two procurators of euerie diocesse. Here when they were once assembled, the king declared vnto them the warres which he was driuen to mainteine against the Frenchmen, & the charges which he was at for the same. He also shewed them, that the earles, barons & knights of the realme, did not onlie aid him with their goods, but put their persons forward to serue him in defense of the land, whereof they were members, euen to the shedding of their bloud, and oftentimes with losse of their liues. Therfore (saith he) you which may not put your persons in perill by seruice in the warres, it is good reason you should aid vs with your goods.

The K. excuseth himselfe. *Abington.*

The spiritualtie called to a councell.

The cleargie hauing no speciall head, by reason that the see of Canturburie was void, wist not well how to gouerne themselues. At length Oliuer bishop of Lincolne, required in all their names to haue three daies respit to make answer to the matter, the which time expired, they offered to the king two dismes to be paid within one yeare. The which when the king heard, he tooke great disdaine therewith, and threatned by some of his men of war to put the cleargie out of his protection, except they would grant to him the halfe of their goods. The cleargie put in feare herewith, and some of them also desirous to win the kings fauour, granted his request, and so the king at that time got the halfe part of euerie spirituall mans liuing and benefice for one yeares extent, to be paid in portions within three yeares next insuing, beginning at twentie marks benefice, & so vpwards. And the sooner to induce them herevnto, he promised the bishops to grant some thing that might be beneficiall to the cleargie, if they would demand it.

Their offer not liked.

The halfe part of spirituall liuings granted to the king. *R. Fabian. Polydor. Abington.*

The bishops taking councell togither, required of him that the statute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they saw to be most preiudiciall to their order. But the king answered them, that without the whole consent of a parlement he could not breake that ordinance, which by authoritie of parlement had beene once established, and therefore he wished that they would not require that thing which laie not in him to grant, and so by that means he shifted them off. The spiritualtie was not onelie charged with this subsidie, but they of the temporaltie were also burthened. For the citizens and burgesses of good townes gaue to the king the sixt part of their goods, and the residue of the people gaue the tenth part.

The prelates require to haue the statute of Mortmain repealed.

The K. shifteth them off. *N. Triuet.*

Moreouer, about the same time, the Welshmen eftsoones rebelled against the king, and in diuerse parts made diuerse rulers amongst them. Those of Northwales which inhabited about Snowdon hils, hauing to their capteine one Madoc, of the line of their former prince Leolin, burned the towne and castell of Carnaruan, sleaing a great multitude of Englishmen, which doubting no such matter, were come thither to the faire. Those of the west part hauing chosen to their ruler one Malgon on the parts of Penbroke and Carmardin shires, did much mischeefe. And one Morgan hauing them of Southwals at his commandement, expelled and droue the earle of Glocester out of his countrie of Glamorgan, which earle had before time disherited the ancestors of the same Morgan. The king therefore to represse the Welshmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, and the earle of Lincolne, being readie to haue sailed ouer into Gascoine, the which earles as they approched neere vnto the castell of Denbigh vpon saint Martins day, the Welshmen with great force incountred them, and giuing them battell, droue them backe and discomfited their people. Polydor iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Englishmen, the rather for that the armie was hired with such monie as had beene wrongfullie taken out of the abbeis and other holie places, howbeit it is but his opinion onelie.

The Welshmen are busie.

Madoc.

Carnaruan burnt.

Malgon.

Morgan driueth the earle of Glocester out of Glamorganshire.

The earles of Lancaster & Lincolne vanquished by the Welshmen.

The king kept his Christmasse at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new archbishop of Canturburie, doctor Robert Winchelsey, being returned from Rome (where, of pope Celestine he had receiued his pall) was comming towards him, he sent one of his chapleines named Iohn Berwike with a power of souldiers to conduct him safelie vnto his

An. Reg. 23. 1295.

presence. And after the archbishop had doone his fealtie to the king, accordinglie as of dutie and custome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honour shewed vnto him at the kings hands. Vpon the day of the circumcision of our Lord, was the citie of Baion rendred vnto the lord Iohn saint Iohn, the which the day before had beene taken by the mariners by force of assault. Manie of the citizens which were knowne to be cheefe enimies vnto the king of England, were apprehended and sent into England. The castell was then besieged, and after eight daies taken. The lord of Aspermont with diuerse others that held it, were committed to prison. There were also taken two gallies, which the French king had caused to be made, and appointed to be remaining there vpon defense of that citie. Shortlie after the towne of saint Iohn de Sordes was deliuered vnto the Englishmen, who wan manie other townes and fortresses, some by surrender of their owne accord, and some by force and violence. The English armie greatlie increased within a while, after the deceit of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gascoins returned vnto the English obedience, in such wise that foure thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen came to aid the English capteins.

Baion yéelded to the Englishmen.

The castell of Baion won.

Two French gallies taken.

Saint Iohn de Sordes.

The Gascoigns aid the Englishmen.

The king entreth into Wales.

In the meane time, the king of England passing ouer the riuer of Conwey, with part of his armie to go further into Wales towards Snowdon, lost manie carts and other cariages which were taken by the Welshmen, being loden with the prouisions of vittels, so that he with his people indured great penurie, and was constreined to drinke water mixt with honie, and eat such course bread and salt flesh as he could get, till the other part of the armie came vnto him. There was a small quantitie of wine amongst them, which they would haue reserued onelie for the king, & therfore refused to tast therof. But least they should repine at his extraordinarie and seuerall fare, and so by conceits of discontentment for not hauing the like, he considered in a sympathie, that,

Abington.

Quæ mala cum multis patimur, leuiora videntur,

saieng, that in time of necessitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented with like diet. For as touching him (being the cause and procurer of their want) he would not be preferred before any of them in his meats and drinks. The Welshmen compassed him about in hope to distresse him, for that the water was so risen, that the residue of his armie could not get to him. But shortlie after, when the water fell, they came ouer to his aid, and therewith the aduersaries fled.

The earle of Warwike. *N. Triuet.*

The earle of Warwike, hearing that a great number of Welshmen was assembled togither, and lodged in a vallie betwixt two woods, he chose out a number of horssemen, with certeine crossebowes and archers, and comming vpon the Welshmen in the night, compassed them round about, the which pitching the ends of their speares in the ground, and turning the points against their enimies, stood at defense so to keepe off the horssemen. But the earle hauing placed his battell so, that euer betwixt two horssemen there stood a crosbow, a great part of the Welshmen which stood at defense in maner aforesaid with their speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the shot of the quarels, and then the earle charged the residue with a troope of horssmen, and bare them downe with such slaughter, as they had not susteined the like losse of people (as was thought) at anie one time before.

The Welshmen ouerthrowne by the earle of Warwike.

In the meane while, king Edward to restreine the rebellious attempts of those Welshmen, caused the woods of Wales to be cut downe, wherein before time the Welshmen were accustomed to hide themselues in time of danger. He also repared the castels and holds in that countrie, and builded some new, as the citie and castell of Bewmarise with other, so that the Welshmen constreined through hunger and famine, were inforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Also at length about the feast of saint Laurence, the Welshman Madoc, that tooke himselfe for prince of Wales was taken prisoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetuall prison. ¶ *By some* writers it should appeare, that Madoc was not taken, but rather after manie aduentures & sundrie conflicts, when the Welshmen were brought to an issue of great extremitie, the said Madoc came in and submitted

The woods in Wales cut downe.

Beaumarise built.

Madoc taken prisoner. *Abington.*

submitted himselfe to the kings peace, and was receiued, vpon condition that he should pursue Morgan till he had taken him and brought him to the kings prison, which was doone, and so all things in those parts were set in rest and peace, and manie hostages of the chéefest amongst the Welsh nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who sent them to diuerse castels in England where they were safelie kept almost to the end of the warres that followed with Scotland. Welshmen imprisoned.

About the same time Charles de Valois brother to the French king, being sent with an armie into Gascoine, and comming vpon the sudden, found the Englishmen wandering abroad in the countrie out of order, by reason whereof taking them at that aduantage, he caused them to leaue their booties behind them, slue part of them, and chased the residue, the which fled to their ships, or to such hauen townes as were in their possession. The capteins of the Englishmen, as Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, and the lord Iohn saint Iohn, after they had got togither their souldiers which had béene thus chased, sent two bands vnto Pontesey to defend that towne against the enimies: also other two bands vnto saint Seuere: and they themselues went to Rion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valois aduertised hereof, thought he would not giue them long respit to make themselues strong by gathering any new power, and therfore appointed the conestable sir Rafe de Neale, (who had woone the citie of Burdeaux from the Englishmen latelie before) to go vnto Pontesey and besiege that towne, whilest he went vnto Rion, which he besieged and fiercelie assaulted. But the Englishmen and Gascoins did not onelie defend the towne stoutlie, but also made an issue foorth vpon their enimies, though (as it happened) the smaller number was not able to susteine the force of the greater multitude, and so were the Englishmen beaten backe into the towne againe. *Polydor.* Charles de. Valois chaseth the Englishmen. The Earle of Richmond. Rion besieged.

Whilest they tried their manhood thus at Rion, the constable woone Pontesey or Pontsac vpon Dordone, and came to ioine with the earles de Valois at Rion, and so inforced both their powers to win that towne. The Englishmen and Gascoins, though they were put in some feare, yet they shewed their approoued valiancie in defending the towne, till at length when they saw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of succour from anie part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ships: but diuerse of them were taken by the waie, for the Frenchmen hauing knowledge of their intent, forlaie the passages, and taking some of them that first sought to escape thus by flight, slue them, but there was not manie of those. For all the residue, when they perceiued that the Frenchmen had laid betwixt them and their ships, making vertue of necessitie, stood still in defense of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of assault the friday in Easter wéeke. Pontsey won. *N. Triuet.* Rion wone.

Some write, that the same night, in which they so ment to flée to their ships, there chanced a great tumult and mutenie betwixt the footmen and horssemen, so that they fought togither, or else might the whole number of them haue escaped. The horssemen that got foorth left their horsses behind them readie brideled and sadled, which the Frenchmen vpon entring the towne in the morning tooke, after they had slaine the most part of the footmen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, saued onelie the capteins and gentlemen, and slue the other, aswell Englishmen as Gascoins. There was taken of knights, sir Rafe Tannie, sir Amis de saint Amand, with his brother sir Rafe de Gorges marshall of the armie, sir Roger Leiborne, sir Iohn Kreting, sir Iames Kreting, sir Hen. Boding, sir Iohn Mandeuile, sir Iohn Fulborne, sir Robert Goodfield, sir Thomas Turbeuile, & sir Walter, with thrée & thirtie esquiers, which were sent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Kreting was killed, a right valiant knight, by reason of one sir Walter Gifford a knight also, which had dwelled in France manie yeares before as an outlaw. Englishmen taken. *Abington.* Sir Adam Kreting kild. Sir Walter Gifford.

On the same day was the towne of saint Seuere deliuered vnto the Englishmen, the which Hugh or (as Abington saith) Robert Veer, brother to the earle of Oxenford tooke vpon him to keepe as capteine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valois aduertised thereof, departed from Rion with all spéed, to besiege the foresaid towne of saint Saint Seuere taken. *Nic. Triuet.* Hugh Veer. Charles de Valois.

Saint Seuere besiged.

saint Seuere, yer the Englishmen should haue time to fortifie it. But the foresaid Hugh Véer kept him out the space of thirteene or (as Abington saith) nine weekes, to the great losse of the Frenchmen, no small part of their people dieng in the meane time, both of pestilence and famine. At length, when vittels began to faile within, a truce was taken for fifteene daies, within the which it might be lawfull for them within the towne to send vnto Baion for succour, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne should be yeelded vnto the Frenchmen, and so it was vpon these conditions, that the Englishmen and other that would depart, should haue libertie to take with them their armour and goods, and be safelie conueied two daies iornie on their waie from the French armie. Also that those which were minded to remaine still in the towne, should not susteine any losse or damage in their bodies or goods. The pledges also which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the French kings seneshall, should returne in safetie to the towne, and haue their goods restored vnto them. This doone, Charles de Valois appointed a garrison of soldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into France. The Englishmen, which escaped out of those places from the Frenchmens hands, repaired vnto Baion, to defend that towne with their capteins the foresaid earle of Richmond and the lord Iohn de S. Iohn, the which of some are vntruelie said to haue béene slaine at Rion. Shortlie after that Charles de Valois was departed and gone out of the countrie, the towne of saint Seuere was recouered by the Englishmen.

Saint Seuere yeelded by composition.

Charles de Valois returneth into France. *Polydor.*

The earle of Oxford then liuing hight Robert Veer: and not Hugh Veer. *N. Triuet.*

¶ It should appeare by report of some writers, that Hugh Véer (whome they wronglie name to be earle of Oxenford) was sent ouer as then from king Edward to the aid of his capteins in Gascoine, and at his first comming, recouered the towne of saint Seuere, and afterwards so valiantlie defended it against the Frenchmen, that honorable mention is made of him, both by Nicholas Triuet, and also by some French writers, for his high manhood therin shewed. But whether he were brother or sonne to the earle of Oxford, I can not saie; howbeit about the 27 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, we find one Hugh Veer, that was a baron, whom I take to be this man, but earle I thinke he was not. For (as Euersden saith) one Robert Veer that was earle of Oxford deceassed in the yeare next insuing, and after him succéeded an other earle that bare the same name (as by records it may appeare.) Polydor speaking of the siege of S. Seuere, rehearseth not who was capteine as then of the towne, but in the yeelding of it vnto Charles de Valois, after he had laine more than three moneths before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polydor.

Polydor. Cardinals sent to the kings of England and France to treat a peace. *Matth. Westm.*

In the same yeare Berard bishop of Alba and Simon archbishop of Bourges, two cardinals of the Romane sée, were sent vnto the kings of England and France, to mooue them to conclude a peace. They first came into France, and after into England, but perceiuing the minds of the kings nothing inclined to concord, they returned to Rome without any conclusion of their purpose, but not without monie gathered of religious men to beare out their expenses, for they had authoritie by the popes grant to receiue in name of procuracies and expenses, six marks of euerie cathedrall and collegiat church thorough the realme, besides diuerse other rewards. And where any poore chapiter of nunnes or religious persons were not able of themselues, the parish churches next adioining were appointed to be contributorie with them.

The cardinals gather monie.

Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Matth. Westm. Sir Thomas Turberuiles promise to the French king.

At the same time sir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of those (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to saue his life, and to deliuer himselfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued false before, promised king Philip that if he would suffer him to returne into England, he would so worke with king Edward, that he might be made by him admerall of the seas; which thing brought to passe he would deliuer the English nauie into the hands of the said king Philip. Herevpon was he set at libertie, and ouer he came into England. And for as much as he had knowne to be a man of singular and approued valiancie, king Edward receiued him verie courteouslie, who remem-

bring

bring his promised practise to the French king, fell in hand by procuring of frēends to be made admerall of the seas. But king Edward (as God would haue it) denied that sute.

The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his nauie, conteining thrée hundred saile, what with the gallies and other ships (for he had got diuerse both from Merselles and Genoa) sent the same foorth to the seas, that vpon such occasion the king of England might also send foorth his flēet. But the French nauie comming neere to the coast of England, and lieng at anchor certeine daies, looking for Thomas Turberuile; when he came not at the day prefixed, the capteines of the French fleet appointed one of their vessels to approch néere to the shore, and to set on land certeine persons that knew the countrie, to vnderstand and learne the cause of such staie. They being taken of the Englishmen and examined, could make no direct answer in their owne excuse, and so were put to death. Some write that they sent fiue gallies towards the shore to suruey the coast, of the which gallies one of them aduansing foorth afore hir fellowes, arriued at Hide neere to Romney hauen, where the Englishmen espieng hir, to draw the Frenchmen on land, feined to flie backe into the countrie, but returning suddenlie vpon the enimies, they slue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fiftie persons. They set fire on the gallie also and burned hir.

The French king sendeth foorth a fleet against England. *Abington.*

Abington.

French men slaine. A gallie burnt.

The admerall of the French flēet kindled in anger herewith, sailed streight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and priorie. The townesmen being striken with terror and feare of the sudden landing of their enimies, fled into the countrie, and raised people on euerie side, the which being assembled togither in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading such Frenchmen as were straied abroad to seeke preies, slue them downe in sundrie places. The French admerall which had beene busie all the day in pilfering the towne, hearing the noise of those Frenchmen that came running towards the sea side, streightwaies got him to his ships with such pillage as he could take with him. The other Frenchmen, which were gone abroad into the countrie to fetch preies, and could not come to their ships in time, were slaine euerie mothers sonne. Some of them hid themselues in the corne fields, and were after slaine of the countrie people. There was little lesse than eight hundred of them thus slaine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manie of the men of Douer slaine, for they escaped by swift flight at the first entrie made by the Frenchmen: but of women and children there died a great number, for the enimies spared none. There was also an old moonke slaine named Thomas, a man of such vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceasse, manie miracles through him were shewed.

Douer robbed by the French.

The Frenchmen chased to their ships.

Frenchmen slaine about Douer.

Sir Thomas Turberuile executed. *N. Triuet. Caxton.*

Sir Thomas Turberuile, being troubled in his mind that he could not bring his traitorous purpose to passe, began to assaie another waie, which was to procure Iohn Balioll king of Scotland to ioine in league with the French king, but yer any of his practises could be brought about, his treason was reuealed, who being thereof euidentlie conuicted, was put to execution. Nich. Triuet saith, that he had promised the French king to cause Wales to reuolt from king Edward, and that by procurement of the prouost of Paris, he consented to worke such treason. And (as some write) he did not onelie homage vnto the French king, but also left two of his sonnes in pledge for assurance to worke that which he had promised. His secretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French king, conteining his imagined treasons, with other aduertisements touching king Edwards purposes, fearing least the matter by some other means might come to light (as the old prouerb saith,

Quicquid nix celat solis calor omne reuelat)

as well to his destruction as his maisters for concealing it, disclosed all to the king. Now he hauing knowledge that he was bewraied by his seruant, fled out of the court, but such diligence was vsed in the pursuit of him, that he was taken within two daies after, and brought backe againe to London, where he was conuicted of the treason so by him imagined, and therefore finallie put to death. ¶ This yeare the cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goods, the citizens a sixt part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as

Abington.

(as Euersden saith) the burgesses of good townes gaue the seuenth, and the commons abroad the eleuenth penie.

The death of noble men.

The same yeare died Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, which left issue behind him, begot of his wife the countesse Ione the kings daughter (beside three daughters) one yoong sonne named also Gilbert to succeed him as his heire. The countesse his wife, after hir husbands deceasse, married a knight of meane estate, borne in the bishopricke of Duresme, named sir Rafe Monthermer, that had serued the earle hir first husband in his life time. The king at the first tooke displeasure herewith, but at length through the hie valiancie of the knight, oft times shewed and apparantlie approued, the matter was so well taken, that he was intituled earle of Glocester, and aduanced to great honor. ¶ Iohn Romane archbishop of Yorke also this yeare died, after whome one Henrie de Newmarke deane of the colledge there succeeded. ¶ Moreouer the same yeare William de Valence earle of Penbroke departed this life, and lieth buried at Westminster, and then Aimer his sonne succeeded him.

Sir Rafe Monthermer wedded the countesse of Glocester.

An. Reg. 24. *N. Triuet.* 1296.

The king of Scots concludeth a league with the French king. *Polydor.*

Iohn king of Scotland affianced his sonne Edward Balioll with the daughter of Charles du Valois brother to the French king, and concluded with the said French king a league against the king of England. Nothing mooued the Scotish king so much hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his natiue countrie, for he was a French man borne, and lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which segniorie was after made an earledome by Philip du Valois king of France. The Scotishmen had chosen 12 peeres, that is to saie, foure bishops, foure earles, and foure barons, by whose aduise and counsell the king should gouerne the realme, by whome he was induced also to consent vnto such accord with the French men, contrarie to his promised faith giuen to king Edward when he did homage to him.

Matth. West.

King Edward not fullie vnderstanding the conclusion of this league, required aid of the Scotish king for the maintenance of his warres against France, and receiuing a doubtfull answer, began to suspect the matter: whervpon he required to haue three castels, as Barwike, Edenburgh, and Rokesburgh, deliuered vnto him as gages till the end of the warre, and if the Scotishmen continued faithfull vnto him, he would then restore the same castels to them againe when the warres were ended. This to do the Scotishmen vtterlie denied, alledging that their countrie was frée of it selfe, and acquit of all seruitude or bondage, and that they were in no condition bound vnto the king of Scotland, and therefore they would receiue the merchants of France, of Flanders, or any other countrie without exception, as they thought good.

K. Edwards request made to the Scots is denied. *Abington.*

The disloiall dealing of the Scots.

There were in the hauen of Berwike at the same time, certeine English merchants, vpon whome the Scots made assault, and wounded some of them, and some of them they slue, and chased the residue, the which returning into England, made complaint, and shewed in what euill maner they had beene dealt with. King Edward heerevpon perceiuing the purposes of the Scots, determined to make warre vpon them with all speed, & to conquer the whole countrie, if they could not cleare themselues of such euill dealing as of them was reported and thought to be put in practise. About the conuersion of saint Paule in Ianuarie, king Edward sent ouer into Gascoine his brother the lord Edmund earle of Lancaster, with the earle of Lincolne and other, to the number of 26 banerets, and 700 men of armes, besides a great multitude of other people. They arriued at Blay, about the midst of Lent, and staied there till towards Easter. In which meane season, a great sort of Gascoins and other people resorted vnto them, so that they were two thousand men of armes.

Nic. Triuet.

The earle of Lancaster sent into Gascoine. *Abington.*

Vpon Cene thursdaie, the castell de Lesparre was deliuered vnto the earle of Lancaster, and after that diuers other castels. At his approching néere vnto Burdeaux, vpon the thursdaie in Easter weeke, as he rested to refresh himselfe and his armie in a little village called Kekell, an armie of French men issuing out of Burdeaux, ment to come on the Englishmen at vnwares: but hauing warning, they prepared themselues to battell, so well

The castell of Lespar deliuered vnto him. *Nic. Triuet.*

well as the shortnes of time would permit, and so therevpon incountring with their enimies, and fighting a sore battell, at length constreined the French men to returne vnto the citie, and pursuing them as they fled, two English knights being brethren to sir Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gascoine, entred the citie with two standard-bearers belonging to the earle of Richmond, & to the lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the Frenchmen tooke, closing them within the gates. The other Englishmen being shut out, first fell to the spoile of the suburbs, and then set fire vpon the same. After this were certeine of the citizens that secretlie were at a point with the earle of Lancaster, to haue deliuered the citie into his hands, but their practise being espied, they were taken and executed yer they could performe that which they had promised. *Polydor.*

The Frenchmen forced to retire.

Then the earle perceiuing he should but lose his labor to staie any longer there, vpon certeine weightie occasions returned vnto Baionne, where he shortlie after fell sicke and died. He left behind him three sonnes, Thomas that succéeded him in the earldome of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and Iohn whome he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had béene married vnto Henrie earle of Champaigne, and king of Nauar, by whome shée had but one onelie daughter, that was married vnto the French king Philip de Beau. After this the English armie besieged the citie of Aques, but thorough want of vittels he was constreined to raise thence and breake vp the siege. The earle of Arthois being sent of the French king with an armie into Gascoine, incountred with the Englishmen, and chased them with the slaughter of a great number, and after recouered diuers townes and fortresses in the countrie.

The earle of Lancaster deparleth this life.

Aques besieged.

The earle of Arthois sent with an armie to Gascoine. *N. Triuet.*

Those Englishmen that kept the towne of Burg, being compassed about with a siege by Mounseur de Sully, obteined truce for a certeine space, during the which they sent vnto Blaines for some relèefe of vittels, and where other refused to bring vp a ship loden with vittels, which was there prepared, the lord Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chéefetaine, and a wise, tooke vpon him the enterprise, and through the middle of the French gallies, which were placed in the riuer to stop that no ship should passe towards that towne, by helpe of a prosperous wind, he got into the hauen of Burgh, and so relieued them within of their want of vittels, by meanes whereof, Mounseur de Sully brake vp his siege, and returned into France.

Burg besieged.

The lord Simon de Montagew his enterprise to rescue the garrison of Burg.

The siege is raised.

In the meane time, king Edward not sléeping his businesse, procured Guie earle of Flanders to ioine with him in league against the Frenchmen. This Guie was the son of Margaret countesse of Flanders, whom she had by hir second husband William lord of Dampire in Burstoine. Also king Edward procured Henrie earle of Bar, to whome (as before ye haue heard) he had giuen his daughter Eleanor in marriage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, so that at one time the erle of Bar inuaded the countrie of Champaigne, and the earle of Flanders made incursions vpon those countries of France which ioine vnto Flanders. King Philip hereof aduertised, sent forth one Walter de Cressie with a great armie against the earle of Bar, so that besieging the cheefest towne of Bar, he constreined the said earle to leaue off his enterprise in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to lose more there than hee should win abroad.

The king of England concludeth a league with the earle of Flanders.

He concludeth a league also with the earle of Bar.

The earle of Bar inuadeth Champaigne.

But now to touch more at large the circumstances of the occasion that mooued the earle of Flanders to make war against the French king. I find (in Iacob Meir) that there was a marriage concluded betwixt the lord Edward the eldest son of king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to the foresaid Guie earle of Flanders, which marriage was concluded by Henrie bishop of Lincolne, and the earle Warren, being sent ouer as ambassadours by king Edward, vnto the said earle Guie for the same purpose. In the yeare following, the said earle of Flanders, togither with his wife, comming to visit the French king at Corbeill, were arrested, and sent to Paris, there to remaine as prisoners, bicause that the earle had affianced his daughter to the French kings aduersarie, without his licence: neither might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the pope (who must néeds meddle in the

A mariage concluded.

The earle of Flanders arrested.

the matter by virtue of his peremptorie power, & all christendome must veile the bonnet to his holinesse, or rather abhominablenesse,

Ille etenim toto sese iubet orbe colendum,
Cui nisi parueris, crede perire licet)

The pope intermedleth in the matter.

and suertie had vpon the promise of Amedie earle of Sauoy, they were set at libertie, with these conditions, that they should deliuer into the French kings hands their daughter, which was so affianced vnto K. Edwards sonne, and further couenanted, not to conclude any league with the king of England, but in all points t'obserue a certeine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1225. And if earle Guie brake the same peace, then should he be excommunicated, and all his countrie of Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis, iudges appointed herein by authoritie of the pope.

The earle of Flanders forced to agree with the French king.

The earle of Flanders released returneth home.

The earles daughter being sent for, and brought vnto Paris, the earle and his wife were released, and suffered to returne into Flanders, and shortlie after, the earle made earnest suit to haue his daughter restored vnto him againe, insomuch that he procured pope Boniface to be a meane for him to the French king; but all would not serue, no, though as some say the pope accurssed the French king for reteining hir, answer being made, that matters perteining to worldlie gouernment, belonged not to the pope to discusse. Finallie, earle Guie, perceiuing he could not preuaile in that suit, to haue his daughter againe, vpon high displeasure concluded to ioine inleague with king Edward & his confederats. Herevpon, at an assemblie or councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a solemne league made and agréed betwixt Adolph the emperour of Almaine, Edward king of England, Guie earle of Flanders, Iohn duke of Brabant, Henrie earle of Bar, both sonnes in law to king Edward, and Albert duke of Austrich, against Philip king of France, and Iohn earle of Henault his partaker.

The French kings answer to the pope.

A new league betwixt the K. of England, the emperour and others against the French king.

Matth. West.

The merchants of Flanders procured the earle to conclude this league with king Edward, as some write, the rather in respect of the great commodities which rose to their countrie, by reason of the intercourse of merchandize vsed betwixt England and Flanders, and for that through aid of the Englishmen, they might the better withstand the malice, both of the French and of all other their enimies. This league being proclaimed in England, there were sent ouer into Flanders, the treasurer of the excheker, and diuerse other noble men, to fetch hostages from thence, and to giue to the earle fifteene thousand pounds of siluer, towards the fortifieng of his castels and holds. King Philip being hereof aduertised, by counsell of the peeres of his realme, sent two honorable personages, as the capteine of Mounstrell, and the capteine of Belquerke, which should attach the earle of Flanders by his bodie, and summon him to yéeld himselfe prisoner at Paris, within the space of fifteene daies next insuing.

The earle of Flanders defieth the French king.

This attachment made, and summons giuen, the earle of Flanders sent his full defiance vnto the French king by the abbats of Gemblois, and Senefles, vnto whome he gaue sufficient letters procuratorie, to authorise them thereto, dated at Male in the yeare of Grace 1296, after the accounts of the chronicles of Flanders, which begin their yere at Easter: and so this chanced in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Wednesdaie next after the feast of the Epiphanie. Herevpon was the earle accurssed, & Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis comming vnto Terwane for that purpose, about the fifteenth day of Iune, in the yeare 1297. But the Iord Robert the earles sonne appealed from that interdiction to the pope, and so the Flemmings tooke themselues frée & out of danger of the same. Earle Guie also obteined of king Edward, that it might be lawfull for them of Bruges to buy wools, through England, Scotland and Ireland, as freelie as the Italians might by their priuilege and grant.

The earle of Flanders accurssed.

His sonne appealeth from the interdiction.

But to returne now to the doings of king Edward, who in this meane time, hauing a perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland

Scotland, prepared an armie, and first sent ambassadors into Scotland, to giue summons to king Iohn to appeare at Newcastell within certeine daies, that he might there shew the cause whie he had broken the league: and further, to declare vnto him that he was deceiued, if he thought he might serue two maisters, contrarie to the words of the gospell, and according to the old saieng which seldome neuer faileth in consequence, Ambassadors sent to the K. of Scots.

Deficit ambobus qui vult seruire duobus.

For how much fauour as he purchased at the hands of the French king, so much displeasure might he assure himselfe to procure at the hands of the king of England, whome to obeie, it should be most for his aduantage. The ambassadors that were sent, did their message throughlie, but king Iohn was so farre off from answering anie thing that might sound to the maintenance of peace, that shortlie after he sent letters of complaint vnto king Edward, for wrongs which he alledged he had susteined by his means and at his hands. Herevpon king Edward, by aduise of his councell, determined to set forward with his armie into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert Ros, capteine of Warke castell, reuolted to the Scotish king, mooued therevnto through the loue of a Scotish gentlewoman, whome he meant to marrie, notwithstanding he had sworne fealtie vnto king Edward. Wherevpon, his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to king Edward, required to haue some aid, whereby he might defend the castell against the Scotishmen. King Edward sent vnto him a thousand souldiers, (Polydor saith an hundred) the which as they lodged one night in a towne called Prestfen, were slaine by the Scotishmen of the garison of Rockesborough, that were led and guided by the said Robert Ros: some of them although but few escaped awaie by flight. King Edward aduertised hereof, hasted foorth, and came to the said castell, glad of this (as is reported) that the Scotishmen had first begun the warre, meaning, as it should seeme by their procéedings, to follow the same, for vpon Good friday, diuerse Scotishmen entring the borders, burnt sundrie villages, and spoiled the abbeie of Carham. *Nic. Triuet.* The lord Ros reuolteth to ye K. of Scots. William de Ros continueth faithfull to the king of England. Englishmen distressed. *Rich. South.*

Furthermore, whilest king Edward kept his castell at Warke, seauen earles of Scotland, as Bouchan, Menteth, Stratherne, Lennox, Ros, Atholl, and Mar, with Iohn Comin the maister of Badenaw, hauing assembled an armie togither of fiue hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and ten thousand footmen in Annandale, vpon monday in Easter weeke entred England, and putting all to fire and sword, approched to Carleill, and laid siege therevnto on each side, passing the water of Eden by a foord vnder Richardston, and did so much preuaile, that they burned the suburbes, and assaulted the gates, at which enterprise, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured somewhat neere to the gate, was drawne vp by an iron hooke, of those that stood aloft vpon the gates to defend the same, and there slaine, and thrust through with speares. In the meane time, a spie, the which had béene taken and committed to prison, set fire on the house wherein he was inclosed, and so the flames catching hold vpon the other buildings, a great part of the citie was thereby burned. Yet the men and the women getting themselues to the wals, droue their enimies backe, and so defended the citie from taking. Wherupon, the Scotish lords perceiuing they could not preuaile, left their siege on the thursdaie in Easter weeke, and returned againe into Scotland. *N. Triuet.* *Abington.* The Scots inuade England. *Nic. Triuet.* The Scots raise their siege from Carleil.

On the same thursdaie, king Edward with his armie passed the riuer of Tweed, and so entring into Scotland, sent to the burgesses of Berwike, offering them peace vpon certeine conditions, and staied a whole day for an answer: but when he could haue none that liked him, nor that sounded in anie thing to peace, he approched the towne, and lodged in the monasterie of Caldestreime. His armie consisted as some write of foure thousand men of armes on horsbacke, and thirtie thousand footmen, besides fiue hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and a thousand footmen of the bishoprike of Durham. At the same time, there came foure and twentie English ships, the mariners whereof, beholding where the English armie was placed in battell raie, vpon a plaine, the king making there certeine knights, they thought his meaning was to haue giuen forthwith an assalt, and so entring the Berwike summoned. *Abington.* The English fleet.

Foure English ships lost. *Abington.*

hauen, and approching to the land, began to fight with the townesmen, where they lost foure of their ships, and were constreined to withdraw with the residue, with helpe of the falling water. Some haue written that they lost but three ships which were consumed with fire, and that the mariners and souldiers of one of those ships, after they had defended themselues by great manhood from the first houre of the daie, till eleuen of the clocke, escaped awaie, some by the bote of that ship, and some leaping into the water, were saued by the botes of other ships that made in to succour them.

Berwike woone. This sir Richard Cornewall was brother to the erle of Cornewall. *Abington.*

The rumor of the mariners attempt being bruted through the armie, the king passing forward towards the towne, got ouer a ditch, which the Scots had cast to impeach his passage, and so comming to the towne, wan it not losing any man of renowme, sauing sir Richard Cornewall, the which was slaine by a quarell which a Flemming shot out of a crossebowe, being in the red hall, which the merchants of Flanders held in that towne, and had fortified it in manner of a tower: but when they would not yéeld, and could not easilie otherwise be woone, the house towards euening was set on fire, and so they being thirtie in number were burned to death within it. Vpon the same night, the king lodged in the castell, which was yéelded vnto him by them that kept it, their liues and limmes saued, and receiuing an oth, that they should not from thencefoorth beare armour against the king of England, they were permitted to depart whither they thought good, their capteine sir William Dowglas excepted, whom the king still kept with him, till the end of the warres. *Caxton.* Some write that there should be slaine of Scotishmen at this winning of Berwike, aboue the number of twentie thousand men, Abington saith 8000, but Richard Southwell saith 15000 at the least one with an other, with small losse of Englishmen, not past eight and twentie of all sorts. Yée may read more hereof in the Scotish historie.

Abraham Fleming.

¶ But before I passe ouer this slaughter, so lamentable and woonderfull, I haue bethought my selfe of a promised apologie for and in the behalfe of Richard Grafton, mentioned before in the reigne of Henrie the second, page 194. where I shewed how vnaduisedlie and with vnseemelie modestie for a man of learning, George Buchanan the Scot dooth shoot his bolts at the said Grafton, as now by occasion of the matter conuenientlie occurrent shall be shewed. *R. Grafton, pag. 176.* The said Grafton in his large volume of English chronicles, falling vpon the affaires betwéene king Edward the first, and Iohn Balioll king of Scotland, among other things there remembred, maketh report that in the said battell of Berwike, the slaughter was so great, that a mill might well haue béene driuen by the space of two daies, with the streames of bloud which at that time ouerranne the ground. *G. Buchanan rer. Scotic. lib. 8. pag. 243, prope finem.* At which words George Buchanan giueth a snatch, emboldened so to doo, bicause the said Grafton referreth this record to Hector Boetius in his fourteenth booke and second chapter.

Iesu, how the Scot taketh vp the Englishman for halting in his allegation, first for the chapter, conuincing him that Hector Boetius diuided not his booke into chapters, and therefore, where is the second chapter, sith the whole fourteen booke is a continued discourse without distinction by chapters? Secondlie the said Grafton hath the checke, for setting a lie aflote, Buchanan flatlie affirming that Hector Boetius hath no such matter once mentioned in his annales. Touching the first fault, wherewith the Scot chargeth the Englishman, this is note-worthie, that it should seeme to anie man of meane iudgement, that Buchanan of a prepensed malice and purposed wilfulnesse hath sharpened his stile in this nipping sort against Grafton. For sith it was Graftons meaning to record the truth, so farre foorth as he was warranted by the auerment of writers; why should he be cast in the teeth with Effrænis maledicendi libido, or, dishonestlie termed Indoctus & impudenter mendax? Which opprobrious epithets, if they were deserued by an vntrue report of the author; then should Buchanan haue sharpened his toong against Belenden his countriman, the translator of Hector Boetius into their mother toong, from whom Grafton hath deriued his words; sense for sense vnmangled (as he found the same written.)

Now who knoweth not that Bellenden distinguished Hectors annales into chapters,

vpon whose authoritie Grafton relieng, and citing his authoritie according to the quotation of his diuision, whie should he rather than Bellenden be barked at, who is the principall in this controuersie? Againe, it could not be hidden from Buchanan, that Bellenden had distributed Boetius into chapters; considering that they were *σύγχρονοι*, both liuing in the reigne of Iames the fift of that name king of Scots: so that it might haue pleased him to haue tried Grafton by the Scotish Boetius, and so to haue beene resolued for the second chapter of the fouretéenth booke, according to the archdeacon of Murries translation.

Now for the matter it selfe, touching the effusion of bloud, wherewith a mill might well haue béene driuen for two daies space; Hector Boetius his owne words are these; Riui sanguinis toto oppido adeo fluxere, vt cum æstu decurrente minor aqua quàm ad molendina circumagenda fuerit, adiuuante aquam sanguine aliqua circumagi sponte cœperint. Which place, Bellenden hath interpreted after this manner; So lamentabl' slaughter wes throw all the parts of the toun, that ane mill might haif gane two daies ithandlie be stremis of blude. Now examine Graftons words by Bellenden, and Bellendens by Boetius (besides that, marke what Grafton annexeth to the report of this slaughter, who saith that he will not inforce the credit therof vpon any man, but counteth it a Scotish lie rather than a matter of truth) and then conclude according to equitie, that Grafton is altogither excusable and fautlesse, and Buchanans curious & furious challenge reproueable. But admit Grafton had fetcht his report from Boetius, as he had it from Bellenden; seemeth it a lie or an vnlikelihood, that the bloud gushing out of the bodies of 25000, or (as Hector Boetius saith) 7000, would not increase to a streame sufficient & able to driue a mill or two about, without any water intermingled therwithall. The Latine copie hath Riui sanguinis, riuers of bloud, noting by the word the abundance and also the streaming course of the same, which was able with the violent current thereof to beare awaie the verie bodies of the slaine. To conclude this matter, & to set our Englishman by the truth, and let the Scot go with his lieng toong, which I would he had had the modestie to haue tempered, & to haue proffered a practise of that which himselfe paraphrasticallie preacheth and teacheth others to obserue, saieng;

Hector Boetius, pag. 294. lib. impress. Parisiis à Iacobo dit Puys, 1574.

(Linguæ obseraui claustra frœno, pertinax
Obmutui silentio,
Ac temerè ne quid os mali profunderet,
Verbis bonis clausi exitum.)

In paraph. super psal. 39.

And now to the storie. K. Edward remaind at Berwike 15 daies, & caused a ditch to be cast about the towne of 80 foot in breadth, & of the like in depth. In the meane time, about the beginning of Aprill, the warden and reader of the frier minors of Rockesborough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with letters of complaint from king Iohn, for the wrongs doone and offered vnto him and his realme, as well in claiming an vniust superioritie, and constreining him to doo homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes, as also by inuading his townes, slaieng and robbing his subiects: for the which causes he testified by the same letters, that he renounced all such homage and fealtie for him and his subiects, as he, or any of them owght for any lands holden within England. The king hearing the letters red receiued the resignation of the homage, and commanded his chancellor, that the letter might be registred in perpetuall memorie of the thing.

K. Edward fortifieth Berwike.

A scotish frier sent to king Edward.

The Scotish king renounceth his homage and fealtie vnto the king of England.

The earles of Scotland before remembred, being assembled togither with their powers at the castell of Iedworth, entred into England the eighth of Aprill, and with fire and sword did much hurt in the countries as they passed. In Riddesdale they besieged the castell of Harbotell by the space of two daies, but when they could not preuaile, they remoued, and passing foorth by the east part of the riuer of Tine, thorough Cokesdale, Riddesdale, and Northumberland, vnto Hexham, they did much mischéefe by burning and harrieng the countries. At Hexham they spoiled the abbeie church, and got a great number of the cleargie, as well moonks, priests, as scholers, and others; whom they thrust

The Scots inuade the English borders.

Harbotell.

Rich. South.

into

into the schoolehouse there, and closing vp the dores, set fire on the schoole, and burned all them to ashes that were within it. It is wonderfull to read, what beastlie crueltie the Scots vsed in that road which they made at that time in two seuerall parts. For the earle of Boghan, with them of Galloway, entred by Cumberland in like manner as the other did in Riddesdale, burning and murthering all that came in their waie. For whereas all those that were of able age and lustie to get awaie, fled, & escaped their hands; the aged & impotent creatures, women in childbed, and yoong children that could not shift for themselues, were vnmercifullie slaine, and thrust vpon speares, and shaken vp in the aire, where they yéelded vp their innocent ghosts in most pitifull wise.

The earle of Boghan.
The crueltie of the Scots.

Churches were burned, women were forced without respect of order, condition or qualitie, as well the maids, widowes and wiues, as nunnes that were reputed in those daies consecrated to God, and when they had beene so abused, manie of them were after also murthered, and cruellie dispatched out of life. At length, they came to the nunrie of Lanelaie, & burned all the buildings there, sauing the church, and then returned backe into Scotland with all their pillage and booties by Lauercost, an house of moonks, which they likewise spoiled. So that the cruell & bloudie desolation whereof Lucan speaketh in his second booke of ciuill warres, may aptlie be inferred here, as fitlie describing the mercilesse murther of all states and sexes without parcialitie vnder the hand of the enimie: for saith he,

The nunrie of Lanelaie burnt.

Luc. lib. 2.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latéque vagatur
Ensis, & à nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum,
Stat cruor in templis, multáque rubentia cæde
Lubrica saxa madent, nulli sua profuit ætas,
Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Præcipitasse diem, non primo in limine vitæ
Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.

Patrike earle of Dunbar came to the king of England, and submitted himselfe, with all that he had into his hands; but the castell of Dunbar vpon saint Markes day, being assieged of the Scots was rendered vnto them, by treason of some that were within it, of whome, the countesse (wife to the same erle) was the chéefest; for recouerie whereof king Edward sent Iohn earle of Warren, Surrey and Sussex, & William earle of Warwike with a great power, the which laieng siege to that castell, a great host of Scotishmen came vpon them to the rescue of them within, so that there was foughten a verie sore and terrible battell. At length, the victorie abode with the Englishmen, and the Scotishmen were put to flight, the Englishmen following them in chase eight mile of that countrie, almost to the forrest of Selkirke: the slaughter was great, so that (as was estéemed) there died of the Scotishmen that day, to the number of ten thousand.

The castell of Dunbar rendred to the Scots.
Beside 2000 barded horsses they had in that armie 10000 footmen.
N. Triuet. Matth. Westm. Abington.
A sore battell fought at Dunbar.
The number slaine.
Matth. Westm. Abington.

The morrow after being saturdaie, which was the eight and twentith day of Aprill, at the kings comming thither the castell was surrendred vnto him. There were taken in the same castell three earles, Menteth, Cassels, and Ros; six barons, Iohn Comin the yoonger, William Sanclere, Richard Siward the elder, Iohn Fitz Geffrey, Alexander de Morteigne, Edmund Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie knights, two clearks, Iohn de Someruile, and William de Sanclere, and three and thirtie esquires, the which were sent vnto diuerse castels in England, to be kept as prisoners. After the winning of Dunbar the king went to the castell of Rockesborough, which incontinentlie was yeelded by the lord Steward of Scotland, the liues and members of all such as were within it at the time of the surrender.

Rockesborough yéelded.

Then went king Edward vnto Edenburgh, where he planted his siege about the castell, and raised engines, which cast stones against and ouer the walles, sore beating and brusing the buildings within. But as it chanced, the king writing letters, to aduertise his councell at home of his proceedings, and concerning other businesse, deliuered that packet vnto a Welshman named Lewin, commanding him to go with the same to London in all hast possible,

Rich. Southw.

possible, for he knew him to be a verie spéedie messenger and a trustie also (as he tooke it.) But hauing the letter thus deliuered him, togither with monie to beare his charges, he got him to a tauerne, where riotouslie cõsuming the monie (which he had so receiued) in plaie, & making good cheere, in the morning he caused one of his companions to take a target, and beare it afore him in approching the castell, for that he meant (as he colourablie pretended) not to depart, vntill he had wrought some displeasure to them within with his crossebow, which he tooke with him for that purpose, so that comming vnto the castell gates, he called to the wardens on the walles to cast downe to him a cord, that they might plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had somwhat to say to their capteine touching the secrets of the king of England.

They fulfilling his desire, when he came in, and was brought afore the captein sitting then at breakfast, he said vnto him: "Behold sir, here ye may peruse the king of Englands secrets," and withall raught to him a box, wherein the packet of the kings letters were inclosed, and "appoint me (saith he) to some corner of the wall, and trie whether I can handle a crossebow or not, to defend it against your aduersaries." Héere when others would haue opened the box, and haue read the letters, the capteine would in no wise consent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Englishmen beelow, and willed them to signifie to the king, that one of his seruants being fled to him, sought to bewraie his secrets, wherevnto he would by no means agree, and therefore meant to restore both the traitor and the letters. Herevpon, the lord Iohn Spenser, comming to heare what the matter might meane, the capteine caused Lewin to be let downe to him, togither with the letters safe, and not touched by him at all.

When the king vnderstood this, he much commended the honest respect of the capteine, and whereas he had caused engins to be raised to annoie them within (as yée haue heard) he commanded the same to ceasse, and withall, vpon their capteins suit, he granted them libertie to send vnto their king Iohn Balioll, to giue him to vnderstand in what sort they stood. As touching the Welshman, he was drawne and hanged on a pair of high galowes, prepared for him of purpose, as he had well deserued. A notable example of a traitorous villaine, so to offer the secrets of his souereigne to be known to his enimies: and no lesse excellent a president of an honest and faithfull harted foe, that would not himselfe nor let anie other haue a sight of the contents therein written; a rare point of good meaning and vpright dealing in a souldier, and speciallie in an enimie; but

A Welshman hanged.

——— multo optimus ille
Militiæ cui postremum est primúmq; tueri
Inter bella fidem.

Now while the messengers were on their waie to Forfair, where the Scotish king then laie, king Edward with a part of his armie went vnto Striueling, where he found the castell gates set open, and the keies hanging on a naile, so that he entred there without any resistance, for they that had this castle in gard, were fled out of it for feare before his comming. The messengers that were sent from them within Edenburgh castell, comming to their king, declared to him in what case they stood that were besieged. King Iohn, for that he was not able to succor them by any manner of means at that present, sent them word, to take the best waie they could for their owne safetie; with which answer the messengers returning, the castell was immediatlie deliuered vnto the lord Iohn Spenser, that was left in charge with the siege, at the kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditions as the castell of Rockesborough had yeelded a little before.

Striueling castel left void.

Edenburgh castell deliuered to the king of England.

Thus was that strong castell of Edenburgh surrendred by force of siege, to the king of Englands vse, on the 15 daie, after he had first laid his siege about it. A place of such strength by the heigth of the ground whereon it stood, that it was thought impregnable, and had not béene woone by force at any time, since the first building therof, before that present, so farre as anie remembrance either by writing or otherwise could be had thereof.

Here

Here at Edenburgh, or rather at Rockesborough (as Abington saith) a great number of Welshmen came vnto the king, who sent home the like number of English footmen, of those that seemed most wearie. Moreouer, at Strueling, there came to the king the earle of Vlster, with a great number of Irishmen. Then passing ouer the riuer of Forth, the king came vnto saint Iohns towne about Midsummer, and there tarried certeine daies. Whilest these things were a dooing, Iohn king of Scotland, perceiuing that he was not of power to resist king Edward, sent ambassadors vnto him to sue for peace: king Edward was content to heare them, and therevpon appointed, that king Iohn should resort vnto the castell of Brechin, there to commen with such of his councell as he would send thither within fifteene daies next ensuing, to treat of an agréement. King Edward sent thither Anthonie bishop of Durham, with full commission to conclude all things in his name. And within the appointed time came king Iohn, and diuers of his nobles vnto him, the which after many & sundrie treaties holden betwixt them and the said bishop, at length they submitted themselues and the realme of Scotland, simplie and purelie into the hands of the king of England, for the which submission to be firmelie kept and obserued, king Iohn deliuered his son in hostage, and made letters thereof, written in French as followeth.

Saint Iohns towne.

The king of Scots sueth for peace.

The bishop of Durham.

The king of Scots submitteth himselfe to the K. of England.

The instrument of the said submission.

IEHAN per la grace de Dieu, roy de Escoce, à tous ceulx quæ cestes præsentes letres verront ou orront, saluz, &c. Iohn by the grace of GOD king of Scotland, to all those that these present letters shall see or heare, sendeth greeting. Bicause that we through euill counsell and our owne simplicitie, haue greeuouslie offended our souereigne lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitane, in many things; that is to saie, in that, whereas we beeing and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our selues vnto the king of France which then was his enimie and yet is, procuring a mariage with the daughter of his brother Charles du Valois, and that we might greeue our said lord, and aid the king of France with all our power by warre and other means, we haue at length by aduise of our peruerse counsell defied our said lord the K. of England, and haue put our selues out of his allegiance and homage, & sent our people into England, to burne houses, to take spoiles, to commit murther, with many other damages, and also in fortifieng the kingdome of Scotland, which is of his fee, putting and establishing armed men in townes, castels, and other places, to defend the land against him, to deforce him of his fee, for the which transgressions our said souereigne lord the king, entring into the realm of Scotland with his power, hath conquered and taken the same, notwithstanding al that we could do against him, as by right he may do, as a lord of his fee, bicause that we did render vnto him our homage, and made the foresaid rebellion. We therfore as yet being in our full power and free will, doo render vnto him the land of Scotland, and all the people therof with the homages. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these letters patents to be made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth day of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of our reigne, sealed with the common seale of the kingdome of Scotland.

After this, king Edward went forward to see the mounteine countries of Scotland, the bishop of Durham euer keeping a daies iournie afore him. At length, when he had passed through Murrey land, and was come to Elghin, perceiuing all things to be in quiet, he returned towards Berwike, and comming to the abbeie of Scone, he tooke from thence the marble stone, wherevpon the kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as in a chaire, at the time of their coronation, which king Edward caused now to be transferred to Westminster and there placed, to serue for a chaire for the priest to sit in at the altar. The king

K. Edward passeth forward through Scotland.

K. Edward bringeth the marble stone out of Scotland.

king comming to Berwike, called thither vnto a parlement all the nobles of Scotland, and there receiued of them their homages, the which in perpetuall witnesse of the thing, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and sealed with their seales, as the tenor here followeth. The nobilitie of Scotland submit themselues to the king.

The instrument of the homages of the lords of Scotland to K. Edward.

A TOUS ceux que cestes lettres verront ou orront, &c. To all those that these present letters shall see or heare, we Iohn Comin of Badenaw, &c. Bicause that we at the faith and will of the most noble prince, and our dearest lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, doo vow and promise for vs and our heires, vpon paine of bodie and goods, and of all that we may haue, that we shall serue him well and trulie against all men, which may liue and die, at all times when we shall be required or warned by our said lord the king of England or his heires, and that we shall not know of any hurt to be doone to them, but the same we shall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and those things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires, and all our goods, and further, receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie euangelists: and after all, we and euerie of vs haue done homage vnto our souereigne lord the king of England in words as followeth; I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthlie honour, against all men which may liue and die. And the same our souereigne lord the king receiued this homage vnder this forme of words; We receiue it for the land of the which you be now seized, the right of vs, or other saued, and except the lands which Iohn Balioll sometime king of Scotland granted vnto vs, after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of Scotland, if happilie he hath giuen to you any such lands. The forme of their homage. The words of K. Edward accepting it.

Moreouer, all we, and euerie of vs by himselfe haue done fealtie to our said souereigne lord the king in these words; I as a faithfull & liege man, shall keepe faith and loialtie vnto Edward king of England, and to his heires, of life, member and earthlie honor, against all men which may liue and die, and shall neuer for any person beare armour, nor shall be of counsell nor in aid with any person against him, or his heires in any case that may chance, but shall faithfullie acknowledge, and doo the seruice that belongeth to the tenements the which I claime to hold of him, as God me helpe and all his saints. In witnesse wherof, these letters patents are made and signed with our seales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentith of March, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of our said lord the king of England.

Then was Iohn Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex made by king Edward warden of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesbie high iustice, whome the king commanded, that he should call all those before him which held any lands of the crowne, and to receiue of them in his name their homages and fealties. Iohn Balioll late king of Scotland was sent to London, and had a conuenient companie of seruants appointed to attend him, hauing licence to go any whither abroad, so that he kept himselfe within the circuit of twentie miles néere to London. Iohn Comin of Badenaw, and Iohn Comin of Lowan, and diuerse nobles of Scotland were brought into England on the south side of Trent, being warned vpon paine of death not to returne into Scotland, till the king had made an end of his wars with France. After this, at his returne into England, king Edward held a parlement at saint Edmundsburie, which began the morrow after the feast of All saints, in which the citizens & burgesses of good townes granted vnto him an eighth part of their goods, and of the residue of the people a twelfth part. Officers appointed in Scotland by king Iohn. Iohn Balioll sent to London. A parlement at saint Edmundsburie. A subsidie granted.

The cleargie by reason of a constitution ordeined and constituted the same yeare by pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon paine of excommunication, that no talages nor other exactions

The pretended excuse of the cleargie.

exactions should be leuied or exacted of the cleargie in any manner of wise by secular princes, or to be paid to them of things that perteined to the church, vtterlie refused to grant any manner of aid to the king, towards the maintenance of his wars. Wherevpon the king, to the intent they should haue time to studie for a better answer, deferred the matter to an other parlement to be holden on the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie.

An. Reg. 25. 1297.

This yeare after the feast of the Epiphanie, Elizabeth the kings daughter was married vnto king Iohn earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Essex was sent to conueie them into Holland, there to take possession of the earledome, as then descended vnto the said Iohn, by the death of his father latelie before slaine by his owne subiects, bicause he would haue disherited this Iohn, and made a bastard sonne which he had to be his heire. ¶ The day appointed for the parlement to be holden at London being come, and the cleargie continuing in their deniall to grant any subsidie, the king excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, manie by themselues, and manie by mediators, did afterwards giue vnto the king a fift part of all their goods. The archbishop of Canturburie being found stiffe in the matter, the king seized all his lands, and commanded all such debts as were found of his in the rolles of the excheker, to be leuied with all spéed of his goods and cattell. Some write, that when the archbishop of Canturburie in name of all the residue, had declared to them whom the king had appointed commissioners to receiue the answer, that whereas they of the cleargie had two souereigne lords and gouernours, the one in spirituall matters and the other in temporall, yet they ought rather to obeie their spirituall gouernour than their temporall. Neuerthelesse, to satisfie the kings pleasure, they would of their owne charges send to the pope, that by his licence and permission, they might grant the king some aid, or else receiue some answer from him, what to doo therein: "for (saith the archbishop) we beléeue that the king feareth the sentence of excommunication, and would be as glad to auoid it as we."

The earle of Holland marrieth Elizabeth the kings daughter. *N. Triuet.*

Abington. The archbishop his words.

When the commissioners heard this answer, they required that they would appoint some of their owne companie to beare this message vnto the king, for they durst not report it to him: which being doone as the commissioners had required, the king in his furie procéeded against them, in such rigorous manner as ye haue heard, in somuch that the lord chéefe iustice sitting vpon the bench, spake openlie these words; "You sirs that be attornies of my lords the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and all other the cleargie, declare vnto your masters, and tell them, that from hencefoorth there shall no iustice be doone vnto them in the kings court for any manner of thing, although neuer so heinous wrong be doone vnto them: but iustice shall be had against them, to euerie one that will complaine and require to haue it."

The declaration of the lord chéefe iustice.

Henrie de Newarke the elect bishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Durham, Elie and Salisburie, with certeine other, fearing the kings indignation thus kindled against them, ordeined to laie downe in the churches, a fift part as ye haue heard, of all their goods, towards the defense of the realme, and maintenance of the kings warres in such time of great necessitie, and so the king receiuing it, they were restored to the kings protection againe. The freends of the bishop of Lincolne found means, that the shiriffe of the shire leuied and tooke the fift part of all his goods, and restored to him againe his lands and possessions. Also, all the monasteries within his diocesse, and within the whole prouince of Canturburie, were seized into the kings hands, and wardens appointed, which onelie ministred necessarie finding vnto the moonks and other religious persons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vse. Wherevpon the abbats and priors were glad to follow the court, and sued to redéeme, not their sins, but their goods, with giuing a fourth part thereof. The cleargie suffered manie iniuries in that season, for religious men were spoiled and robbed in the kings high waie, and could not haue any restitution nor remedie against them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redéemed the kings protection. Persons and vicars, and other of the cleargie, when they rode foorth any whither, were glad

The clearkelie handling of the matter by the archbi. of Yorke his suffragans.

The miserie of churchmen.

glad to apparell themselues in laie mens garments, so to passe through the countrie in safetie.

The archbishop of Canturburie lost all the goods that he had, for he would neither agree to giue any thing, nor to laie any thing downe in the church, that the king might receiue it. Wherevpon he was brought to such extreme miserie, that all his seruants went from him, & commandement was giuen foorth, that no man should receiue him, neither within monasterie nor without, and so not hauing any one place of all his bishoprike where to laie his head, he remained in the house of a poore person, onelie with one priest and one clearke: yet he stiffelie stood in the matter, affirming certeinlie, that all those which granted any thing, either to the king, or to any other temporall person without the popes leaue, ran without doubt into the danger of the sentence pronounced in the canon.

The archbish. of Canturburie his goods confiscate.

The obstinate maner of the archbishop of Canturburie.

About the feast of S. Matthew in Februarie, the king called a parlement of his nobles (not admitting thereto any of the cleargie) at Salisburie, and there required certeine of his Nobles to passe ouer into Gascoine, but euerie of them seemed to excuse himselfe, whereat the king being mooued, threatened that they should either go, or he would giue their lands to other that would go, with which words manie of them were greeuouslie offended, in so much that the earles of Hereford and Marshall, Humfrie Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared that they would be readie to go with the king if he went himselfe, or else not. And when the earle Marshall was eftsoones required to go, he answered, "I will willinglie go with the king, and march before him in the fore ward, as by right of inheritance I am bound." "Yea (saith the king) and you shall go with other though I go not." "I am not so bound (saith the earle) neither doo I purpose to take the iournie in hand with you."

A parlement at Salisburie.

The king then in a great chafe burst out & sware, "By God sir earle, either thou shalt go or hang." "And I sweare (saith the earle) the same oth, that I will neither go nor hang:" and so he departed from the king without leaue taking. Immediatlie herevpon those two earles assembled manie noble men, and other of their freends togither to the number of thirtie banerets and aboue, so that in all they were found to be fifteene hundred men of armes appointed and readie for battell, and herewith they withdrew into their countries, and kept such stir there, that they would not permit the kings officers to take neither wools, leather, nor any thing against the owners will, but forbad them on paine of loosing their heads to come within their roomes, and withall prepared themselues to resist if need were.

The disloiall demeanor of the two erles.

In this meane time the warre was prosecuted in Gascoine. ¶ The thursdaie before the Purification of our ladie, Henrie earle of Lincolne, and the lord Iohn saint Iohn departing from Baion towards Bellegard, a place besieged as then by the earle of Arthois, to succour them within the same with vittels, (whereof they stood in need) as they approched to a wood distant from the fortresse three miles, they diuided themselues into two seuerall battels, the lord Iohn saint Iohn leading the first, and the earle of Lincolne the second. The lord saint Iohn therefore hauing passed the wood with his battell, and entring into the plaine fields, was incountred by the earle of Arthois, who tarried there for him with a great power, where immediatlie at the first ioining of the battels, the earle of Lincolne retired backe: so that the lord Iohn saint Iohn and his companie ouerset with preasse of enimies were vanquished: and the said lord saint Iohn with sir William de Mortimer, sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eight knights, and diuerse esquires were taken, the which were sent to Paris as prisoners.

They had with them 600 men of armes, and 10000 footmen as *Abington* saith.

Battell betwixt the earle of Lincolne and the earle of Arthois, who had with him 1500 men of armes, as *Abingt̄* saith.

Other write somewhat otherwise of this battell, as that vpon the first incounter the Englishmen droue backe one regiment of the earle of Arthois his men of armes, whom he diuided into foure parts; but when they once ioined with the second regiment, to the which they were beaten backe, forward they came againe, and so charging the Englishmen, with helpe of their third squadron, which was now come to them also, they easilie put the Englishmen oppressed with multitude vnto flight, & followed them in chase. After this came the Englishmen which were in the rereward, and incountring with the fourth

squadron or regiment of the Frenchmen, streightwaies brake the same. Herewith was the night come vpon them, so that one could not know an other, a frèend from an enimie, and so both the Englishmen and Frenchmen were dispersed till the moone rose, and the Frenchmen withdrew to their fortresses, and amongst them certeine Englishmen were mingled, which being discouered were taken prisoners, as the lord Iohn saint Iohn, and others.

The slaughter was not great, for there were no footmen on either part, to spoile or kill the men of armes that were throwne beside their horsses: for the English footmen remained in the wood, or were withdrawne backe, as before ye haue heard, without attempting any exploit worthie of praise. Indéed some laie the blame in the Gascoine footmen for the losse of this battell, bicause that they withdrew backe, and left the English horssemen in danger of the enimies which had compassed them about on euerie side. Thrée hundred of the men of armes came through to the towne of Bellegard, but bicause it was night, so that they could not be discerned whether they were frends or foes, they within the towne would not suffer them to enter: wherevpon they departed, and went to S. Seuere foure leagues off. Yet further in the night, other of the Englishmen were receiued into Bellegard, which came thither after the other, and so in the morning they of the garison with their assistance issued foorth, and comming to the place where the battell had béene, gathered the spoile of the field, and conueied into their towne such prouision of vittels as they found there.

Matth. West.

Abington.

The earle of Lincolne escaped.

He commeth home.

The earle of Lincolne with a great manie of other wandred a great part of the night and knew not whither to go. At length about thrée of the clocke in the morning he came to Perforate, where he had lodged with his armie the night before, & there found a great number of his people right glad of his comming and happie escape out of danger. From thence he returned vnto Baion with the earle of Richmond sir Iohn de Britaine and all his companie that were left. And such was the hap of this iournie. In Lent following, those that were dispersed here and there abroad, resorted to the earle of Lincolne, soiourning at Baion, and in the summer season made a iournie towards Tholouse, spoiling and wasting the countries of Tholouse and other there abouts, and remoued also the siege which those of Tholouse had laid vnto a fortresse called S. Kiternes, in chasing them from the same siege: and towards Michaelmasse they returned to Baion, and there laie all the winter till after Christmasse, and then by reason of the truce concluded, as after appeareth, betwixt the two kings of England & France, they returned home into England.

He inuadeth the countrie about Tholouse.

The custome of of wool raised.

Abington.
Fuersden.
Prouision for the kings iournie into France.

Ia. Meir.
The French king inuadeth Flanders.

In the same yeare the king raised the custome of wooll to an higher rate than had beene paid at any time before: for he tooke now fortie shillings of a sacke or sarpler, where before there was paid but half a marke. Moreouer he commanded, that against his iournie which he meant to make ouer into France, there should be two thousand quarters of wheat, and as much of oates taken by the shiriffe in euerie countie within the realme to be conueied to the sea side, except where they had no store of corne, and there should béeues and bakons be taken to a certeine number. In the meane time the earle of Flanders was sore vexed by war which the French king made against him, being entred into Flanders with an armie of thrée score thousand men, as some authors haue recorded.

Lisle besieged.

The earle of Arthois vanquisheth the Flemings in battell.
N. Triuet.

About the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, he laid siege to Lisle, and shortlie after came the earle of Arthois, being returned out of Gascoine with his power vnto that siege, and was sent foorth to kéepe the Flemings and others occupied, which laie at Furneis, and in other places thereabouts in low Flanders, with whome he fought and got the victorie. King Edward therefore, to succour his frèends prepared to go ouer into Flanders, and therevpon summoned all those that owght him any seruice, & such also as held lands to the value of twentie pounds and aboue, to be readie with horsse and harnesse at London about Lammas to passe ouer with him in that iournie.

A rebellion in Scotland by the means of one William Waleis.

In the meane time about the moneth of Maie, there began a rebellion in Scotland by the setting on of William Waleis: for the king of Englands iustice William Ormsbie, accord-

inglie as he had in commission, confined and put to outlawrie a great sort of such Scotishmen, as refused to doo fealtie and homage vnto the king of England, the which Scotishmen being thus condemned as outlawes, elected the foresaid William Waleis for their capteine, with whome William Douglas being once associated, the number of them increased hugelie. The earle of Surrey and the treasurer being in England, those outlawes purposed to haue taken the iustice at Scone: but he being warned though almost too late, escaped himselfe with much adoo, leauing the most part of his people as a spoile to the enimies. For William Waleis and his companie killed as manie Englishmen as fell into his hands, and taking certeine religious men, he bound their hands behind them, and constreined them to leape into the riuer, taking pleasure to behold how they plunged. Englishmen slaine in Scotland.

The king sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, to vnderstand the certeintie of this rebellion, who returning from thence, informed him of the truth. The king not minding to breake his iournie which he had purposed to make into Flanders, appointed that the earle of Surrey should haue the leading of all such men of warre as might be leuied beyond Trent, to represse the Scotish rebels, and also wrote vnto Iohn Comin earle of Boughan, that remembring their faith and promise, they should returne into Scotland, and doo their best to quiet the countrie: they according to his commandement, went into Scotland, but shewed themselues slow inough to procure those things that perteined to peace and quietnesse. The vnfaithfull dealing of the Scots.

In the meane time, whilest these things were a doing, the bishop of Carleill, and other which laie there vpon the gard of that citie and castell, hauing some mistrust of the loialtie in Robert Bruce the yoonger, that was earle of Carrike by his mother, they sent him word to come vnto them at a certeine daie, bicause they had to talke with him of matters touching the kings affairs. He durst not disobeie but came to Carleill togither with the bishop of Gallowaie, & there receiued a corporall oth vpon the holie and sacred mysteries, and vpon the sword of Thomas Becket, to be true to the king of England, and to aid him and his against their enimies in all that he might: and further to withstand that the said king receiued no hurt nor damage so far as in him might lie. *Abington.* Robert Bruce. Thomas Beckets sword.

This doone, he returned againe into Scotland, and for a colour entred into the lands of William Douglas, and burnt part of them, bringing the wife and children of the same William backe with him into Annandale: but shortlie after, he conspired with the Scotish rebels, and ioined himselfe with them, not making his father priuie to the matter, who in the meane while remaind in the south parts of England. He would haue persuaded such knights, gentlemen and other as held their lands of his father in Annandale, to haue gone with him, but they would not breake their faith giuen to the king of England, and so left him. The earle of Surrey assembling togither his power in Yorkeshire, sent his nephue the lord Henrie Percie with the souldiers of the countrie of Carleill before into Scotland, who passing foorth to the towne of Aire, went about to induce them of Gallowaie into peace, and hearing that an armie of Scotishmen was gathered togither at a place about foure miles from thence called Irwin, he made thitherward, and comming neere to the Scotish host, might behold where the same was lodged beyond a certeine lake. In that armie were capteins, the bishop of Glasco, Andrew de Murreie steward of Scotland, and William Waleis which (as it should séeme) were not all of one mind. Robert Bruce reuoketh to the rebels. *N. Trivet.* Three hundreth men of armes, and fiftie thousand footmen saith *Abington.* Henrie Percie sent before. Irwin.

There was in the same armie a knight named sir Richard Lundie, which neuer yet had doon homage to the king of England, but now flieng from his companie, he came to the English armie, and submitted himselfe with his retinue vnto the king of England, saieng that he ment not to serue amongst them any longer that could not agrée togither. The residue of the Scotishmen sued for peace, vpon condition to haue liues, members, goods, cattels and lands saued, with a pardon of all offenses past. The lord Percie vpon pledges & writings heerof deliuered, was contented to grant their requests, so that the king his maister would be therewith pleased, who being hereof certified, bicause he would Discord in the Scotish armie. Sir Richard Lundie. The Scots sue for peace.

not

not gladlie be staied of his iournie into Flanders, granted vnto all things that were thus required.

Then after that the earle of Surrie was come to the English campe, bicause William Waleis ceassed not in the meane time to assemble more people, the Englishmen doubting some treason, resolued to giue battell, but whilest they were in mind thus to do, the bishop of Glasco and William Douglas to auoid the note of disloialtie and treason, came and submitted themselues: and so the bishop was committed to ward within the castell of Rokesborough, and William Douglas in the castell of Berwike. It is to be noted, that euen in the verie time that the treatie was in hand betwixt the lord Percie and the Scotish capteins, the Scots of Gallowaie and other set vpon that part of the English campe, where the trusse and baggage laie, which they spoiled and ransacked, slaieng aboue fiue hundreth persons, what of men, women and children, but the alarum being raised, the Englishmen came to the rescue, and chasing the Scots, slue aboue a thousand of them, and recouered the most part of their owne goods, with more which they tooke from their enimies.

The bishop of Glasco and William Douglas.

Abington.

The archbish. of Canturburie receiued into fauour.

In this meane time king Edward at the feast of Lammas held a councell at London, where he receiued the archbishop of Canturburie againe into his fauor, restoring vnto him all his goods and lands. He appointed him and the lord Reinold Grey to haue his eldest sonne prince Edward in keeping, till his returne out of Flanders. But Nicholas Triuet writeth, that the said prince Edward being appointed to remaine at home, as lieutenant to his father, there were appointed vnto him as councellors, Richard bishop of London, William earle of Warwike, and the forenamed lord Reinold Grey, with the lord Iohn Gifford, and the lord Alane Plokenet, men of high wisedome, grauitie and discretion, without making mention of the archbishop of Canturburie in that place. The two earles Marshall and Hereford being commanded to attend the king into Flanders, refused, excusing themselues by messenger.

Nic. Triuet.

Gardians appointed to the kings sonne in his fathers absence.

Earles Marshall and Hereford refuse to go ouer with the king into Flanders.

After this, the king caused sir Rafe Monthermer (whom his daughter the countesse of Glocester, in hir widowhood had taken to husband without knowledge of hir father) to be deliuered out of the castell of Bristow, wherein he had beene kept prisoner a certeine time vpon displeasure for the marriage: but now he was not onelie set at libertie, but also restored to his wife, and to all the lands perteining to the earledome of Glocester, appointing him to find 50 men at armes to serue in that iournie into Flanders. He also deliuered the earles of Cassels and Menteth, Iohn Comin, and diuers other Scotishmen, appointing them also to go with him into Flanders. Finallie hauing assembled his armie, ouer the which he made the lord Thomas Berklie constable, and Geffrey Ienuille marshall, he went to Whinchelsey, and whilst he laie there before he tooke the sea, there was presented vnto him from the earles a writing, which conteined the causes of the greefe of all the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, lords, barons, and of all the communaltie, as well for summoning them to serue by an vndue meane, as also for the vnreasonable taxes, subsidies, impositions & paiements which they dailie susteined, and namelie the impost augmented vpon the custome of wooll seemed to them verie greeuous. For whereas for euerie sacke of whole wooll there was fortie shillings paid, and for euerie sacke of broken wooll one marke: it was well knowne, that the wooll of England was almost in value esteemed to be woorth halfe the riches of the realme, and so the custome thereof paid, would ascend to a fift part of all the substance of the land.

Sir Rafe Monthermer released.

Scotishmen released.

The lord Berkley.

A libell deliuered to the king from the earles of Hereford and Marshall.

The kings answer.

The kings answer thereunto was, that he could not alter any thing, without the aduise of his councell, of the which part were alreadie passed ouer into Flanders, and part were at London; and therfore he required the said earles, that if they would not attend him in that iournie into Flanders, they would yet in his absence doo nothing that might be preiudiciall to the realme: for he trusted by Gods fauour to returne againe in safetie, and set all things in good order. At length, about the 21 daie of August, the king tooke the sea, and landed in Flanders neere to Sluice, about the 27 day of the same moneth. He was no sooner on land, but that through old enuie and malice depending betweene the mariners

The king passeth ouer into Flanders.

Abington.

mariners of the cinque ports, and them of Yermouth and other quarters, a quarell was picked, so that they fell togither, and fought on the water in such earnest sort, notwithstanding the kings commandement sent to the contrarie, that there were 25 ships burnt and destroied of theirs of Yermouth, and other their partakers: also three of their greatest ships, part of the kings treasure being in one of them, were tolled foorth into the high sea, and quite conueied awaie. Debate and fighting betwixt the mariners of the cinque ports and others.

The king from Sluice first went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrie in euill state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind; for diuers of them misliked with the doings of the earle, in that he had alied himselfe with the French kings aduersaries. About the beginning of September was Lisle yeelded vnto the French king, and after that they of Doway, Curtray, and Bruges, did likewise submit themselues to the same king. Then was Charles earle of Valois sent to Bruges, to fortifie that towne, and to take the English nauie that laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam: but the Englishmen hauing warning thereof, got foorth with their vessels into the sea, and so the earle of Valois being disappointed of that preie, set in hand to fortifie Bruges and Dam. But the earle of Austrich, & Robert de Neuers son to earle Guy, being sent with a power of Englishmen, Flemings, and other souldiors vnto Dam, fought with the Frenchmen, slue foure hundreth of them, besides diuers that were taken, and recouered the towne. They might also haue recouered Bruges, as was thought, if the Englishmen and Flemings had not fallen at strife, & fought togither about diuiding of the preie. *Ia. Meir.* Lisle yeelded to the French king. Charles de Valois sent to Bruges.

Finallie, after this, the French king came to Bruges, and when the king of England and the earle of Flanders had long looked and all in vaine for the emperor Adulfe, who had promised to come to their aid with a great armie; for the charges and wages wherof he had receiued great summes of monie both of the king of England, and also of the earle of Flanders: they concluded in the end (when they perceiued he would not come) to make some agreement with the French king: and so first was a truce taken, from the middest of October, vnto the calends of December, and after by mediation of Charles (surnamed Claudius) king of Sicill, the same truce was prolonged as hereafter ye shall heare. The emperor Adulfe breaketh promise.

In this meane while, to wit, about the end of August, the earle of Surrey, when he saw that the Scotishmen would not performe promise touching the deliuerie of the pledges, and that William Waleis still mooued the people to rebellion, he assembled his armie, & with the same entring Scotland, came vnto Striueling. Then the lord steward of Scotland, and also the earle of Lenox came vnto him, requiring him to staie till they might haue leasure to see if they could bring the people of Scotland vnto the kings peace. But when they could not doo it, they returned on the tenth day of September, promising to bring to the aid of the earle of Surrey on the morrow after fortie horssemen, vpon the which day two friers of the order of preachers were sent vnto William Waleis, and to the other Scotishmen lieng beyond the hill aboue the monasterie of Scambeskin, to mooue them to the kings peace. But their answer was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to trie the matter by battell.

The English armie without good aduise, thorough the presumptuous pride of the lord Hugh Cressingham, preased to the bridge, and hasting to passe the same, the Scotishmen came vpon them yer the one halfe could get ouer, and so fiercelie assailed them, that the Englishmen were beaten backe and slaine downe. For the Scots, after they saw so manie of the Englishmen to haue passed the bridge, as they thought themselues able to distresse, they made downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their spearemen on foot, closed it vp, that no more should come ouer to the aid of their fellowes, nor those that were alreadie passed, should returne againe: yet one sir Marmaduke Thweng a right valiant knight, which was one of the first among the men of armes that came ouer, after that he and his companie had driuen downe one wing of their aduersaries, & had followed them in a chase a good waie, as purposing to haue gotten the conquest against them, at length perceiuing the companie behind distressed by the Scots, he returned with those The pride of Hugh Cressingham. The Scots assaile the Englishmen. *Abington.* The valiancie of sir Marmaduke Thweng.

few that were about him, and purposing to repasse the bridge, rushed in among the Scots that stood before him with such violence, that he passed thorough them, making waie for himselfe and his folks by great manhood, sauing one of his nephues also which was set on foot & wounded, after his horsse had béene killed vnder him.

The Englishmen discomfited.

At length the discomfiture was such, that the Scots preassed so earnestlie to win the bridge also of those Englishmen, which were not yet passed, that at length the earle of Surrey commanded to breake that end of the bridge, where they stood at defense to keepe backe the Scots, for else had there few of the Englishmen escaped. There were slaine (as some haue written) to the number of six thousand men, and amongst other was slaine sir Hugh Cressingham, whose skin (as hath béene reported) the Scots stripped off his dead carcasse, for the malice which they bare toward him. This discomfiture chanced on the 11 day of September. The earle of Surrey, leauing in the castell of Striueling the said sir Marmaduke Thweng, promised him to come to his aid at all times when néed should be, within ten weekes space, and herewith taking his horsse, rode in such hast to Berwike, that after his comming thither, his stéed being set vp in the stable of the friers minors, neuer after tasted meat, but died: after this, the said earle making no long aboad in Berwike, rode vp to London vnto prince Edward, and left the towne of Berwike as a preie to the Scotishmen: but those yet that had the castell in kéeping, defended it manfullie against the Scots, the which assembled togither in campe vnder the leading of Alexander earle of Murrey: and their capteine William Waleis came to Berwike, and finding the towne void of all defense, entred it, but they could not win the castell by any meanes.

The earle of Surrey returneth in hast to Berwike.

The Scots enter Berwike.

The castell holdeth tacke against them.

The Northumberland men conueied their wiues, their children, their cattell, & other goods, which might be remooued, out of the countrie for feare of the enimies inuasion: but when the Scots lingered time, and entred not within the English borders for a season, they brought their goods againe, in hope that the Scots would not come foorth of their owne marches at that time. But the Scots hauing aduertisement thereof, about the feast of S. Luke entred the English borders, and did much hurt within the countrie of Northumberland, so that to auoid the danger, all the religious men fled out of the monasteries situat betwixt Newcastell vpon Tine, and Carleill. The Scots spoiled, harried, and burnt vp the countrie, till the feast of S. Martine, and in the octaues of the same feast they drew togither, and went towards Carleill, which towne they summoned, as you shall heare.

The Scots inuade Northumberland, and spoile the countrie.

They sent a preest to them that kept it, commanding them to yéeld: but receiuing a froward answer, they fell to and wasted all that countrie, passing thorough the forrest of Inglewood, Cumberland, and Allerdale, till they came vnto Derwent and Cokermouth, not sparing either church nor chappell. Their meaning was to haue gone into the bishoprike of Durham, but what through sore weather of haile, snow and frost, & what through vain feare of wrong information giuen by their spials, that the countrie was well prouided of men of warre for defense, they brake off that iournie, and yet there were not past a hundred men of armes, and three thousand footmen in that countrie, which were then also dispersed thorough irksomenesse of long staieng for the enimies. The Scots therefore drew vnto Hexham, and there lodged, not without vexing the canons, although they had granted letters of protection vnto the prior and couent of the same house, to indure for one whole yeare: and likewise letters of safe conduct to passe and repasse for one canon, one squire, and two seruants, when soeuer they should send to them during that terme: which letters were giuen foorth vnder the name of the said earle of Murrey, and William Waleis. From thence they went towards Newcastell, and burnt the towne of Riton. Finallie, perceiuing they could not preuaile in attempting to win the towne of Newcastell, they diuided their spoiles and returned home.

The forest of Inglewood.

The towne of Riton burnt.

An Reg. 26.

The Scots returne home.

About the same time, to wit, a little before Christmasse, the lord Robert Clifford, with the power of the citie of Carleill, entred Annandale, committing all to the spoile of the footmen,

The lord Clifford inuadeth Annandale.

footmen, of whome there was a great number. The men of armes on horssebacke, being not past an hundred in all, kept togither, and finding their enimies assembled neere to Annankirke, gaue a charge vpon them, and chased them into a marish, within the which they kept them, till the footmen came in, and assailing them, slue 308 persons, and tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and returning againe to their market, burnt ten villages, and on Christmasse euen returned with their preie and booties vnto Carleill. In the beginning of Lent they made an other rode, in the which they burnt the church of Annan. Annankirke. Scots slaine. 1298. Annankirke burnt.

Whilest these things were in hand, prince Edward the kings eldest son, and other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings absence, sought meanes to pacifie the earles Marshall and Hereford: but they would not agree, but vpon such conditions as pleased themselues to prescribe, which were, that the king should confirme the great charter, and the charter of forrests, with certeine new articles to be included in the same great charter, and that from thenceforth the king should not charge his subiects so freelie at his pleasure as before time he had doone, without consent of the states of parlement, and that he should pardon his displeasure and malice conceiued against them for denieng to go with him into Flanders. Manie other articles they would that the king should grant, confirme, pardon and establish. The which were all sent ouer into Flanders to the king, that he might peruse them, and declare whether he would agree or disagree to the same. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought good to yeeld vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time, to reconcile the offended minds of the peeres and barons of his realme, and granted vnto all the said articles, confirming the same with his charter vnder his great seale. In consideration wherof, the nobles of the realme and commons granted to the king the ninth penie of all their goods: the archbishop of Canturburie, with the cleargie of his prouince, the tenth penie; and the elect of Yorke and those of his prouince, granted the fift penie; towards the maintenance of the war against the Scots, bicause they were next vnto the danger. *N. Triuet.* The froward dealing of the erles of Hereford & Marshall. *Abington.* A subsidie granted.

The king also by his speciall letters required the nobles of the realme, that if they continued in their due obedience to him, as they promised at his departure out of the realme to doo, that then they should resort and appeare at his parlement, to begin at Yorke the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie, without all excuse or delaie: for otherwise he would accompt them as enimies to the commonwelth of the realme. At which day appeared the earles of Warren and Glocester, with the countesse of Glocester his wife daughter to the king, the earles Marshall, Hereford, and Arundell, Guie sonne to the earle of Warwike in his fathers roome: and of barons, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Iohn Wake, and the lord Iohn Segraue, with manie of the nobilitie, the which being assembled togither, would that it should to all men be notified, in what manner the king had confirmed the great charter, and the charter of forrests; wherevpon the same being read with the articles therevnto added, and put in, the bishop of Carleill, adorned in pontificalibus, did pronounce all them accurssed, that went about to violate and breake the same. And bicause the Scotish lords appeared not, being summoned to be there, it was decreed that the armie should come togither at Newcastell vpon Tine, in the octaues of the feast of saint Hilarie next insuing, so that the generall musters might then and there be taken. A parlement at Yorke. *Magna charta.*

The king laie the most part of this winter at Gant, in the which meane time there chanced sedition betweene th' Englishmen & the Gantners, insomuch that the Welshmen had set fire on the towne, if the king had not staied the matter. But the Flemish writers saie, the Englishmen set fire in foure parts of the towne indeed, that they might the more freelie haue robbed in other parts thereof, whilest the townesmen had gone about to quench the fire. But the townesmen bent on reuenge, assembled togither in great numbers, and falling on the Englishmen slue thirtie of their horssemen and of their footmen: to the number of seuen hundred, or thereabouts. They had also slaine the king, if a knight of Flanders had not made shift to saue him. ¶ In deed (as should appeare by the same. Debate betwixt ye kings men and the Gantners.

same writers) the English footmen had doone much hurt in the countrie, and namelie one day they spoiled the towne of Dam, and slue two hundred worthie personages, who had yéelded themselues to the king at his first comming into the countrie.

And although the king caused certeine of those that had doone this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this & other iniuries in their minds, & meant to be reuenged thereof, before the Englishmen departed out of their countrie, and therefore there drew out of sundrie parts into the citie of Gant by small companies, to the number of foure thousand men of armes, besides a great multitude of footmen, and when they perceiued themselues strong inough (as they tooke the matter) at the day amongst them appointed, and considered in their minds, that

——— vnita potentior est vis
Quælibet, at partes in plures secta peribit,

they clustered togither, and vnder the leading of the earles sonnes, William and Robert, they did first set vpon the Englishmen that were in their lodgings, of whom they slue diuerse, and after comming foorth into the streets, they ment to haue made slaughter of all the residue: but by the noise that was raised, the king had warning in what state the matter stood, and therewith getting him to armour, came foorth of his lodging, and streightwaies his people flocked about him. And furthermore, the footmen which were lodged in the suburbes, hearing of this tumult, got them to armour, & approching the gates, found them shut: but with fire which they kindled with straw, wood, butter and tallow, and other such things, they burnt vp the same gates and so got in, losing not past six persons that were slaine at the first entring.

The Flemings set vpon the Englishmen in their lodgings.

Herewith the earle of Flanders came to the king, and besought him to staie his people from committing further outrage: but the king as he had reason so to doo, blamed him for the outragious attempt of his people, and bad him go to appease them, or he would take paine with them himself to his owne suertie, though not greatlie to their ease. The earle went, and preuailed so much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for restitution of such things as had béen taken from any man wrongfullie, according to the order and direction prescribed by certeine discréet persons appointed as commissioners in that behalfe. The king perceiuing himselfe in some danger, and that without the fauour of the Flemings he might hardlie escape out of their countrie, bare manie things, and spake courteouslie, making partlie amends for the harms doone by his people, as well abroad in the countries as in the towns. And finallie about Midlent he returned into England, as after ye shall heare.

The earle of Flanders pacifieth his people.

Nic. Triuet. In this meane time, by the kings appointment, the earle of Surrey lord warden of Scotland, with other earles and noble men to him associat, about the feast of saint Hilarie, had assembled an armie at Yorke, hauing first summoned the lords of Scotland to appeare there at the same day, who yet came not, but contrarilie had besieged the castell of Rockesborough. Wherevpon the earle of Surrey hasted thitherwards, so that William Waleis and other of the Scotishmen which laie there at siege, raised the same, and departed from thence. The earle of Surrey comming to Rockesborough, and relieuing them that kept it with such things as they wanted, passed foorth to Kelsow, and came afterwards to the towne of Berwike, which the Scotishmen had left void. Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, signifieng that he had taken truce with the French king, and that he meant shortlie to returne into England, and therefore commanded them not to make any further enterprise than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Berwike till his comming ouer. Herevpon was a great part of the armie discharged, and such onelie remained in Berwike as might suffice for defense thereof.

Nic. Triuet. An armie assembled at Yorke.

The Scots besiege Rockesborough.

The earle of Surrey entreth Scotland.

King Edward hauing made an end of his businesse in Flanders, as before ye haue heard, returned now towards England, and came to a towne called Ardenburge, where the most part of such Scotishmen as he had brought with him into Flanders slipped from him, and went vnto Paris. The king being returned into England, remooued the barons of the exchéker,

K. Edward returneth homewards.

excheker, and the iustices of the bench vnto Yorke, calling a parlement thither, and gaue summons vnto the lords of Scotland to come to the same: but making default in their appearance, he sent foorth his commission and letters to warne his subiects to be readie with horsse and harnesse at Rockesborough in the feast of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist next insuing. They obeieng his commandement, assembled there at the day appointed.

The Scots summoned to the parlement at Yorke, refused to come.

An armie raised.

There were in this armie now assembled at Rockesborough togither with those of the bishoprike, about three thousand men of armes mounted on barded horsses, besides foure thousand other armed men on horssebacke without bards. There were also a great number of footmen, and yet none but such as came vpon their owne good willes, the which were almost all Welshmen or Irishmen. There came also afterwards fiue hundred men of armes well apparelled, furnished and mounted out of Gascoine, of the which a certeine number were sent to Berwike by the king: where after the battell fought with the Scots, they remained in garison. The earle of Hereford, and the earle Marshall were present with their retinues amongst other in this armie here assembled at Rockesborough, the which vpon suspicion conceiued of that they had heard, thought it not sufficient to haue the kings letters patents touching the confirmation of the two charters, and other the articles aboue mentioned, signed by him, whilest he was out of the realme, and therefore required that he would now within his owne land confirme the same againe. Here the bishop of Durham, Iohn earle of Surrie, William earle of Warwike, and Rafe erle of Glocester, vndertooke for the king, that after he had subdued his enimies; and should be againe returned into the realme, he should satisfie them in that behalfe, and confirme the same articles.

Abington.

The number of men armed in this armie.

Welshmen and Irishmen.

Gascoins,

N. Triuet.

The earles of Hereford and Marshall mistrust the king.

This doone, the king marching foorth with his armie, came to Temple Histon, and sent foorth the bishop of Durham to take certeine castels therabouts, as Orinton or (as some copies haue) Drilton, and other two, which enterprise the bishop spéedilie accomplished. The English fléet that should haue come from Berwike, and kept alongst the coast to haue furnished the armie with victuals, was staied and holden backe with contrarie winds, so that the armie began to be in great necessitie of victuals. The Scotishmen were aduertised hereof, and supposing that the Englishmén by reason of such want of victuals, had not béene able through féeblenesse to make anie great resistance, assembled their powers togither, and came towards the place where the king with his armie was lodged.

Castels woon by the bishop of Durham.

At the same time two of the English ships arriued there with victuals, the which being bestowed amongst the souldiors, releeued them greatlie of their hunger. Amongest other the Welshmen had two tunnes of wine deliuered to them for their share, the which they tasted so gréedilie, that ouercome therewith they fell to quarrelling with the Englishmen, and begun a fraie, in the which they slue eightéene, and hurt diuerse. The English horssemen herewith being kindled with displeasure, got them to armor, and setting vpon the Welshmen, slue of them to the number of fourescore, and put the other to flight: wherevpon the next morning it was said that the Welshmen vpon wrath conceiued hereof meant to depart to the Scots: but yet when the campe remooued, they followed the armie though a farre off, and apart by themselues, insomuch that manie doubted least if the Englishmen had chanced to haue had the worsse at the Scotishmens hands, they would haue ioined with them against the Englishmen. This bloodie broile sprang of intemperancie, and surfetting drunkennesse, which is worthie to be thus disclaimed,

Abington.

A fraie betwixt the Welsh and Englishmen.

The Englishmen stand in doubt of the Welshmen.

——animæ lethum, & vitiorum
Nutrix ac scelerum, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quid per te non audent? Iurgia, lites,
Prælia dira moues, & gaudes sanguine fuso,
Sordidior quæ res, quæ bellua vilior? &c.

The king now hearing that the Scots were comming towards him, raised his field, and went foorth to méet them, lodging the next night in a faire plaine. In the morning verie earlie,

N. Triuet.

earlie, a great alarme was raised, so that euerie man got him to armour, supposing the Scots to be at hand. The horsse appointed for the kings saddle that day, as the king should haue got vpon him, frighted with some noise, started aside, and threw the king downe with such violence, that he brake two of his ribbes, as the report went. Other write, that his horsse trod on him in the night, as he and his people rested them, keeping their horsses still bridled, to be readie the sooner vpon occasion of any necessitie: but howsoeuer he came by his hurt, he staied not to passe forward in his purposed iournie, but mounting vpon an other horsse, went foorth with his armie till he came to a place called Foukirke, where both the armies of England and Scotland met and fought.

The battell of Foukirke. *Abington.*

The Scots were diuided in foure schiltrons, as they termed them, or as we may saie, round battels, in forme of a circle, in the which stood their people that carried long staues or speares, which they crossed iointlie togither one within another, betwixt which schiltrons or round batels were certeine spaces left, the which were filled with their archers and bowmen, and behind all these were their horssemen placed. They had chosen a strong ground, somewhat sideling on the side of a hill. The earles Marshall, Hereford, & Lincolne, which led the fore ward of the Englishmen, at the first made directlie towards the Scots, but they were staied, by reason they found a marish, or an euill fauoured mosse betwixt their enimies and them, so that they were constreined to fetch a compasse towards the west side of the field. The bishop of Durham ruling in the second battell of the Englishmen, consisting of six and thirtie standards or banners, knowing the let of that mosse or marish toward the east side, hasted foorth to be the first that should giue the onset: but yet when they approched néere to the enimies, the bishop commanded his people to staie till the third battell, which the king led, might approach. But that valiant knight the lord Rafe Basset of Draiton said to him: "My lord bishop, you may go and say masse, which better becommeth you, than to teach vs what we haue to doo, for we will doo that which belongeth to the order and custome of warre."

The order of the Scotish battels.

The earles Marshall, Hereford, and Lincolne led the fore ward.

The bishop of Durham led the second ward.

The lord Basset of Draitons words to the bishop of Durham.

Herewith they hasted foorth on that side to charge the first schiltron of the Scots, and the earles with their battell on the otherside, and euen vpon the first brunt the Scotish horssemen fled, a few onelie excepted, which staied to keepe the footmen in order. And amongst other was the brother of the lord steward of Scotland, who as he was about to set in order the bowmen of Selkirke, by chance was vnhorssed, and slaine there amongst the same bowmen, and manie a tall mans bodie with him. The Scotish archers thus being slaine, the Englishmen assailed the spearemen; but keeping themselues close togither, and standing at defense with their speares like a thicke wood, they kept out the English horssemen for a while, & fought manfullie, though they were sore beaten with shot of arrowes by the English archers on foot: & so at length galled with shot, and assailed by the horssemen on ech side, they begun to disorder and shrinke from one side to another, and herewith the horssemen brake in amongst them, and so they were slaine and beaten downe in maner all the whole number of them.

The Scotish horssemen flée.

Their archers slaine.

These Scotish spearemen were of Gallowaie as *Euersden* saith.

Nic. Triuet. *Matth. West.* saith fourtie thousand. *Polydor.* *N. Triuet.*

Some saie there died of the Scots that daie (being the two & twentith of Iulie, and the feast of Marie Magdalene) aboue twentie thousand. Other write that there were slaine at the least to the number of 15 thousand. The Scotish writers alledge that this battell was lost by treason of the Comins and other, as in the Scotish historie ye may more plainlie perceiue, with more matter touching the same battell: after this was the towne of saint Andrews destroied, no man being within to make resistance. And from thence the English armie came through Selkirke forrest vnto the castell of Aire, which they found void: and after they came by the towne of Annan, and tooke the castell of Lochmaben, and so returned into England by the west marches, and came to Carleill.

The towns of S. Andrews.

The castell of Aire.

Abington. Irish lords. The Ile of Araine.

About the same time certeine Irish lords, and amongst other as chéefe, one Thomas Biset landed in the Ile of Araine, the inhabitants whereof yéelded themselues vnto the same Thomas, who (as was iudged) meant to haue aided the Scots: but now hearing of the victorie which king Edward had gotten in a pight field, he sent vnto him to giue him

to vnderstand that he was come in his aid, & had woon the said Ile of Araine, and therfore besought him that it might please him to grant it vnto him and his heires for euer. Which request the king granted: whereof when the earles Marshall and Hereford were aduertised, they thought this a rash part of the king, considering that he had promised to doo nothing anew without their consents and counsell. Thomas Biset requireth the Ile of Araine. The euill opinion of the earles Marshall & Hereford towards the king.

Therefore the king being (as ye haue heard) returned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home with their people, leauing the king still at Carleill, where he remained a time, and held a parlement there, in the which he granted vnto manie of his nobles, the lands and liuings of diuers noble men of the Scots, as to the earles earledomes, to the barons baronies; but Gallowaie and Annandale, with certeine other counties, he assigned to none, reseruing the same (as was thought) vnto the foresaid two earles, least they should thinke themselues euill dealt with, if they had no part bestowed on them amongst the residue. The kings liberalitie towards his nobles.

The king after this went to Durham, and from thence thought to haue returned streight towards London, but hearing that the Scots meant to make some inuasion, he went to Tinmouth, and remained there till towards Christmasse. Now when the king had laine a certeine time at Tinmouth, he departed from thence, and drew southward, and comming to Cotingham, a little from Beuerlie, held his Christmasse there, and after drew towards London, where in the beginning of Lent, he held a parlement, at the which he was required to keepe promise for the confirmation of the two charters and articles concluded with the earles of Hereford and Marshall. The king was nothing contented that this matter should be so earnestlie called vpon, for loth he was to grant their full requests; and againe to denie them, he stood in doubt how it might be taken: he therefore prolonged time, & would make no answer either to or fro. But when the lords vrged him so sore to giue them answer, he got him out of the citie, not making them priuie of his departure, and when they followed him, and seemed not well contented that he should so dissemble with them, he excused himselfe by blaming the aire of the citie to be against his health, and therefore bare them in hand, that he onelie sought to refresh himselfe in some better aire in the countrie more agreeable to his nature: and as for answer to their requests, he willed them to repaire againe to the citie, and they should haue answer by his councell, so farre as should stand with reason to content them. They returned as he willed them, and had the charters confirmed according to their requests, sauing that this addition was put in the latter end of the same, Saluo iure coronæ nostræ. With which addition the lords were offended, and turned home to their houses in as great displeasure towards the king as before. An. Reg. 27. Cotingham. 1299. A parlement. *Abington.* The lords call vpon the king to performe promise. His answer. The addition put in the conclusion of the articles.

The councell doubting some seditious stir to arise hereof amongst the people, deliuered the charters (so sealed and signed as they were) vnto the shiriffes of London, that the same might be read openlie before the people, which was doone in Paules churchyard in presence of a great assemblie there, come togither and gathered for that purpose. The people (than whom the sea in ebbing and flowing is not more inconstant, nor in iudgment more rash, heddie, sudden, and vnaduised, as one saith verie well, and to purpose,

Iudicium vulgi insulsum, imbecilláque mens est,
Quandoquidem inuisa est vulgo sapientia, &c.)

at the first before they heard the addition, gaue manie blessings to the king for those grants: but when they heard with what words he concluded, they cursed as fast as before they had blessed. Before this parlement was dissolued, the lords had warning to returne againe shortlie after Easter, and then they had all things granted and performed as they could wish or desire. The perambulations of forrestes were appointed vnto three bishops, three earles, and three barons. The articles red in Paules churchyard. The perambulations of forrests.

About the latter end of Iune there came ouer a bishop sent from pope Boniface as his Nuncio, and diuerse other with him, to declare the order which the pope as arbitrator indifferentlie chosen betwixt the kings of England and France, for the deciding of all A bishop sent from the pope.

controuersies

controuersies depending betwixt them, had giuen foorth & decréed, which was in effect as followeth.

The popes decrée of peace betwixt the kings of England & France.

1 First that king Edward being then a widdower should marrie the French kings sister named Margaret, notwithstanding the degrées of consanguinitie, for the which the pope would dispense.

2 That the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne should at conuenient time take to wife the ladie Isabell the French kings daughter.

Nic. Triuet.

3 That the king of England should make satisfaction for the French ships which his men had taken at the beginning of the war, and that sundrie townes in Gascoine should be put into the popes hands, till it might be vnderstood vnto whome the right apperteined. But those two last articles tooke small effect, the French king refusing to deliuer any of those townes which he had gotten in possession. Moreouer, these messengers in the popes behalfe required the king that he would set Iohn Balioll, sometime king of Scotland at libertie, and restore those lands vnto his sonne Edward Balioll, which he ought to hold within the realme of England, promising and vndertaking in the popes behalfe to preserue and saue the realme harmelesse from all hurt and damage that might insue by the deliuerie of the said Iohn Balioll.

The popes request for the releasing to libertie of Iohn Balioll.

John Balioll deliuered out of prison at the popes suit.

Polydor. He departeth this life.

King Edward vnderstanding that there was great danger in setting him at libertie, was contented to deliuer him vnto the pope, but he refused to make restitution vnto Balioll of the lands which he demanded. The popes ambassadours receiuing Iohn Balioll at king Edwards hands, tooke him ouer with him into France, and there left him in the custodie of the bishop of Cambrie, the popes deputie in that behalfe, where shortlie after he died. After this, according to the couenants of agreement made betwixt the two kings of England and France, the captiues vpon either part were deliuered. In the feast of the natiuitie of our Ladie, the king married the ladie Margaret sister to the French king at Canturburie with great solemnitie. About the feast of S. Martine in winter the king held a parlement at Yorke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotland, to haue rescued the castell of Striueling, which the Scotishmen had besieged, and had it surrendred vnto them, yer the king could set forward to come to raise the siege. The same yeare died Henrie Newarke archbishop of Yorke, and Thomas Corbridge a doctour in diuinitie succeeded him.

N. Triuet. The king marieth the Frech kings sister.

A parlement at Yorke.

The deceasse of the archbishop of Yorke.

An. Reg. 28. 1300.

In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, in the Christmasse season king Edward set foorth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forren coins to be receiued and paid as sterling monie within his dominion, commanding by the same proclamation, that two péeces of them should go for one sterling, vntill the feast of Easter. There were diuerse monies in those daies currant within this realme, as pollards, crocards, staldings, eagles, leonines, sléepings, and all these were white monies, artificiallie made of siluer, copper, and sulphur, so that it was an ill time for base monies, & much chopping and changing was vsed in buieng and selling of things.

Abington. A proclamation for monie.

Forren monies forbidden to go as currant.

At Easter following the king vtterlie forbad that any of those monies should be currant at all, and held his exchange in sundrie places, and to be rid of them, men gaue fiue or six of them for one sterling, not caring for them, bicause of their basenesse, and yet within a yeare after that men had learned the skill by proofe how to trie mettall with melted lead in the fire, they found that two péeces of those base monies were in value worth one sterling, and many became rich by the exchange, which had bought good store of them, when they were so smallie esteemed; but the king caused inquirie to be made of them that vsed such exchange without his licence, and put them to their fines.

At a parlement holden at London in Lent this yeare, the king renewed the confirmation of the charters, and made certeine new statutes concerning fines and goale deliueries, verie profitable to the common-wealth. About the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, king Edward went with an armie into Scotland, and there granted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mounteine countries to indure for eleuen moneths, that is to saie, till Whit-

Abington. The king goeth with an armie into Scotland.

suntide

suntide next insuing. As the king was vpon his iournie forewards in the north parts, his late married wife queene Margaret was deliuered of hir first sonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkeshire not farre from Pontfret; he was named Thomas, and tooke the surname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne. Thomas of Brotherton borne the first of June.

Moreouer pope Boniface at the sute of the Scots wrote his letters vnto king Edward, commanding him by the same and by the archbishop of Canturburie, whome he appointed to deliuer the same letters by other letters to him directed, that he should not onelie release and set at libertie all such Scots as he had in prison, but also giue ouer his warres which he made against the realme of Scotland: and if he meant to make anie claime to the same, then to send his procurators vnto the court of Rome, and there to shew what euidence he could for his right thereto, where the mater (as he mainteined) was to be heard, decided, and iudged; and not elsewhere. The archbishop, according to the popes commandement, did the message, and presented the popes letters vnto the king, who deferred the answer vnto the assemblie of the estates in parlement, and hereof the archbishop aduertised the pope accordinglie, as in the letters to him directed he was commanded; which he durst not but satisfie, bicause he was persuaded the popes authoritie to haue beene so ample and peremptorie, that there was no resisting or gainesaieng of him, sith,

Vt medijs ludunt in aquis immania cœte,
Et patulo pisces quoslibet ore vorant:
Sic tenet imperium mortales inter, & omnes
Diripit, illicita subdit & arte duces,
Omnibus insultans, sic subijcit impius orbem,
Implicat atque suo regia colla iugo. *Antith. Christ. & Antichristi. pag. 24.*

This yeare also on saint Remigius daie, which is the first of October, died Edmund earle of Cornewall, the sonne of earle Richard, that was also king of Almaine; and bicause he left no issue behind him to inherit that earledome, the same returned to the crowne. In the 29 yeare of king Edwards reigne, on saint Oswalds day, or (as some haue written) the friday after the feast of Peter Ad Vincula, his wife queene Margaret was deliuered of hir second sonne that had to name Edmund of Woodstoke, surnamed so of the place where he was borne. *Euersden.* In An. Reg. 29. *Matth. Westm. Croxden.* 1301.

¶ The king also this yeare after Christmasse held a parlement at Lincolne, to the which the earls and barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is said) that they might procure of the king the more speedie execution of the charter of forrests, which by him had hitherto béene delaied, but now that he perceiued their earnestnesse and importunate suit, he condescended to their willes in all things.

Pope Boniface being sollicited by the instant suit of the Scotishmen, and offended also that the lands in England, which belonged vnto Edward Balioll sonne of Iohn Balioll, were not to the same Edward restored, he éftsoones wrote to king Edward; forbidding him from thence foorth any further to vex the Scots by wars, bicause that the kingdome of Scotland was surrendred alreadie into his hands by the generall consent of the Scotishmen themselues, and therefore was it in his power to bestow and take away the same to whom or from whom soeuer it should please him. Pope Boniface prohibiteth the king of England further to vex the Scots.

¶ There were reasons alledged why the king of England séemed to do wrong in challenging as then the kingdome of Scotland: and amongst other, one was, that such homage as had beene done of ancient time to the kings of England, by the kings of the Scots, was onelie meant for Tindale, Penreth, and such other lands as the Scotish kings held within England, and not for the realme of Scotland. And whereas the kings of Scotland had aided the kings of England in their warres against the rebels of the realme of England, and beene present at their coronation, the same was doone of speciall fauour, and not of dutie. K. Edward hauing receiued the popes prescript, and well considered the whole contents therof, sent in writing his answer at large, prouing by euident reasons that the right of proprietie in the kingdome of Scotland, did most iustlie apperteine vnto him, and that the *N. Triuet.*

allegations were not true, but forged, which had beene by surmised information presented against him.

Beside the kings letters, which he wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuised and written by all the lords temporall of the land, assembled in parlement at Lincolne, in which letter they answered in name of all the estates there gathered, vnto that point wherein the pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, protesting flatlie, that they would not consent that their king should doo any thing that might tend to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and plaine ouerthrow of the state of the same realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customs, and lawes of their fathers, sith it was neuer knowne, that the kings of this land had answered or ought to answer for their rights in the same realme, afore any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular.

The tenour of the foresaid letter indited and directed to pope Boniface.

TO our most holie father in Christ, Boniface by Gods prouidence high bishop of the holie Romane and vniuersall church, his deuout sonnes Iohn earle Warren, Thomas erle of Lancaster, Rafe de Monthermer earle of Glocester and Hereford, Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hertford and Essex and constable of England, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and mareschall of England, Guie earle of Warwike, Richard earle of Arundell, Adomare de Valence lord of Monterney, Henrie de Lancaster lord of Monmouth, Iohn de Hastings lord of Bergeuennie, Henrie de Percie lord of Topclife, Edmund de Mortimer lord of Wigmor, Robert Fitz Walter lord of Wodham, Iohn de S. Iohn lord of Hannake, Hugh de Veer lord of Swanestampe, William de Breuse lord of Gower, Robert de Monthault lord of Hawarden, Robert de Tateshall lord of Wokeham, Reignold de Grey lord of Ruthin, Henrie de Grey lord of Coduore, Hugh Bardolfe lord of Wormegaie, Robert de Clifford chatellaine of Appelbie, Peter de Malowe lord of Mulgreene, Philip lord of Kime, Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauerings, Iohn de Mohun lord of Dunester, Almerike de S. Amound lord of Widehaie, William de Ferrers lord of Grobie, Alane de Zouche lord of Ashbie, Theobald de Verdon lord of Webbeley, Thomas de Furniuall lord of Schefield, Thomas de Multon lord of Egremont, William Latimer lord of Torbie, Thomas lord Berkley, Foulke Fitz Warren lord of Mitingham, Iohn lord Segraue, Edmund de Eincourt lord of Thurgerton, Peter Corbet lord of Caus, William de Cantelowe lord of Rauensthorpe, Iohn de Beauchampe lord of Hacche, Roger de Mortimer lord of Penkethlin, Iohn Fitz Reignold lord of Blenleueny, Rafe de Neuill lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz Alane lord of Bedale, William Marshall lord of Hengham, Walter lord Huntercombe, William Martin lord of Cameis, Henrie de Thies lord of Chilton, Roger le Ware lord of Isefield, Iohn de Riuers lord of Augre, Iohn de Lancaster lord of Grisedale, Robert Fitz Paine lord of Lainnier, Henrie Tregoz lord of Garinges, Robert Hipard lord of Lomford, Walter lord Fancomberge, Roger le Strange lord of Ellesmer, Iohn le Strange lord of Cnokin, Thomas de Chances lord of Norton, Walter de Beauchampe lord of Alecester, Richard Talbot lord of Eccleswell, Iohn Butetourt lord of Mendesham, Iohn Engain lord of Colum, Hugh de Poinz lord of Corneualet, Adam L. of Wels. Simon L. Montacute, Iohn L. Sulle, Iohn de Melles or Moelles L. of Candeburie, Edmund baron Stafford, Iohn Louell lord of Hackings, Edmund de N. lord of Elchunhonokes, Rafe Fitz William L. of Grimthorpe, Robert de Scales lord of Neusels, William Tuchet lord of Lewenhales, Iohn Abadan lord of Deuerston, Iohn de Hauerings lord of Grafton, Robert la Ward lord of Whitehall, Nicholas de Segraue lord of Stow, Walter de Tey L. of Stongraue, Iohn de Lisle lord of Wodton, Eustace lord Hacche, Gilbert Peche L. of Corbie, William Painell lord Trachington, Rog. de Albo monasterio, Foulke le Strange lord of Corsham, Henrie de Pinkenie lord of Wedon, Iohn de Hodeleston lord of Aneis, Iohn de Huntingfield lord of

Hastings I take it.

Whiteminster I thinke.

of Bradenham, Hugh Fitz Henrie lord of Raueneswath, Iohn Daleton lord of Sporle, Nicholas de Carrie lord of Mulesford, Thomas lord de la Roche, Wal. de Muncie lord of Thornton, Iohn Fitz Marmaduke lord of Horden, Iohn lord of Kingston, Robert Hastings the father, lord of Chebessey, Rafe lord Grendon, William lord of Leiborne, Iohn de Greistocke lord of Morpath, Matthew Fitz Iohn lord of Stokenham, Nicholas de Neuell lord of Wherlton, and Iohn Painell lord of Ateli, with all humble submission.

Thus far out of M. Parkins of the inner temple.

The holie mother church, by whose ministerie the catholike see is gouerned, in hir deeds (as we throughlie beleeue and hold) proceedeth with that ripenesse in iudgement, that she will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans right be kept vnbroken, aswell in another, as in hir selfe. Whereas therfore in a generall parlement called at Lincolne of late, by our most dread lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England; the same our lord caused certeine letters receiued from you to be read openlie, and to be declared seriouslie afore vs, about certeine businesse touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland; we did not a little muse and maruell with our selues, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know most holie father, and it is well knowne aswell within this realme of England (as also not vnknowne to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England, the certeine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall causes from time to time belonged to the kings of the same relme of England and relme of Scotland, aswell in the times both of the Britains as also Englishmen, yea rather the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the ancestours of our foresaid lords kings of England, yea and to himselfe.

Out of maister Fox, pag. 427.

Furthermore, the kings of Scots and the realme haue not been vnder any other than the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid relme, or for anie his temporalities before anie iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of free preheminence of the state of his roiall dignitie and custome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agreement & consent with one mind, and shall be without faile in time to come by Gods grace, that our foresaid lord the king ought by no meanes to answer in iudgement in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence, speciallie seeing that the premises tend manifestlie to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customes and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping & defense of which we are bound by the duetie of the oth made, and we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength; and furthermore, will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to doo or by anie means attempt the premisses being so vnaccustomed, vnwont, and not hard of afore. Wherefore we reuerentlie and humblie beseech your holinesse, that yee would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to inioy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid; without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnesse whereof, we haue set our seales to these presents, as well for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foresaid relme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1301, Et anno Edwardi primi 29.

The pope when he heard and deliberatelie pondered the kings answer, with this letter directed to him from the English barons, waxed cold in the matter, and followed it no further. The truce betwixt the king and the Scots being once expired, the king assembled his armie, and went into Scotland, about the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, and tarieng there all the summer and winter following, his souldiers lost manie of their great horses for lacke of forrage, which could not be gotten in the cold winter season. He kept his Christmas

The K. goeth to Scotland.

An. Reg. 30. 1302. Christmas at Lithquo, and at length at the request and sute of his brother in law the French king, he granted eftsoones a truce to the Scotishmen, vntill the feast of All saints next insuing.

A truce granted to the Scots.

The king returneth into England.

Then hauing ordered his business for that time in Scotland, he returned into England, and about midlent called a parlement at London. Also this yeere pope Boniface vpon displeasure conceiued against the French king, sent vnto king Edward, exhorting him to make warres against the same French king, and to persuade him the more easilie therevnto, he promised him great aid: but the king of England hauing prooued the said pope, not the surest man in friendship towards him, forbare to attempt anie forceable exploit against the French king, trusting by some other meanes to recouer his right.

The pope exborteth the K. of England to make war against Frãce.

The deceasse of the earle of Hereford.

Re. Tur.

Tournies prohibited.

This yeere Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford departed out of this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Humfrey, who afterwards maried the kings daughter, Elizabeth countesse of Holland, after that hir first husband was dead. Tournies, iustes, barriers, and other warlike exercises, which yoong lords and gentlemen had appointed to exercise for their pastime in diuerse parts of the realme, were forbidden by the kings proclamations sent downe to be published by the shirifs in euerie countie abroad in the realme: the teste of the writ was from Westminster the sixteenth of Iulie. ¶ The citizens of Burdeaux could not bare the yoke of the French bondage, and therefore this yeere about Christmasse expelled them out of their citie. ¶ Shortlie after the French king doubting least the king of England, by the setting on of the pope, should make warres against him for wrongfull deteining of Gascoine, to purchase his fauor, restored to him all that which he held in Gascoine, and so then they of Burdeaux also submitted themselues to the king of England of their owne accord.

Townes restored to the K. in Gascoine.

Polydor

The lord Segraue set with an armie into Scotland.

Now after that the truce with the Scots was expired, which tooke end at the feast of All saints last past, the king sent the lord Iohn Segraue, a right valiant knight (but not so circumspect in his gouernment as was necessarie) with a great armie into Scotland, to haue the rule of the land as lord warden of the same: with him was ioined also Rafe Confreie, treasurer of the armie. These two capteins comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scotishmen alreadie were in armes, they entered into Scotland, and in order of battell passed foorth to Edenburgh, and hearing nothing of their enimies which kept them still in the mounteins, they deuided their armie into three seuerall battels, two of the which came behind the fore ward vnder the leading of the said Rafe Confreie, the third (that is to say) the fore ward, the lord Segraue led himselfe, in such order that there was the distance of foure miles betwixt their lodgings. This they did to be the more plentiouslie serued of vittels.

Abington.
Polydor.

But the Scots vnderstanding this order of their enimies, became the more hardie, and therevpon hauing knowledge where the lord Segraue was lodged with his companie, a good way off from the other two parts of the armie, they hasted forwards in the night season, and came neere vnto the place where the same lord Segraue was incamped, a little before daie, making themselues readie to assaile the Englishmen in their campe. But the lord Segraue hauing knowledge of their comming, though he was counselled by some of them that were about him, either to withdraw vnto the other battels, or else to send vnto them to come to his aid, he would follow neither of both the waies; but like a capteine more hardie than wise in this point, disposed his companies which he had there in order to fight, and incouraging them to plaie the men, immediatlie vpon the rising of the sunne, and that his enimies approched, he caused the trumpets to sound to the battell, and gaue therewith the onset.

The fight was sore and doubtfull for a while, till the Englishmen ouercome with the multitude of their enimies began to be slaine on ech side, so that few escaped by flight. To the number of twentie worthie knights were taken, with their capteine the said lord Segraue being sore wounded, but he was by chance rescued and deliuered out of the enimies hands, by certeine horssemen, which vnder the leading of the lord Robert Neuell a

The English men vanquished by the Scots.

Abington.

right

right valiant knight (vpon hearing the noise of them that fled) came on the spurs out of the next campe to the succour of their fellowes. Rafe Confreie after this mishap (as Polydor saithe) brought backe the residue of the armie into England, not thinking it necessarie to attempt any further enterprise at that time against the enimies, ouermatching him both in strength and number. This incounter chanced on the first sundaie in Lent. Rafe Cõfreie was slaine at this incounter, as *Abington* saith.

¶ I remember the Scotish chronicles conteine much more of this enterprise greatlie to their glorie, and more (haplie) than is true, as by conferring the place where they intreat of it, with this that I haue here exemplified out of our writers it may well appeare. The earle marshall hauing spent largelie whilest he stood in contention against the king, who was now earnestlie called vpon to repaie such summes of monie as he had borowed of his brother Iohn Bigod, who was verie rich by reason of such benifices and spirituall liuings as he had in his hands, the earle bicause he had no children, to whom he might leaue his lands, meant to haue left them vnto his said brother: but when he saw him so importunate in calling for the debts which he owght him; he tooke such displeasure therewith, that to obteine the kings fauour, and to disappoint his brother of the inheritance, he gaue vnto the king all his possessions, vpon condition that the king adding thereto other lands in value woorth a thousand markes by yeare, should restore them to him againe to inioy during his life, the remainder after his deceasse to come vnto the king, and further, the king should paie and discharge him of all his debts. *N. Triuet.* The earle Marshall resigneth his lands vnto the king.

King Edward being aduertised of the losse which his men had susteined in Scotland, streightwaies called a parlement, wherein by assent of the states a subsidie was granted, towards the maintenance of his warres, and then the same being leuied he assembled his people, and shortlie after about Whitsuntide entred into Scotland to reuenge the death of his men. The Scots hearing of the kings comming, fled into the mounteins, mosses, and marish grounds, not once shewing any countenance to fight any set battell with the English host, so that the king in maner without resistance passed through the countrie euen vnto Cathnes, which is the furthest part of all Scotland. Manie of the Scots perceiuing their lacke of power to resist the English puissance, came to king Edward, and submitted themselues, with condition that they should inioy their lands which he had giuen awaie to his lords, they redéeming the same with conuenient fines, which was granted. A subsidie. The king goeth in person into Scotland. Cathnes. The Scots submit themselues to the king.

But Will. Waleis with certeine other, kéeping themselues in places where no armie could come to pursue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditions of agreement: so that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewards could this Waleis be induced to follow or behold the English K. ruling the realme of Scotland. King Edward returning backe, came to the castell of Striueling (which the Scotishmen held against him) and besieged it. The king himselfe laie at Dunfersing the most part of the winter: and whilest he laie there, the queene which had lien a long time at Tinmouth came to him, and when the winter was once past, the king himselfe came to the siege, and caused certeine engins of wood to be raised vp against the castell, which shot off stones of two or three hundred weight: but yet would not they within once talke of any surrender. And where the Englishmen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trées, they set the same on fire, and burnt them to ashes: at length the ditches were filled with stones and earth, so that then the Scots within perceiuing themselues in euident perill to loose the castell, on saint Margarets daie they yéelded themselues simplie into the kings hands, as the English writers affirme, though the Scotish writers record the contrarie. *Abington.* William Waleis. *Polydor. Hect. Boetius. Ia. Meirr* An. Reg. 32. Striueling castell besieged. *Abington.* 1304. Enging to cast stones.

Finallie, when the king had ordered all his businesse in Scotland at his pleasure, he returned into England leauing in Scotland for warden the lord Iohn Segraue, or (as other writers haue) sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke. At his comming to Yorke he caused the iustices of his bench, and the barons of the excheker to remoue with their courts, and all their clearks and officers, togither with the lord chancellor and his court to London, that the termes might be kept there, as in times past they had béene, whereas now the same had remained at Yorke aboue the space of six yeares, vpon this consider- *Polydor. Tho. Wals.* The earle of Penbroke lord warden of Scotland. *N. Triuet. Polydor.*

ation, that the king and his councell might be néere vnto Scotland to prouide for the defense thereof, as occasion from time to time should require. From Yorke he came to Lincolne, and there remained all the winter, holding a councell, in the which he eftsoones confirmed the articles of Magna charta, touching the liberties, priuileges and immunities of his subiects, the which to declare their thankfull minds towards him for the same; granted to him for the space of one yéere the fifteenth part of all their reuenues. Others write that the king had in this yeare of citizens and of the burgesses of good townes, the sixt penie according to the valued rate of their goods.

A fiftéenth granted.

The deceasse of the archbishop of Yorke.

About the same time, Thomas Colebrugh or Corbridge archbishop of Yorke departed this life, and one William Greenefield doctour of both the lawes succéeded him. ¶ There died about the same time that valiant knight the lord W. Latimer. ¶ Also Iohn Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex died this yéere & was buried at Lewes. His nephue by his son (named also Iohn) succéeded him, obteining to wife the kings néece by his daughter Elianor that was married to the earle of Bar, as before ye haue heard. Likewise Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, the fift of that name died this yeare, who was father to that Robert Bruce that was after K. of Scots. ¶ Moreouer, about this season the king ordeined certeine commissioners of iusticiaries, to make inquisitions through the realme, by the verdict of substantiall iuries vpon all officers, as maiors, shiriffes, bailiffes, exchetors, and other that had misused themselues in their offices, either by extortion, briberie, or otherwise, to the gréeuance of the people, contrarie to that they rightlie might doo and iustifie by vertue of their offices: by meanes of which inquisitions manie were accused and found culpable, and therevpon put to gréeuous fines.

Wil. Gréenefield made archbishop of Yorke.

Robert Bruce earle of Carrike departeth this life.

N. Triuet. Inquisitions taken of the misdemeanors of iustices.

Caxton.

Iustices fined.

Matth. Westm.

Also the iustices, which were assigned to take these inquisitions, extended the same according to their commission against such as had made intrusions into other mens lands, and for doubt to be impleaded for the same had made alienations ouer into the hands of great men; also against such barretors as vsed to take monie to beat any man, and againe would not sticke to take monie of him whom they had so beaten, to beat him that first hired them to beat the other. The malice of such maner people was now restreined by force of these inquisitions: for such as were found culpable, were worthilie punished, some by death, and some by ransoms: diuerse also for feare to come to their answers fled the realme: also forfeits against the crowne were streightlie looked vnto, found out, and leuied; by reason whereof great summes of monie came to the kings coffers, which holpe well towards the maintenance and charges of his warres. This kind of inquisition was named commonlie Traile baston, which signifieth, Traile or draw the staffe. And forsomuch as the proceeding in this wise against such misdemenors as then were vsed, brought so great a benefit to the realme in restreining such malefactors, which greatlie (as should séeme) disquieted the state of the commonwealth, I haue thought good to set downe the substance of the same, as followeth.

Intrusions punished, and other offenses against the kings peace and iustice.

Forfeits.

Nic. Triuet. Traile baston.

An extract of the foresaid writ, as it is registred in the booke that belonged to the abbeie of Abington.

REX dilectis & fidelibus suis, Radulfo filio Wilhelmi, & Iohanni de Barton de Riton salutem. Quia quàm plures malefactores, & pacis nostræ perturbatores, homicidia, deprædationes, incendia, & alia damna quàm plurima nocte diéq; perpetrantes, vagantur in boscis, parcis, & alijs locis diuersis, tam infra libertates quàm extra, in comitatu Eboracensi, & ibidem rêceptantur in maximum periculum tam hominum per partes illas transeuntium, quàm ibidem commorantium, in nostri contemptum, ac pacis nostræ læsionem manifestam, vt accepimus: per quorum incursum poterunt peiora peioribus de facili euenire, nisi remedium super hoc citiùs apponatur, nos eorum malitiæ in hac parte obuiare, & huiusmodi damnis & periculis præcauere volentes, assignamus vos ad inquirendum

rendum per sacramentum tam militum quàm aliorum proborum & legalium hominum, de contemptu prædicto, tam infra libertates quàm extra, per quos ipsa veritas meliùs sciri poterit, qui sint illi malefactores & pacis nostræ perturbatores, & eos conduxerunt & conducunt ad verberandum, vulnerandum, malè tractandū, & interficiendum, plures de regno nostro in ferijs, mercarijs, & alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimicitia, inuidia, aut malitia. Et etiam pro eò quòd in assisis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquisitionibus factis de felonijs positi fuerant, & veritatem dixerunt: vnde per conditionem huiusmodi malefactorum, iuratores assisarum, iurationum, recognitionum, & inquisitionum illarum, pro timore dictorum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, sæpiùs veritatem dicere, seu dictos malefactores indictare minimè ausi fuerunt, & sunt. Et ad inquirendum de illis qui huiusmodi munera dederunt, & dant, & quantum, & quibus, & qui huiusmodi munera receperunt, & à quibus & qualiter, & quò modo, & qui huiusmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt, & manutenent in comitatu prædicto, & ad ipsos malefactores tam per vos, quàm per vicecomitem nostrum comitatus prædicti arrestandos, & prisonæ nostræ liberandos, & saluò & securè in eadem per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti custodiendos, ita quòd ab eadem prisona nullo modo deliberentur, sine mandato nostro speciali.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquisitiones illas faciatis. Et assumpto vobiscum sufficienti passe comitatus prædicti, si necesse fuerit, dictos malefactores coram vobis sic indictatos, arrestetis, & ipsos prisonæ nostræ liberetis, in forma prædicta: & etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipsorum malefactorū qui se subtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, postquam de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis solenniter indictati fuerint, per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti, in manum nostram capiatis, & ea ad opus nostrum saluò custodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vobis præceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti nostro comitatus prædicti, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos vos prouidere duxeritis, venire faciat, coram vobis tot & tales, tam milites quàm alios, quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, per quos ipsa veritas meliùs sciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quòd omnes illos quos per inquisitionem culpabiles inuenire contigerit, & quos vos sic liberaueritis, à nobis recipiantur & quorum nomina eis scire faciatis, assumpto secum sufficienti posse comitatus prædicti, sine dilatione arrestari, & in prisona nostra saluò & securè custodire faciat in forma prædicta, & communitati dicti comitatus, quod simul cum vicecomite prædicto, vobis quotienscúnq; opus fuerit in præmissis pareat, assistat, & intendat, prout eis iniungetis ex parte nostra. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. ¶ Heerevnto were annexed certeine articles by way of instructions, of what points they should inquire, as partlie aboue is noted out of the addition to Matthew West. but not so fullie, as in the said chronicle of Abington is found expressed, and heere for breefenesse omitted.

In the three and thirtith yeare of his reigne, king Edward put his sonne prince Edward in prison, bicause that he had riotouslie broken the parke of Walter Langton bishop of Chester; and bicause the prince had doone this déed by the procurement of a lewd and wanton person, one Péers Gauaston an esquire of Gascoine, the king banished him the realme, least the prince, who delighted much in his companie, might by his euill and wanton counsell fall to euill and naughtie rule. Moreouer, the same yeare, William Waleis was taken, and deliuered vnto king Edward, who caused him to be brought to London, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, he was conueied through the streets vnto Westminster, and there arreigned of hie treason, and condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawne and quartered, his head was set ouer London bridge, his right side ouer the bridge at Newcastell vpon Tine, his left side was sent to Berwike and there set vp, his right leg was sent to S. Iohns towne, and his left vnto Aberden, in which places the same were set vp for an example of terror to others.

An. Reg. 33. 1305.

Prince Edward cõmited to ward. *Carton.* *Fabian.*

William Waleis taken & put to death. *Rich. South.*

Also, about the same time, the king of France required the king of England by messengers and letters sent vnto him, that he would banish all the Flemings out of his realme,

N. Triuet.

in

Flemings banished the land, at contemplation of the king of France. *Abington.*

in like manner as at his instance he had latelie before banished all the Scotishmen out of France. The king of England was contented so to doo, and by that means were all the Flemings auoided out of this land at that season, but shortlie after, they returned againe.

The archbishop of Canturburie accused by the K. *Nic. Triuet.*

King Edward accused Robert archbishop of Canturburie vnto the pope, for that he should go about to trouble the quiet state of the realme, and to defend and succour rebellious persons, wherevpon the said archbishop being cited to the popes consistorie, was suspended

He is suspended.

from executing his office, till he should purge himselfe by order of law, of such crimes as were laid and obiected against him. The king also obteined an absolution of the pope, of the oth which against his will he had taken, for the obseruing of the liberties exacted by force of him, by the earls and barons of his realme, namelie, touching disforrestings to be made.

An. Reg. 34. 1306.

This yeare, Robert Bruce, contriuing waies how to make himselfe king of Scotland, the nine & twentith day of Ianuarie, slue the lord Iohn Comin at Dunfrice, whilest the kings iustices were sitting in iudgement within the castell there, and vpon the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland at Scone,

Iohn lord Comin slaine by Robert Bruce.

The countesse of Boughan set the crowne on Robert Bruce his head.

where the countesse of Boughan, that was secretlie departed from hir husband the earle of Boughan, and had taken with hir all his great horsses, was readie to set the crowne vpon R. Bruces head, in absence of hir brother the earle of Fife, to whom (being in England) soiourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leicestershire, that office of right appertained.

She is taken.

This countesse being afterwards taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, where other would haue had hir put to death, the king would not grant thervnto, but commanded

Hir punishment.

that she should be put in a cage made of wood, which was set vpon the walles of the castell of Berwike, that all such as passed by might behold hir; too slender a punishment for so great an offense. But the king counted it no honour to be seuere against that sex whom nature tendereth, though malefactors, and therfore was content with a mild correction tending rather to some shame than smart, to recompense hir offense, whereby she procured against hir selfe no lesse reproch than she susteined, agréeable to the old saieng,

Sæpe suum proprium fecit puer ipse flagellum.

There were present at his coronation foure bishops, fiue earles, and a great multitude

An armie sent into Scotland.

of people of the land. Immediatlie vpon the newes brought to the king of Bruces coronation, he sent foorth a power of men, vnder the conduct of the earle of Penbroke, and of the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Robert Clifford, and others, to resist the attempts of the Scots, now readie to worke some mischéefe, through the incouragement of the new

Prince Edward made knight. Three hundred saith *Matth. West.*

king. Edward prince of Wales was made knight this yeare at London vpon Witsundaie, & a great number of other yoong bachelers with him (297 as Abington writeth) the which were sent streightwaies with the said prince towards Scotland, to ioine with the

Prince Edward sent into Scotland.

earle of Penbroke, to resist the attempts of the new king Robert le Bruce and his complices. King Edward himselfe followed. The generall assemblie of the armie was appointed at Carleill, fiftéene daies after the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, from thence to march foorth vnder the guiding of the prince into Scotland.

Robert Bruce.

In the meane time, Robert le Bruce went abroad in the countries of Scotland, receiued the homages of manie Scotishmen, and got togither an armie of men, with the which he

Abington.

approched néere to saint Iohns towne, into the which the earle of Penbroke was a little before entred to defend it, with three hundred men of armes, beside footmen. Then R. Bruce sent to the earle to come out and giue battell, the earle sent vnto him word

It was the next sundaie after midsummer daie.

again, that he would not fight that daie being sundaie, but vpon the next morow he would satisfie his request. Robert Bruce herevpon withdrew a mile backe from the towne, determining to rest himselfe and his people that night. About euening tide came

Rob. Bruce put to flight by the earle of Penbroke.

the earle foorth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and assailing his enimies vpon a sudden, slue diuerse, yer they could get their armour on their backs. Robert Bruce and others that had some space to arme themselues made some resistance for a

while,

while, but at length the Englishmen put them to the worsse, so that they were constreined to flee.

The earle following the chase, pursued them euen into Kentire, not resting till he vnderstood that a great number of them were gotten into a castell, which he besieged, in hope to haue found Robert Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the countrie. Howbeit, his wife and his brother Nigell or Neall, with diuerse other were taken in this castell, and sent in safetie vnto Berwike. Also shortlie after, the earle of Atholl was taken, being fled out of the same castell. ¶ But some write, that this earle was taken in the battell last remembred, after long fight and great slaughter of Scots, to the number of seuen thousand, and also that in the chase, the lord Simon de Friseill was taken, with the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasco, the abbat of Scone, and the said earle of Atholl, named sir Iohn Chambres. The bishops and abbat, king Edward sent vnto pope Innocent, with report of their periurie: but others write, that the foresaid bishops and abbat being taken indéed the same yeare, were brought into England, and there kept as prisoners within sundrie castels.

Rob. Bruce fled into Kentire.

His wife and brother are taken.

The earle of Atholl taken. *Fabian.*

Nic. Triuet. Matth. West.

The wife of Robert le Bruce being daughter to the earle of Vlster, was sent vnto the manour of Brustwike, and there honorablie vsed, hauing a conuenient number of seruants appointed to wait on hir. The earle of Vlster hir father, in the beginning of these last wars, sent vnto king Edward two of his owne sonnes to remaine with him, in such wise as he should thinke conuenient, to assure himselfe of him, that he would attempt nothing against the English subiects. Also it was said, that the ladie hirselfe, the same daie hir husband and she should be crowned, said, that she feared they should proue but as a summer king and quéene, such as in countrie townes the yoong folks choose for sport to danse about maipoles. For these causes was she the more courteouslie vsed at the kings hands, as reason no lesse required.

Bruces wife whose daughter she was.

The saieng of Robert Bruces wife.

It should appeare by Robert Fabian, that the king was present himselfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall and not his father, and that the battell was fought at Dunchell vpon the riuer of Tay. But neither the Scotish chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet (whom in the historie of this king Edward the first, we haue most followed) make any mention, that either the king or prince should be at the foresaid battell, but that the earle of Penbroke with Robert lord Clifford, and Henrie lord Percie were sent before (as ye haue alreadie heard) with an armie, by whome as appeareth this victorie was obteined, at a place called Methfen. After this was the castell of Lochdore taken, and within it Christopher Seiton, that had married the sister of Robert le Bruce; and bicause he was no Scot but an Englishman borne, the king commanded that he should be led vnto Dunfrise, where he had killed one of the kings knights, and there to be hanged, drawen and quartered.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuet.

Matth. West. Methfen.

The castell of Lochdore taken, and Christopher Seiton within it. *Nic. Triuet.*

He is executed.

The wife of this Christopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in the monasterie of Thixell in Lindsey; and the daughter of Robert le Bruce, which was also taken about the same time, was sent to the monasterie of Waiton. Moreouer, the manour of Seiton in Whitebestroud he gaue vnto the lord Edmund de Mauley, and those other lands that belonged vnto the said Christopher Seiton in Northumberland he gaue vnto the lord William Latimer. The lands that belonged to the new Scotish king he bestowed in this wise; to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, which had married one of king Edwards daughters, he gaue the lordships of Annandale; Hert & Hertnes he gaue vnto the lord Robert Clifford, sauing alwaies the right yet that belonged to the church of Durham, Totenham, and Totenhamshire; and the maner of Wrothell in the south parts he gaue to other noble men; and the earledome of Carrike which R. Bruce had holden, as by inheritance from his mother, the king gaue to the lord Henrie Percie, the earledome of Atholl he gaue to Rafe de Monthermer earle of Glocester, who had also married (as before yee haue heard) an other of the kings daughters, after the decesse of hir first husband Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

His lands giuen awaie by the king.

The lands of Rob. Bruce giuen awaie.

The earle of Hereford.

Lord Clifford.

The lord Henrie Percie.

Rafe de Monthermer.

About

About the feast of saint Michaell, the new Scotish king Robert le Bruce returned foorth of the Iles (into the which he had fled) with manie Irishmen and Scots in his companie, and remained a certeine time in Kentire, he sent certeine of his officers, to leuie and gather vp the rents of the fermes due at the feast of saint Martine for such lands and possessions as they held in that countrie, wherof the lord Percie being aduertised, hasted thither; but the new king comming vpon him, slue certeine of his men, tooke his horsses and plate, with other things, and droue him into a castell, within the which he besieged him, till at length by a power sent from king Edward, Bruce was constreined to depart.

The L. Percie put to flight by the Scotish king Bruce.

The king in this meane time was come to Lauercost neere to Carleill, and there remained a long time. From thence he sent his iustices vnto Berwike, where they sate in iudgement vpon Nigell Bruce, and the other prisoners taken with him, which were condemned to die, and so they were hanged, drawen and quartered. The earle of Atholl was conueied to London, and although he sued for pardon in respect of that he was of kin to the king, yet was he hanged vpon a gibbet higher than all the residue, his bodie burned vnder the same gibbet, and his head first cut off, was set vpon a pole ouer London bridge for example sake that traitors should looke for no pardon.

Nigell or Neall Bruce condemned and executed.

The earle of Atholl executed.

The elect archbishop of Yorke William Greenefield was confirmed this yeare by pope Clement the fift, at the citie of Lions in France, where the same pope was crowned about the same time, and held his court there, liuing cheeflie by the monie which he got of bishops that came to him for their confirmations: he had of the said archbishop of Yorke within one yeare, nine thousand and 500 markes, besides the expenses which he was at whilest he laie there, and so when this archbishop was returned into England, through pouertie he was driuen to gather monie of the persons, preests, and religious men within his prouince at two sundrie times in one yeare, as first, in name of a courtesie and gratious beneuolence, and the second time by waie of an aid.

The summes of monie which the pope had of the archbish. of Yorke.

Moreouer, pope Clement ordeined Anthonie bishop of Durham, patriarch of Ierusalem, dispensing with him, so as he held still the bishoprike of Durham, notwithstanding his other promotion; and this was, bicause the bishop was rich, and the pope poore. For this bishop might dispend in yearelie reuenues by purchases & inheritances, besides that belonged to his miter, aboue fiue thousand marks, and he gaue great rewards to the pope, and to his cardinals, by means whereof he obteined in suit against the prior of Durham, so that he had the charge and ouersight of the monasterie of Durham, both the spirituall gouernement and temporall, through informing the pope, that the prior was not able in discretion to rule the house. At his returning home, he caused a crosse of siluer and gilt, adorned with an image of the crucifix, to be borne afore him.

The great reuenues of Anthonie B. of Durham.

But where he appointed certeine persons as his deputies to enter into the priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof in place of the prior, the moonks shut the gates against them, appealing to the pope, and pretending the kings protection, which they had purchased. But those that thus came in the bishops name, accursed the moonks, & so departed. The king heerewith was highlie offended, so that he caused them to answer the matter afore the iustices of his bench, and for their presumption in pronouncing the cursse, without making the king priuie to their dooings, they were put to their fines. And whereas the bishop was summoned to appeare before the king in person at a certeine daie, he made default, and departing out of the realme, got backe againe to the pope, contrarie to the kings prohibition: wherevpon the liberties of the see of Durham were seized into the kings hands, and the king placed his iustices and chancellor there, and in the yeare next insuing, he exacted of the tenants of the archbishoprike, the thirteenth penie of their goods, and otherwise vexed them with sundrie talages.

He is kept out of the abbeie at Durham.

He is summoned to appeere before the K. and refuseth.

The conclusion of the strife betwixt the bishop and moonks of Durham.

The conclusion of this matter was this, that the prior was cited by the pope, to appeare at his consistorie, whither he went, hauing the kings letters in his fauour directed to the pope; wherevpon, when the pope had examined the matter, and heard the prior speake in his owne person, he perceiued him to be otherwise than he was informed (a sober and

discréet man) and therefore restored him againe to the gouernment of his house; but he remained in the popes court, till after the kings death, and finallie died there himselfe in the yeare 1307. But now to returne to other dooings of king Edward. We find, that whilest he lay still at Lauercost, he gaue to the earle of Warwike Bernards castell, the which he had by escheat, through forfeiture thereof made by Iohn Balioll late king of Scotland. He also tooke and seized into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

Bernards castell giuen to the earle of Warwike.

In the octaues of S. Hilarie, the king held a parlement at Carleill, in the which, by the peeres of the realme, great complaint was made of the oppressions doone to churches, abbeies, and monasteries, by reason of paiments latelie raised and taxed by one maister William or Guilelmo Testa the popes chapleine. Commandement therefore was giuen to the same chapleine, that from thencefoorth he should not leauie anie such paiments; and for further remedie, messengers were made foorth vnto the pope, to declare vnto him the inconuenience thereof. This Testa was sent from pope Clement into England with bulles, in the contents whereof it appeared, that the pope had reserued to himselfe the first fruits of one yeares reuenues of euerie benefice that fell void by anie manner of meanes within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and likewise of all abbeies, priories, and monasteries; so that it may well be said of him & his retinue, according to the processe of all their actions, as it was said of old,

An. Reg. 35. 1307.

A parlement at Carleill.

William Testa the popes chapleine inhibited to leuie monie.

Abington.

Curia Romana non quærit ouem sine lana.

But the king and lords of the land thought it against reason, that the pope should take and receiue the profits of those abbeies and monasteries, which had beene founded by their predecessors for the seruice of God, and the maintenance of almesdeeds, and good hospitalitie to be kept: and so the pope changed his purpose, touching abbeies, but granting to the K. the tenth of the English churches for two yéers, he obteined the first fruits of the same churches for himselfe, as before he required. In the same parlement were statutes made concerning religious men, which had their head and chéefest houses in forren regions.

A statute against the religious persons.

N. Triuet.

There came also at the same time, a cardinall from the pope, named Petrus Hispanus, to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt the prince of Wales, and the French kings daughter; for the same was delaied, by reason that all couenants were not kept on the French kings behalfe, touching the deliuerie of the townes in Gascoine. For whereas in times past, the French king had giuen one of those townes that were taken from the Englishmen, named Mauleon, vnto a French knight; he kept the same still, and would not deliuer it now at the French kings commandement, where-through (as was said) the marriage had béene hitherto deferred. The same cardinall by vertue of his bull, would haue had of euerie cathedrall church, colledge, abbeie, and priorie, twelue marks of sterling monie; and of euerie person of parish churches eight pence of euerie marke of his reuenues. But the English cleargie appealed from this exaction, so that by the king and his councell it was ordeined, that he should haue no more than in times past cardinall Othobon did receiue, that is to saie, the halfe of his demand. Moreouer, this cardinall being at Carleill, and hauing made a sermon in praise of peace, vpon the conclusion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the French kings daughter, in the end he reuested himselfe and the other bishops which were present, and then with candels light, and causing the bels to be roong, they accursed in terrible wise Robert Bruce the vsurper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his partakers, aiders and mainteiners.

Petrus Hispanus a cardinall sent frō the pope.

The cause of his comming.

Matth. West.

His demand of monie of religious houses.

The cardinall preacheth.

He accurseth Rob. Bruce.

Nic. Triuet.

Neuerthelesse, Robert Bruce in this meane while slept not his businesse, but ranging abroad in the countrie, slue manie that would not obeie him, and sent foorth his two brethren, Thomas that was a knight, and Alexander that was a préest, with part of his armie into an other quarter of the countrie, to allure the people vnto his obedience, partlie with gentlenesse, and partlie with menaces. But the Englishmen came vpon them in the night and tookè them both, so that being brought before the iustices they were condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawen and quartered. ¶ Some write, that Duncan Magdoill, a man

Thomas Bruce and Alexander Bruce taken.

Matth. West.

a man of great power in Galloway, tooke these two brethren prisoners, togither with Reginald Crawford, (being the principall) on the ninth daie of Februarie, as they with certeine other capteins and men of war came by sea, and landed in his countrie, vpon whome being seuen hundred men, he with three hundred or few aboue that number boldlie gaue the onset, and not onelie tooke the said three persons prisoners, sore wounded as they were, with diuerse other, but also slue Malcolme Makaile a lord of Kentire, and two Irish lords, whose heads, and the foresaid prisoners, he presented vnto king Edward, who caused Thomas Bruce to be hanged, drawen and quartered, but the other two were onelie hanged and quartered at Carleill, where their heads were set vp aloft on the castell and gates of the citie.

Tho. Bruce executed. Alexander Bruce & Reginald Crawford executed.

After Easter their brother Robert Bruce, calling himselfe king of Scotland, and hauing now augmented his armie with manie souldiers of the out Iles, fought with the earle of Penbroke and put him to flight, and slue some of his men though not manie. Within a few daies after, he chased also the earle of Glocester, into the castell of Aire, and besieged him within the same, till an armie was sent from king Edward to the rescue: for then the said Robert was constreined to flée; and the Englishmen followed, till he got into the woods and marishes, where they might come néere him without manifest danger, to cast themselues awaie. ¶ The king of England, minding to make a full conquest of the Scots, and not to leaue off vntill he had wholie subdued them, sent his commissions into England, commanding all those that owght him seruice, to be redie at Careleill within three wéekes after Midsummer. He sent his sonne Edward into England, that vpon knowledge had what the French king did touching the agreement, he might accordinglie procéed in the marriage to be made with his daughter.

The earle of Penbroke put to flight. Bruce besiegeth the earle of Glocester. He is chased frō that siege.

After the prince was departed from the campe, his father king Edward was taken with sore sicknesse, yet he remooued from Carleill, where the same sickness first tooke him, vnto Burrough vpon Sand, and there the daie after being the seuenth daie of Iulie, he ended his life, after he had reigned 34 yeares, six moneths and one and twentie daies. He liued 68 yeares and twentie daies. His bodie was conueied to London, and in the church of Westminster lieth buried. He had issue by his first wife queene Elianor, foure sons, Iohn, Henrie, Alfonse, & Edward which succeeded him, the other died long before their father. Also fiue daughters; Elianor, Ione, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were bestowed in marriage as before in this booke is expressed: the fift named Marie became a nunne. By his second wife quéene Margaret, he had two sonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Edmund of Woodstoke, with one daughter named Margaret after hir mother.

The death of K. Edward the first. He is buried at Westminster. His issue.

He was tall of stature, somewhat blacke of colour, strong of bodie, and leane, auoiding grosenesse, with continuall exercise, of comelie fauour, and iettie eies, the which when he waxed angrie, would suddenlie become reddish, and seeme as though they sparkled with fire. The haire of his head was blacke and curled, he continued for the most part in good health of bodie, and was of a stout stomach, which neuer failed him in time of aduersitie. Moreouer, he had an excellent good wit, for to whatsoeuer he applied his studie, he easilie atteined to the vnderstanding thereof: wise he was and vertuous, an earnest enimie of the high and presumptuous insolencie of préests, the which he iudged to procéed chéeflie of too much wealth and riches: and therefore, he deuised to establish the statute of Mortmaine, to be a bridle to their inordinate lusts and riotous excesse. He built the abbeie of the vale roiall in Cheshire, he was a constant frèend, but if he once tooke displeasure or hatred against any person, he would not easilie receiue him into fauour againe: whilest he had any vacant time from weightie affaires, he spent lightlie the same in hunting.

His stature and forme of bodie. His qualitie of mind. He misliked the pride of prelats.

Towards the maintenance of his warres and other charges, besides the subsidies which he leuied of his people, and other reuenues comming to his coffers, he had great helpe, by reason of the siluer mines which in his daies were found in Deuonshire, and occupied greatlie to his profit, as in the records remaining in the excheker, concerning the accompts

Siluer mines.

and allowances about the same it dooth and may appeare. For in the accompts of master William de Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixt the twelfth daie of August, and the last of October, in the 22 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, there was tried and fined out at Martinestowe in Deuonshire by times, so much of fined siluer, as amounted to the summe of 370 pounds weight, which being brought to London, was there refined by certeine finers, that plate might be forged thereof, for the ladie Elianor duches of Bar, and daughter to the said king, married in the yeare then last past to the duke of Bar, as before ye haue heard.

The same Wimondham also receiued 82 pounds, for 26 founders of lead, out of the which the siluer was tried, as appeareth by his accompts.

In the 23 yeare of his reigne, there was fined at the place aforsaid 521 pounds & ten shillings weight of siluer by times, which was also brought to London. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, there were taken vp 337 miners, within the wapentake of the Peake in Darbishire, and brought into Deuonshire, to worke there in those siluer mines, as appeareth by the allowance demanded by the said master William de Wimondham in his roll of accounts, deliuered that yeare into the excheker: and there was brought from thence to London the same yeare of siluer fined and cast in wedges 700 foure pounds, three shillings, one penie weight. In the 25 yeare of his reigne, there were three hundred and fourtie eight miners brought againe out of the Peake into Deuonshire, and out of Wales there were brought also 25 miners, which all were occupied about those siluer mines, beside others of the selfe countrie of Deuonshire, and other places. Also Wil. de Aulton clearke, kéeper of the kings mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, was accomptant of the issues and profits of the kings mines there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26 of his reigne, till the eightéenth of Aprill, Anno 27, and yéelded vp his account, both of the siluer and lead.

Betwixt the 10 day of Julie, and the 20 day of October the same yeare.

But now to conclude with this noble prince king Edward the first, he was sure not onelie valiant but also politike, labouring to bring this diuided Ile, into one entier monarchie, which he went verie neere to haue atchiued, for whereas he was fullie bent to make a conquest of Scotland, in like case as he had alreadie doone of Wales, if he had liued any longer time to haue dispatched Robert le Bruce, that onelie stood in his waie, it was verie likelie that he should haue found none other to haue raised banner against him about the quarrell or title to the claime of that realme. For as he was a right warlike prince of him selfe, so was he furnished with capteins and souldiers answerable to his desire, who being able to lead and command them of himselfe, had them at length obedient inough to serue him, although (as partlie yée haue heard) some of the peeres shewed themselues at times disobedient and stubborne, whom yet in the end he tamed well inough, as the earles of Hereford and Northfolke, the which in the thirtith yeare of his reigne resigned their castels and manours into his hands, as by the records of the tower it further may appeare.

Now to follow, as in other kings I haue doone heretofore for learned men, these I find to haue flourished in this kings daies, Henrie de Henna a Carmelite frier, Goodwine the chantor of the church of Salisburie, Adam de Marisco or Mareis borne in Summersetshire, an excellent diuine as he was reputed in those daies, Gregorie Huntington a monke of Ramesey verie expert in the toongs; Seuall archbishop of Yorke a man singularlie learned and stout in defending the cause of his cleargie against the pope, Haimo de Feuersham, Peter Swanington, Helias Trickingham, Helias de Euesham, Radulfe Bocking born in Sussex, Alphred surnamed Anglicus, Iames Cisterciensis, William of Ware, Robert Oxenford, Thomas Docking, Iohn surnamed Grammaticus, Robert Dodeford: but the more part of these are rather to be ascribed vnto the time of Henrie the third, the father of this king Edward, where these that follow are thought to flourish in the time of king Edwards reigne, after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, Thomas Spot a chronographer, Peter de Ickeham a Kentishman borne as Bale thinketh, Iohn Beckton a doctor of both the lawes, William Hanaberge a Carmelite frier, prouinciall gouernour of his order heere in England; Robert Kilwarbie bishop of Canturburie, and after made a

cardinall and bishop of Portua; Gilbert surnamed Magnus, a moonke of the Cisteaux order; Helias Ros, Walter Recluse, Hugh le Euesham, Iohn Eursded a writer of annales, whome I haue partlie followed in this kings life; William Pagham, Henrie Esseborne, Iohn de Haida, Roger Bacon a Franciscane frier, an excellent philosopher, and likewise a mathematician, Iohn Derlingon a dominike frier, Iohn Chelmeston, Thomas Borstale a Northfolke man borne, Gregorie Cairugent a moonke of Glocester a writer of annales, Gregorie de Bridlington, Thomas Bungey a frier minor borne in Northfolke, an excellent mathematician, prouinciall ruler of his order heere in England, he flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, although there were another of the same name that liued in the time of king Edward the third, Hugh de Manchester a Dominike frier, & prouinciall gouernour of his order heere in England, Richard Knapwell a Dominike frier, Iohn Peckham borne in the dioces of Chichester, a Franciscane frier, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it appeareth, he was aduanced by pope Honorius the third, to the archbishops sée of Canturburie; Thomas de Iley a Suffolke man borne, and a white or Carmelite frier in the house of Gippeswich, Michaell surnamed Scot, was borne in the bishoprike of Durham (as Leland saith) an excellent physician, and likewise verie expert in the mathematicals, Hugh de Newcastell a frier minor, professed in the same towne, Thomas Sutton a blacke frier, that is of the order of S. Dominike, Iohn Read an historiographer, William de la Mare a frier minor, Thomas Wicke a chanon of Osney in Oxenford, Simon de Gaunt, William Hothun, prouinciall of the friers Dominiks in England, Iohn de Hide a moonke of Winchester, Robert Crouch, a cordelier, or a Franciscane frier, Richard Midleton a frier minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke frier, William Lidlinton a doctor of diuinitie, and a Carmelite frier in Stamford, Iohn Fiberie or Beuer, a moonke of Westminster, William Makelesfield borne in Cheshire, in a market towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke frier by profession, and an excellent philosopher.

Thus farre Edward the first, surnamed Longshanks.

EDWARD THE SECOND,

the sonne of Edward the first.

1307. EDWARD, the second of that name, the sonne of Edward the first, borne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the seauenth day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1307, of the world, 5273, of the comming of the Saxons 847, after the conquest 241, about the tenth yeare of Albert emperour of Rome, and the two and twentith of the fourth Philip, surnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yeare after that Robert le Bruce had taken vpon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers corpse was conueied from Burgh vpon Sands, vnto the abbie of Walthem, there to remaine, till things were readie for the buriall, which was appointed at Westminster.

Continuation of *Matt. West.*

Within three daies after, when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield (thorough whose complaint Péers de Gaueston had beene banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparation for the same buriall, he was vpon commandement from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after deliuered to the hands of the said Péers, being then returned againe into the realme, who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tenements were seized

The bishop of Couentrie committed to prison.

to the kings vse, but his mooueables were giuen to the foresaid Peers. Walter Reignold that had beene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treasurer, and after when the sée of Worcester was void, at the kings instance he was by the pope to that bishoprike preferred. Also Rafe bishop of London was deposed from the office of lord Chancellour, and Iohn Langton bishop of Chichester was thereto restored. Likewise, the barons of the excheker were remooued, and other put in their places. And Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke was discharged of the wardenship of Scotland, and Iohn de Britaine placed in that office, whom he also made earle of Richmond.

Officers remooued.

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered maners brought himselfe and manie others vnto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightnesse, yet being restreined with the prudent aduertisements of certeine of his councellors, to the end that he might shew some likelihood of good proofe, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue and modestie; but yet he could not throughlie be so bridled, but that foorthwith he began to plaie diuers wanton and light parts, at the first indeed not outragiouslie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For hauing reuoked againe into England his old mate the said Peers de Gaueston, he receiued him into most high fauour, creating him earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, through whose companie and societie he was suddenlie so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then vsing the said Peers as a procurer of his disordred dooings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small héed vnto the good gouernement of the commonwealth, so that within a while, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Peers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieng, blanketing, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreouer, desirous to aduance those that were like to him selfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwise, both to the giuer and the receiuer, sith

Polydor.

Péers de Gaueston.

The yeare next insuing, the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

Sufficiens honor est homini, cùm dignus honore est,
Qui datur indigno non est honor, est onus, imò
Ludibrium, veluti in scena cùm ludius est rex,
Quippe honor est soli virtuti debita merces.

About the thirteenth day of October, a parlement was holden at Northampton, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointment, that the coine of his father king Edward should be still currant, notwithstanding the basenesse thereof, as some reputed it, and therefore it was mooued in the parlement to haue it disanulled. ¶ Also, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers corpse, which was solemnelie conueied from Waltham, and brought to Westminster the seauen and twentith day of October following, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreouer, at the same parlement, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornewall Peers de Gaueston, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, which he had by his wife the countesse Ioane de Acres the kings sister, which marriage was solemnized on All hallowes day next insuing.

A parlement at Northampton.

Péers de Gaueston maried.

About the two and twentith of Ianuarie, the king sailed ouer into France, and at Bullongne in Picardie on the foure and twentith day of Ianuarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Gascoine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, maried Isabell the French kings daughter, and on the seauenth of Februarie he returned with hir into England, and comming to London, was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and on the fiue and twentith daie of Februarie, being Shrouesundaie in the leape yeare, they were

The K. passeth ouer into France. 1308.

He was married the 28 of Februarie, as *Tho. de la More* writeth.

The king and quéene crowned. *Thom. Walsin.* Sir Iohn Blackwell smothered and thrust to death. Continuation of *N. Triuet.*

were solemnlie crowned by the bishop of Winchester, bicause that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was not as then within the realme. There was such prease and throng of people at this coronation, that a knight called sir Iohn Bakewell aliàs Blackwell, was thrust or crowded to death. ¶ On the day of the circumcision this yeare, a great tempest of thunder and lightning began about euensong time, that continued the most part of the night following.

On wednesdaie after the Epiphanie, the knights templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commandement, vpon suspicion of hainous crimes & great enormities by them practised, contrarie to the articles of the christian faith. The order of their apprehension was on this wise. The king directed his writs vnto all and euerie the shiriffes of counties within the realme, that they should giue summons to a certeine number of substantiall persons, knights or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certeine places within their gouernements, nãmed in the same writs, on the sunday the morrow after the Epiphanie then next insuing, and that the said shiriffes faile not to be there the same day in their owne persons, to execute that which in other writs to them directed, and after to be sent, should be conteined. The date of this writ was the fifteenth of December.

The order taken for the apprehension of the tẽplers.

The second writ was sent by certeine chapleins, in which the shiriffes were commanded vpon the opening of the same, foorthwith to receiue an oth in presence of the said chapleins, to put in execution all that was therein conteined, and not to disclose the contents to any man, till they had executed the same with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth of those persons, whom by vertue of the first writ they had summoned to appeare afore them. An other writ there was also framed & sent by the same chapleins, by the which the said shiriffes were commanded to attach by their bodies, all the templers within the precinct of their gouernements, and to seize all their lands and goods into the kings hands, togither with their writings, charters, deeds, and miniments, and to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, & in presence of honest men being neighbors; of which indenture, one part to remaine in the custodie of the said warden, and the other with the shiriffe, vnder his seale that should so make seizure of the said goods: and further, that the said goods and chattels should be put in safe custodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell should be kept and found of the premisses as should séeme most expedient, and that their lands and possessions should be manured and tilled to the vttermost commoditie.

Further, that the persons of the said templers being attached, in manner as before is said, should be safelie kept in some competent place out of their owne houses, but not in streight prison, but in such order, as the shiriffes might be sure of them to bring them foorth when he should be commanded, to be found in the meane time according to their estate of their owne goods so seized, and hereof to make a true certificat vnto the treasurer and barons of the excheker, what they had doone concerning the premisses, declaring how manie of the said templers they had attached, with their nãmes, and what lands and goods they had seized by vertue of this precept. The date of these two last writs was from Biflet the 20 of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the excheker, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writs also directed into Ireland, as we haue there made mention, and likewise vnto Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of Scotland, & to Eustace de Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iustice of Westwales, and to Hugh Aldighle aliàs Audlie iustice of Northwales, to Robert Holland iustice of Chester, vnder like forme and maner as in Ireland we haue expressed.

The malice which the lords had conceiued against the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more indeed through the high bearing of him, being now aduanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman and a stout, he would not once yéeld an inch to any of them, which

which worthilie procured him great enuie amongst the chéefest peeres of all the realme, as sir Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, sir Guie earle of Warwike, and sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, the earles of Glocester, Hereford, Arundell, and others, which vpon such wrath and displeasure as they had conceiued against him, thought it not conuenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that the kings mind might happilie be altered into a better purpose, being not altogither conuerted into a venemous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

Herevpon they assembled togither in the parlement time, at the new temple, on saturdaie next before the feast of saint Dunstan, and there ordeined that the said Péers should abiure the realme, and depart the same on the morrow after the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne into the same againe at any time then after to come. To this ordinance the king (although against his will) bicause he saw himselfe and the realme in danger, gaue his consent, and made his letters patents to the said earles and lords, to witnesse the same. *Tho. Walsi. Cõtinuatiõ of N. Triuet.*

The tenour of the kings letters patents.

NOTUM vobis facimus per præsentes, quòd amodò vsque ad diem dominus Petrus de Gaueston regnum nostrum est abiuraturus & exiturus, videlicet in crastino natiuitatis S. Iohannis Baptistæ proximo sequenti: nos in quantum nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum formam à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni nostri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Westm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni nostri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the presence of all the Noble men of this land, the day and yeare abouesaid. ¶ The archbishop of Canturburie, being latelie returned from Rome, where he had remained in exile in the late deceassed kings daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said Péers accursed, if he taried within the realme longer than the appointed time, and likewise all those that should aid, helpe or mainteine him, as also if he should at any time hereafter returne againe into the land. To conclude, this matter was so followed, that at length he was constreined to withdraw himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man to saile into Ireland. *An. Reg. 2.* The earle of Cornewall banished the realme.

The king being sore offended herewith, as he that fauoured the earle more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the lords to be reuenged for this displeasure, and ceassed not to send into Ireland vnto Péers, comforting him both with freendlie messages, and rich presents, and as it were to shew that he meant to reteine him still in his fauour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king should be so inchanted with the said earle, and so addict himselfe, or rather fix his hart vpon a man of such a corrupt humor, against whome the heads of the noblest houses in the land were bent to deuise his ouerthrow: but the lesse maruell it is that the king bare him such a feruant affection, and set his hart vpon him, considering that The kings fauour towards the earle of Cornwall. *Polydor.* *Fabian.* The earle of Cornewall deputie of Ireland. *Hen. Marle.*

——— vetus autorum sententia, mores
Quòd similes, simile & studium sunt fomes amoris,
Sic vanus vanum, studiosus sic studiosum
Diligit, & socios adeunt animalia cœtus.

The lords perceiuing the kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lauishlie as before, thought with themselues that it might be that the king would both amend his passed trade of life, and that Peers being restored home, would rather aduise him thereto, than follow his old maners, considering that it might be well perceiued, that if he continued

tinued in the incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times past he had doone, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Herevpon to reteine amitie, as was thought on both sides, Péers by consent of the lords was restored home againe (the king meeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and reioising for the time, although the malice of the lords was such, that such ioy lasted not long.

1309. An. Reg. 3. *Hen. Marle.*

1310. In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a councell holden at London against the templers, the which councell indured from the beginning of Maie, till Iune. In this councell they confessed the fame, but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, except two or three ribalds that were amongst them: but bicause they could not cleare themselues, they were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within certeine monasteries. The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the lords against Peers de Gaueston, placed him for his more safetie in Bambourgh castell, bearing the prelats and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to prison for their pleasures.

An. Reg. 4. *The addition to Trinet.*

The earle of Cornewall placed in Bambourgh castell.

This yeare also there were ordinances made for the state and gouernement of the realme, by the prelats, earles and barons, which were confirmed with the sentence of excommunication against all them that should go about to breake the same. The king neither allowed of them nor obserued them, although he had confirmed them with his seale, and sent them to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be registered in perpetuall memorie therof. The king indeed was lewdlie led, for after that the earle of Cornewall was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no changeling (as writers doo affirme) but through support of the kings fauour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he seemed to disdaine all the peeres & barons of the realme. Also after the old sort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and hauing the custodie of the kings iewels and treasure, he tooke out of the iewell-house a table, & a paire of trestels of gold, which he deliuered vnto a merchant called Aimerie de Friscobald, commanding him to conueie them ouer the sea into Gascoine. This table was iudged of the common people, to belong sometime vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme.

Polydor.

Caxton.

1311. The king this yeare raised a great power to go into Scotland. And about the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, hauing with him Péers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, and the earles of Glocester and Warren, he came to Berwike, which towne he caused to be fortified with a strong wall, and a mightie deepe ditch, and although the other earles would not come to serue him in that voiage, by reason of a new variance risen amongst them, yet he marched foorth into Scotland, to seeke his aduersarie Robert le Bruce: but Robert refusing the battell, kept him foorth of the waie, so that the king was driuen to returne to Berwike againe, without meeting with his enimie. And he was no sooner come backe, but the said Robert and his people entred into Louthian, sore molesting such as were yéelded to the king of England. The king aduertised therof, followed them, but could doo no good, & so returned. The earle of Cornewall laie at Rockesbourgh, and the earle of Glocester at Norham to defend those parts. After Candlemasse, the king sent the earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to S. Iohns towne, beyond the Scotish sea, who receiued to the kings peace all those that inhabited beyond that sea vp to the mounteins. The king laie still at Berwike, but the earles of Glocester and Warren, after the beginning of Lent, rode into the forest of Solkirke, and receiued the foresters & other the inhabitants there to the kings peace. ¶ In this fift yeare of the kings reigne, but somwhat before this present, in the yeare 1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne gouernour of England in the kings absence departed this life, in whose place the earle of Glocester was chosen gouernour, and therefore he returned now into England. This erle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke at Paules. Lieng on his death bed, he requested (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had married his daughter, that in any wise he should stand with the other lords in defense of the common-

Rich. Southw. An. Reg. 5. Berwike fortified.

The king entred into Scotland.

welth,

welth, and to mainteine his quarell against the earle of Cornewall, which request earle Thomas faithfullie accomplished: for by the pursute of him, and of the earle of Warwike cheefelie, the said earle of Cornewall was at length taken and beheaded (as after shall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the first vpon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike, and Penbroke, to foresée that the foresaid Péers returned not againe into England, least by his euill example he might induce his sonne the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had alreadie doone.

Thomas earle of Lancaster came towards Berwike, to doo homage to the king for the earledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the deceasse of hir father the late earle of Lincolne. But he was counselled not to go foorth of the realme to the king, so that therevpon rose no small displeasure, and great doubt least there would haue followed ciuill warres about it. Neuerthelesse, at length the king was persuaded to come ouer the water vnto Hagerston, foure miles distant from Berwike, and there receiued homage of the earle, and so they continued fréends, and for that time departed asunder in louing maner. The lords perceiuing the mischeefe that dailie followed and increased by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the earle of Cornewall, assembled at Lincolne, and there tooke counsell togither, and concluded eftsoones to banish him out of the realme, and so therevpon shortlie after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other haue, within the quindene of saint Michaell, he was exiled into Flanders, sore against the kings will and pleasure, who made such account of him, that (as appeared) he could not be quiet in mind without his companie, & therefore about Candlemasse he eftsoones reuoked him home.

Fabian. Hen. Marle.

Rich. South. The earle of Cornewall banished into Flanders.

But he being nothing at all amended of those his euill manners, rather demeaned himselfe woorse than before he had doone, namelie towards the lords, against whom vsing reprochfull speech, he called the earle of Glocester bastard, the earle of Lincolne latlie deceased bursten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster churle. Such lords and other more that were thus abused at this earle of Cornewals hands, determined to be reuenged vpon him, and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person: and therevpon assembling their powers togither, came towards Newcastell, whither the king from Yorke was remooued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the quéene laie, and vnderstanding there that Newcastell was taken by the lords, hé leauing the quéene behind him, tooke shipping, and sailed from thence with his dearelie beloued familiar the earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the castell, and rode himselfe towards Warwike. The lords hearing where the earle of Cornewall was, made thither with all spéed, and besieging the castell, at length constreined their enimie to yéeld himselfe into their hands, requiring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings presence to talke with him.

1312.

Maister *Fox. Thom. Wals.*

The earle of Cornewall taken.

The king hearing that his best beloued familiar was thus apprehended, sent to the lords, requiring them to spare his life, and that he might be brought to his presence, promising withall that he would sée them fullie satisfied in all their requests against him. Wherevpon the earle of Penbroke persuaded with the barons to grant to the kings desire, vndertaking vpon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in such state and condition as he receiued him. When the barons had consented to his motion, he tooke the earle of Cornewall with him to bring him where the king laie, and comming to Dedington, left him there in safe kéeping with his seruants, whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.

The kings request for his life.

The earle of Penbroks suit to the other lords.

The same night it chanced, that Guie erle of Warwike came to the verie place where the erle of Cornewall was left, and taking him from his kéepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinentlie it was thought best to put him to death, but that some doubting the kings displeasure, aduised the residue to staie; and so they did, till at length an ancient graue man amongst them exhorted them to vse the occasion now offered, and not to let slip the meane to deliuer the realme of such a dangerous person, that had wrought so much

much mischéefe, and might turne them all to such perill, as afterwards they should not be
Continuation of *Triuet.* able to auoid, nor find shift how to remedie it. And thus persuaded by his words, they caused him streitwaies to be brought foorth to a place called Blackelow, otherwise named
Gauers heath or Gauersuch. by most writers, Gauerslie heath, where he had his head smitten from his shoulders, the twentith day of Iune being tuesdaie. A iust reward for so scornefull and contemptuous a
The earle of Cornewall beheaded. merchant, as in respect of himselfe (bicause he was in the princes fauour) esteemed the Nobles of the land as men of such inferioritie, as that in comparison of him they deserued no little iot or mite of honour. But lo the vice of ambition, accompanied with a rable of other outrages, euen a reprochfull end, with an euerlasting marke of infamie, which he pulled by violent meanes on himselfe with the cords of his owne lewdnesse, and could not escape this fatall fall: for

Ad mala patrata sunt atra theatra parata.

The kings displeasure. When the king had knowledge hereof, he was woonderfullie displeased with those lords that had thus put the said earle vnto death, making his vow that he would sée his death reuenged, so that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and those lords, began now to blase abroad, and spred so farre, that the king euer sought occasion how to
An. Reg. 6. worke them displeasure. This yeare, the thirteenth of Nouember, the kings eldest sonne
K. Edward ye third borne. named Edward (which succeeded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edward the
Polydor. third) was borne at Windsore. King Edward now after that the foresaid Piers Gaueston the earle of Cornewall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that detested the counsell and admonition of his Nobles, chose such to be about him, and to be of his priuie councell, which were knowne to be men of corrupt and most wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report) amongst these were two of the Spensers, Hugh the father, and
The Spensers. Hugh the sonne, which were notable instruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie and euill rule.

By the counsell therefore of these Spensers, he was wholie lead and gouerned: wherewith manie were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbishop of Canturburie, who
Fabian. foresaw what mischéefe was like to insue: and therefore to prouide some remedie in time,
A parlement. he procured that a parlement was called at London. In the which manie good ordinances and statutes were deuised and established, to oppresse the riots, misgouernance, and other mischéefes which as then were vsed: and to kéepe those ordinances, the king first, and after his lords receiued a solemne oth, that in no wise neither he nor they should breake them. By this means was the state of the realme newlie restored, and new councellours placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had sworne, neither weieng the force of an oth, obserued afterwards none of those things, which by his oth he had bound himselfe to obserue. And no maruell: for suerlie (as it should seeme by report of Thomas de la More) the lords wrested him too much, and beyond the bounds of reason, causing him to receiue to be about him whome it pleased them to appoint. For the yoonger Spenser, who in place of the earle of Cornwall was ordeined to be his chamberleine, it was knowne to them well inough, that the king bare no good will at all to
The E. Hugh Spenser the sonne at the first not fauored of the K. him at the first, though afterwards through the prudent policie, and diligent industrie of the man, he quicklie crept into his fauour, and that further than those that preferred him could haue wished.

Continuation of *Triuet.* But now to our purpose. About the same time, to wit, vpon the eleauenth of Maie,
1313. the aforesaid Robert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, ninetéene yeares after his first entrance into the gouernment of that see. After him was Walter bishop of Worcester translated vnto the sée of Canturburie, and was the nine and fortith archbishop
Polydor. that had ruled the same. ¶ Also William the archbishop of Yorke deceassed, and one William Melton succéeded him the two & fortith archbishop that had gouerned that sée. This archbishop Melton, though he was most studious of things perteining to religion, bestowing almost his whole time about the same, yet neuerthelesse he was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduancement of the commonwealth, and therefore being at

London vpon a time, Simon the elect bishop of Whitherne came to Yorke, that he might be consecrated of him: wherefore this archbishop gaue commandement to Iohn the bishop of Carleill, to consecrate the said Simon, and in his name to receiue of him his oth of obedience, which commandement the said bishop of Carleill did dulie execute. The bishop of Whitherne consecrated at Yorke by the bishop of Carleill.

The king and queene this yeare in Maie went ouer into France, where they were present in Paris on Whitsundaie at the coronation of Philip sonne to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. ¶ Iohn de Drokensford bishop of Bath and Welles was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Iulie the king returned backe from his iournie into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feast of S. Margaret, hauing dispatched his businesse with the French king in good and honorable maner, for his lands and countrie of Gascoine. ¶ About this season Maurice fitz Thomas, and Thomas fitz Iohn maried two sisters that were daughters to Richard earle of Vlnester. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recouered the most part of all Scotland, winning out of the Englishmens hands such castels as they held within Scotland, chasing all the souldiers which laie there in garrison, out of the countrie, and subduing such of the Scots as held on the English part. Continuation of *Triuet. Thom. Wals.* An. Reg. 7. *Record. Tur. Hen. Marle.* Mariages. 1314. The successe of Robert Bruce.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furnished, and gorgiouslie apparelled, more seemelie for a triumph, than méet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpose speciallie to rescue the castell of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scotishmen. But at his approching néere to the same, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to giue him battell. In the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of losse, had so vnwiselie ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that euen at the first ioining, they were not onelie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by those that coped with them at hand, but also were wounded with shot a farre off, by those their enimies which stood behind to succour their fellowes when néed required, so that in the end the Englishmen fled to saue their liues, and were chased and slaine by the Scots in great number. The king of England passeth into Scotland. The English men chased.

The king escaped with a few about him, in great danger to haue béene either taken or slaine. Manie were drowned in a little riuer called Banokesborne, néere to the which the battell was foughten. There were slaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Glocester, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Paine Tiptost, the lord William Marshall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Mauley the kings steward, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and baronets to the number of 67. There were slaine of all sorts vpon the English part that daie about ten thousand men, ouer and beside the prisoners that were taken. Amongst the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord Iohn Segraue, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkley, and others. He that listeth to heare more of this discomfiture may read thereof further at large in the Scotish historie. The king escapeth. The battell of Banokesborne. The great slaughter of Englishmen. *Polydor. Fabian. Croxden.* Addition to *Triuet* and *Matth. Paris.*

The king of England hauing escaped from this battell, which was fought on Midsummer day in the yeere aforesaid, came to Yorke, where he held a councell of his lords, to haue their aduise by what means he might best restore his armie, and reuenge the losse which he had susteined at the hands of his enimie R. Bruce. And shortlie after was sir Peter Spalding sent vnto Berwike, with a crew of souldiers to defend the towne against the said Bruce, who intended shortlie to laie siege to that towne, as the king had certeine vnderstanding. Also the Scotishmen aduanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten victorie, passed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, sore afflicting that countrie, by spoile, sword, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and castels which they wan were sacked, and after fired; so vtterlie to deface them. An. Reg. 8. A councell holden at Yorke. Sir Peter Spalding. 1315. The Scots in Ireland.

The Irishmen being put in great feare herewith, assembled togither, and ioined themselues with such Englishmen as laie there in garrisons, ouer the which the lord Iohn Bermingham as deputie had the chéefe charge. Thus being ioined togither, they made The lord Bermingham.

earnest resistance against the attempts of their enimies in defense of the countrie And so by that means they warred and fought one against an other, with great slaughter on both sides, the Scotishmen on their part dooing their best to obteine the gouernement of the countrie, hauing alreadie obteined no small portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there; and the Irishmen on the other part, inforcing their whole indeuor to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obstinatnesse of the Irishmen preuailed, through aid of the Englishmen (as after shall appeare.)

Great slaughter of Scots in Ireland.

Neuerthelesse in the meane while, as some English chronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in these warres to the number of thirtie thousand, and aboue fiftéene thousand Irishmen.

Ri. Southw.

The Scots not onelie thus inuaded Ireland, but also continued their rage against England. For the same yeare about the feast of Peter and Paule, they entered into the bishoprike of Durham, & spoiled the countrie vnto Hartilpoole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the inhabitants being fled with their ships to the sea. About Maudelentide following, the king of Scots entred England with a mightie armie on the west borders, and comming to Carleill besieged the citie, remaining before it ten daies, but they within so valiantlie defended themselues and their wals, that the Scots lost more than they wan, sauing that during their abode at this siege, they robbed and wasted the countries of Allerdale, Copeland, and Westmerland. The 11 day after their comming thither, when they had assaied all their force and policie to win the citie, and saw themselues nothing to preuaile, but to lose their men and trauell, they raised their field, and returned into Scotland with dishonor, leauing behind them all their engines of warre, so that besides the dishonour which he susteined by the repulse, in lieu of lucre he suffered losse, and therefore this lesson by exemplification would be learned and practised, that

The bishoprike of Durham spoiled by the Scots.

An. Reg. 9.

Rob. Bruce inuadeth England.

Carleill besieged.

The siege raised.

Res bene quisque gerens lucra fit inde ferens.

Now as they went their waie, certeine Englishmen following them, tooke Iohn de Murrey, who in the battell of Striueling had for his part 13 English knights prisoners, beside esquiers and others. They tooke also with him one Robert Berdolfe a great enimie of the Englishmen.

Iohn de Murrey taken.

Great raine.

This yeare there fell exceeding great raine and abundance of wet, in the moneths of Iulie and August, that the husbandmen of the countrie could not get in that small crop which then stood on the ground, and that which they inned, yéelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threshing well appeared. ¶ On the day of the Assumption of our ladie, Iohn the kings second sonne was borne at Eltham. ¶ A knight of Lancashire called sir Adam Banister raised war in this yeare of king Edwards reigne, against his lord the earle of Lancaster; but about the feast of saint Martine he was taken and beheaded. ¶ Also this yeare, Edward de Bruce brother to the king of Scots, entred into the north parts of Vlnester with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Augustine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Argile. The Irishmen also burnt the church of Athird. Moreouer in the battell of Comeran in Vlnester, Richard earle of Vlnester fled, and sir Richard Bourgh, & sir Iohn Mandeuile, and sir Alàne fitz Waren were taken prisoners. The castell of Norbrough was also taken, & at Kenils in Meth the lord Roger Mortimer was discomfited by the foresaid Edward Bruce, and manie of the said sir Rogers men were slaine and taken.

Iohn of Eltham borne.

Hen. Marle.

Dundalke burnt.

The battell of Comeran.

Also in the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, before Christmasse, a blasing starre or comet appeared in the north part of the element, by the space of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth and death (as after shall appeare.) Guie earle of Warwike, a man of great counsell and skilfull prouidence, departed this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbeie of Bordisley. ¶ About Midsummer the Scots eftsoones entred into England, dooing much mischéefe with fire and sword, in like sort as they had vsed to doo before time, not sparing (as some write) so much as those houses wherin women laie in childbed.

A blasing star dearth and death.

The decease of Guie earle of Warwike.

Croxden.

1316.

Rich. South.

bed. At their comming to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie that were got into the castell to defend it, compounded with the enimies for a great summe of monie, to spare the towne and countrie about it, without dooing further damage thereto at that iournie.

The Scots hauing receiued the monie, turned their march toward the west parts, and iournieng threescore miles, came to Fourneis, burning all the countrie thereabouts, and tooke awaie with them all the goods and prisoners, both men and women which they might laie hands on, and so returned, reioising most of such iron as they had got in that iournie, for they had great want in Scotland of that kind of metall in those daies. The dearth by reason of the vnseasonable weather in the summer and haruest last past still increased, for that which with much adoo was inned, after when it came to the proofe, yéelded nothing to the value of that which in sheafe it séemed to conteine, so that wheat and other graine which was at a sore price before, now was inhanced to a farre higher rate, the scarsitie thereof being so great, that a quarter of wheat was sold for fortie shillings, which was a great price, if we shall consider the allaie of monie then currant. ¶ Also by reason of the murren that fell among cattell, béefes and muttons were vnreasonablie priced. An. Reg. 10. The dearth increased.

About this season, the lord Henrie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble courage, hauing gotten togither a power of men, entred into Scotland, and after he had taken great booties and spoiles in the countrie, he being intrapped by sir Iames Dowglas, lost the most part of his men, togither with the prey which they had gotten. The displeasure of these mishaps was increased with the naughtie and bold presumption of sir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended that maister Lewes Beaumount was preferred vnto the bishops sée of Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that was first elected and after displaced by the kings suit made vnto the pope, tooke the said Lewes Beaumont and his brother Henrie on Winglesdon moore néere vnto Darington, leading the bishop to Morpath, and his brother the lord Beaumont vnto the castell of Mitford, and so deteined them as prisoners, till they had redéemed their libertie with great sums of monie. Herewith the said sir Gilbert being aduanced in pride, proclaimed himselfe duke of Northumberland, and ioining in fréendship with Robert Bruce the Scotish king, cruellie destroied the countie of Richmond. With such traitorous parts William Felton, and Thomas Heton, being not a little stirred, first wan by force the castell of Mitford, and after apprehended sir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and sent them vp to London, where shortlie after they were drawne, hanged and quartered. The lord Beaumont discomfited. 1317. Lewes Beaumont taken by sir Gilbert Middleton. *Caxton.* Sir Gilbert Middleton proclaimeth himselfe duke.

Some write that the said sir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the popes chancellour, and Lucas de Flisco, that were sent from pope Iohn the two and twentith, to consecrate the foresaid Lewes Beaumont bishop of Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and also to make an agréement betwixt the king and the earle of Lancaster. The which being met with vpon Winglesdon moore in Yorkeshire by the said Gilbert, were robbed of such stuffe & treasure as they brought with them, but yet escaped themselues and came to Durham, and from thence sent messengers to Robert Bruce, to persuade him to some agreement. But whereas he would not condescend to any reasonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to go into Scotland to talke with him themselues: but before they came to the borders, king Robert, who iudged it not to stand with his profit to haue any peace in that season, sent certeine of his people to forbid the cardinals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being thus iniuriouslie handled, pronounced the Scots by their legantine power accursed; and interdicted their whole realme. And bicause they saw nothing lesse than any hope to doo good with king Robert touching any composition or agreement to be had, they returned againe to the pope, without any conclusion of that for the which they were sent. Gancellino and Flisco cardinals. *Thom. Walsh.* *Fabian.* *Caxton.* *Polydor.* The cursse pronounced against the Scots.

After that Edward Bruce had atchiued such enterprises in other parts of Ireland, as in the last yéere yee haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeres in Leinister, and there the *Rich. South.*

lord

lord cheefe iustice Edmund Butler rose against him, with the lord Iohn fitz Thomas, that was after erle of Kildare, sir Arnold Power, and diuerse other, with a great armie. But by reason of discord that chanced amongst them, they scaled their armie, and departed out of the field on the 26 daie of Februarie. Edward Bruce then burned the castell of Leis, and after returning into Vlnester, he besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and slue Thomas Mandeuile, and his brother Iohn, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foresaid Edward returned into Scotland.

A pitifull famine.

Tho. Wals. Fabian.

In this season vittels were so scant and déere, and wheat and other graine brought to so high a price, that the poore people were constreined thorough famine to eat the flesh of horsses, dogs, and other vile beasts, which is woonderfull to beléeue, and yet for default there died a great multitude of people in diuers places of the land. Foure pence in bread of the courser sort would not suffice one man a daie. Wheat was sold at London for foure marks the quarter and aboue. Then after this dearth and scarsitie of vittels insued a great death and mortalitie of people, so that what by warre of the Scots, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the land were woonderfullie wasted and consumed. O pitifull depopulation!

A sore mortalitie of people.

Edward Bruce before the feast of Easter returned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Murrey and other noble men of Scotland, hauing with them a great armie, and besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and after they went to another castell where they tooke a baron prisoner: & there Edward Bruce laie for a season. Also Richard earle of Vlnester lay in saint Maries abbie by Dublin, where the maior and communaltie of the citie tooke him, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin. They also slue his men, and spoiled the abbie. After this the foresaid Edward Bruce went to Limerike, after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, and there soiourned till Easter was past.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arriued at Waterford with a great armie, by reason wherof Edward le Bruce for feare departed, and got him into the vttermost parts of Vlnester, and Iohn fitz Thomas was made earle of Kildare. Also Occoner of Conneigh, and manie other Irishmen of Connagh and Meth were slaine néere to Aurie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen néere vnto Thistildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Baliteham of Omorth by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Vlnester out of prison, and after Whitsuntide banished out of Meth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it should appeare.

Iohn fitz Thomas erle of Kildare.

Croxden.

An. Reg. 11. *Ri. Southwell.* 1318.

In the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, vpon the saturdaie night before Midlent sundaie, the towne of Berwike was betraied to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The castell held good tacke a while, till for want of vittels they within were constreined to deliuer it into the Scotishmens hands, who wan also the same time the castell of Harbotell, Werke, and Medford, so that they possessed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcastell vpon Tine, sauing that certeine other castels were defended against them. In Maie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Ripon, which towne they spoiled, and tarieng there three daies, they receiued a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, for that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had alreadie doone the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Knaresbourgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middest of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a maruellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poore people, which they tooke with them to helpe to driue the cattell.

Berwike betraied to the Scots.

Castels woon by the Scots.

Northalerton and Bourghbridge burnt.

In

In the 12. yeare of Edward the seconds reigne, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke togither in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made freends to the outward shew, so that in the yeare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwike. About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, sent foorth commandements vnto all the prelats and priests within the realme, that three times in euerie solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that called himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his counsellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honour, and put all his lands vnder interdiction, disabling all their children [to the second degree] that held with him, as vnworthie & vnfit to receiue or take vpon them any ecclesiasticall function. They denounced also all the prelats of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accursed.

An. Reg. 12. Additions to *Triuet.* The king & the earle of Lancaster made freends. Rob. Bruce pronounced accursed.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made cheefe iustice of Ireland. ¶ Also Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arriued at Dundalke, on the day of saint Calixt the pope. But neere to the same place sir Iohn Brimingham, Richard Tute, and Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324 men incountred them, and slue the said Edward le Bruce, and aboue the number of 8200 men, or (as other haue) but 5800. The said sir Iohn Birmingham brought the head of Edward le Bruce ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Wherevpon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue vnto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

Hen. Marl. *Th. Walsing.* Continuation of *Triuet.*

About this season, or somewhat before, about Midsummer (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called Iohn Poidras, or (as some books haue) Ponderham, a tanners son of Excester comming to Oxford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the wals, gaue foorth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fostered and brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Oxford, trusting there to be safe through the immunitie of the place, bicause king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not keepe his toong, but still fondlie vttered his follie, and stood in his opinion, so that great rumor thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & caried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemned, and had foorth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but speciallie this yeare it reigned most in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie; and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places towards the north parts, the king caused much people to come vnto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the citie of London was constreined to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Yorke, where the generall assemblie of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwike, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secreet wise downe into the marches of Yorkeshire, and there slue the people, and robbed them in most cruell wise.

1319. Murren of cattell. An. Reg. 13. The king goeth to Berwike. The Scots come into the parts of Yorke.

Wherefore

Wherefore the archbishop of Yorke, meaning in time of such necessitie to doo his indeuour in defense of his countrie, assembled such power as he could get togither, of clearkes, moonks, canons, and other spirituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men and few warlike or discréet chéefeteins, he togither with the bishop of Elie, as then lord chancellour, came foorth against the Scots, and incountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the twelfth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed ouer the water of Suale, the Scots set fire vpon certeine stacks of haie, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the Englishmen might not sée where the Scots laie. And when the Englishmen were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battell, in fashion like to a shéeld, egerlie assailing their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernement were easilie beaten downe and discomfited, without shewing any great resistance: so that there were slaine to the number of two thousand and the residue shamefullie put to flight.

Auesburie.

The discomfiture of Mitton vpon Suale. *Caxton.*

Polydor.

The archbishop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their swift horsses escaped, and diuerse other. The maior of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was slaine, & sir William Diremin preest taken prisoner. Manie were drowned, by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Englishmen and the bridge, so that the Englishmen fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compassed the Englishmen about on the one side, as the wing did vpon the other. And bicause so manie spirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers The white battell. The king of England informed of this ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Northerne men, he brake vp his siege incontinentlie, and returned to Yorke.

Auesburie.

Caxton.

Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernment of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good aduisement ordered his dooings, which thing so gréeued the noblemen of the realme, that that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to looke better to his office and dutie; which they iudged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might find shift to remooue from him the two Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was doone, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (sith

Polydor.

The enuie of the lords towards the Spensers.

———liuor non deerit iniquus
Dulcibus & lætis, qui fel confundat amarum)

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times past was Peers de Gaueston the late earle of Cornwall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spensers, but that the king ment as much their aduancement, so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so hautie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit seemed good.

1320. In this thirteenth yeare of his reigne, in Iune king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whome he receiued the countie of Pontieu, which the said French king vpon his comming to the crowne had seized into his hands, bicause the king of England had not doone to him his homage due for the same. Also this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of ecclesiasticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewise doone. ¶ About this season, pope Iohn, being informed of the great destruction and vnmercifull warre which the Scots made vpon the Englishmen, and namelie for that they spared neither church nor chapell, abbeie nor priorie, he sent a generall sentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scotish king would not recompense king Edward for all such harmes as the realme of England had by him

Additions to *N. Triuet.*

A tenth of the ecclesiasticall liuings granted to the K. An. Reg. 14. *Caxton.*

him susteined, and also make restitution of the goods that had béene taken out of churches and monasteries, they should pronounce the same sentence against him and his complices. Scots eftsoons accursed.

Wherevpon when the Scots tooke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbishop procéeded to the pronouncing of the foresaid sentence, so that Robert Bruce, Iames Dowglas, and Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and all other that kept him companie, or them in any wise maintemed, were accursed throughout England euerie day at masse three times. Howbeit, this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great cost and charge, and in the meane season the commons of the realme were sore oppressed by sundrie waies and means, diuerse of them lost their goods and possessions, being taken from them vpon surmised and feined quarels, so that manie were vtterlie vndoone, and a few singular and misordered persons were aduanced.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the bishoprike of Durham. The earle of Murrey staied at Darington, but Iames Dowglas and the steward of Scotland went foorth to waste the countrie, the one towards Hartlepoole and Cleueland, and the other towards Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had doone) gaue a great summe of monie to saue their countrie from inuasion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the space of fiftéene daies or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaster that laie the same time at Pomfret, offering to go foorth with him to giue the enimies battell, if he would assist them: but the earle séemed that he had no lust to fight in defense of his prince, that sought to oppresse him wrongfullie (as he tooke it) and therefore he dissembled the matter, and so the Scots returned at their pleasure without encounter. 1321. *Rich. South.* The Scots inuade England.

About this season, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good gouernement was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerse noble men that had their lands adioining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the vncle & nephue, albeit the lord Mowbraie that had maried the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spenser the yoonger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (because it laie néere on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had beene in hand to buie it. *Thom. Wals.* The chéefe cause of the variance betwixt ye lords and the Spēsers.

Hereby such hartburning rose against the Spensers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaster, of their presumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as séemed best to their likings, it was thought expedient by the said earles that some remedie in time (if it were possible) should be prouided. Wherevpon the said earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with the lords Roger Tuchet, Roger Clifford, Iocelin Deieuille, Roger Bernsfield, the two Mortimers, Roger the vncle and Roger the nephue, William de Sullie, William de Elmbrige, Iohn Gifford of Brimesfield, and Henrie Tieis, all barons; the which with diuerse other lords and knights, and men of name, assembling togither at Shierborne in Elmedone, sware each of them to stand by other, till they had amended the state of the realme. But yet notwithstanding this their oth, the most part of them afterwards forsaking the enterprise, submitted themselues to the king.

Neuerthelesse, whether for that the king by a proclamation set foorth the sixteenth of March, had commanded (as some write) that the lords Mowbraie, Clifford, and Deieuille for disobeieng to make their personall appearance before him, should auoid the land within ten daies next insuing, or for that they meant with all speed to put their enterprise

in execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Mortimer, the vncle and nephue, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord Iohn Mowbraie, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his sonne named also Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord Iohn Gifford of Brimesfield, the lord Morice Berkeley, the lord Henrie Tieis, the lord Iohn Matrauers, with manie other that were alied togither, hauing the consent also of the earle of Lancaster, on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, hauing with them to the number of eight hundred men of armes, fiue hundred hoblers, and ten thousand men on foot, came with the kings banner spread vnto Newport in Wenloks lands, where they tooke the castell that belonged vnto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yoonger.

The lords take armes vpon them against the Spensers.

They also tooke Kaerdie, Kersillie, Lantrissane, Taluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neoth, Drusselan, and Diuenor; part of his men which in the foresaid places they found, they slue, as sir Iohn Iwain, and sir Matthew de Gorges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welshmen: part they tooke and put them in prison, as sir Rafe or Randulfe de Gorges being sore wounded, sir Philip Ioice, sir Iohn de Frissingfield, sir Iohn de Dunstable, William de Dunstable, and manie other, of the which the most part were put to their ransome. They tooke, spoiled and destroied so much in value of his goods as amounted vnto two thousand pounds. They tooke vp in such debts as were owing to him in those parts, to the summe of three thousand pounds, and of his rents to the value neere hand of a thousand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in those parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did what hurt they could deuise, burning or taking awaie all his writings and euidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and disorder inuading his castels, manors and possessions, so that the damage which they did here vnto the said lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thousand pounds.

They inuade the Spensers lands.

The king aduertised of their dooings, sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere lord steward of his house, to request them to desist and leaue off from such their outragious dooings, and comming to the parlement which he had alreadie summoned, they might put in their complaints and grieuances, & he would see that they should haue iustice, according as equitie should require. The lord Badelismere forsaking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and so the archbish. was glad to returne alone, leauing the L. Badelismere behind him, who sent the king word by the archbishop, that till they had expelled the Spensers out of the realme, they would not giue ouer their enterprise. On saint Barnabies day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenser the father called Fasterne, in the countie of Wiltshire, and spoiled the same with diuerse and manie other manors, aswell in Wiltshire, as else where, to wit, in Glocestershire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrie, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolneshire, Chesshire, and Warwikeshire, making such hauocke of all such goods or cattell as belonged to the said Hugh Spenser the father, that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thousand pounds, burning his houses, beating, maiming and ransoming his men.

The king sendeth to the lords.

The lord Badelismere reuolteth to the side of the barons.

Furthermore not contented to spoile those places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbeie of Stanlie he had laid vp monie and euidences, they brake into that abbeie, and tooke out thereof a thousand pounds in readie coine, beside euidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of six thousand pounds, and likewise entring into the castell of Marleburgh, where the said Hugh Spenser the father had laid vp in wooll to the number of 36 sacks, they tooke the same and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of six thousand pounds. And they did not onelie spoile the possessions, houses, goods, and cattels of the two Spensers, whersoeuer they could heare that the same were to be found, but also they vsed the like disorder against all such as were knowne to be frends or well-willers, to either the father or sonne, sending commissions vnto such as should see the same executed to the most extremitie, so that in this rage of enuie and hot reuenge there was no parcialitie, but that one with another,

another, the innocent with the nocent, the guiltlesse with the guiltie went to wracke, and (as the old prouerbe saith concurring with common practise

Quòd sus peccauit succula sæpe luit)

finallie, after they had satisfied their desires in such riotous sort, they raised the people, and constreined them to sweare to be of their accord, and so came forward with the like force towards the parlement that was summoned to be holden at London three weeks after Midsummer. At their comming to S. Albons, they sent the bishops of London, Salisburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king with their humble suit in outward apperance, though in effect and verie deed more presumptuous than was requisite. Their cheefe request was that it might please his highnesse to put from him the Spensers, whose counsell they knew to be greatlie against his honour, and hereof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They also required letters patents of him, conteining a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themselues, and all those that had beene in armes with them, so as they should not be impeached by the king for any transgressions past or present, in time hereafter to come.

The barons raise the people and came in armes towards the parlement.

They send to the king.

Their requests.

The king herevnto answered, that as concerning Hugh Spenser the father, he was abroad on his busines beyond the seas, and that Hugh the sonne was on the sea for the safe keeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he was bound, and that they ought not by any right or custome to be banished, before they haue made answere to the crimes obiected against them. He added further, that their request wanted foundation of law and reason. And if it might be proued that the Spensers had in any wise offended against the statutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies readie to make their answere as the lawes of the realme should require. Lastlie he added this with an oth, that he would not be forsworne contrarie to that which at his coronation he had taken vpon him by oth, through granting letters of peace and pardon to such notorious offendors in contempt of his person, and to the trouble and disquieting of the whole realme.

The kings answer.

The barons vpon knowledge had what answer the king made to their requests, foorthwith got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the king had summoned to begin at Westminster three weekes after Midsummer. Their retinue were apparelled in a sute of iakets or coats of colours demie, partie yellow and greene with a band of white cast ouerthwart. By reason whereof that parlement long after was called The parlement of white bands. Then to see the kings peace kept within the citie, the maior caused a thousand men well armed to watch dailie in diuerse wards, & at diuerse gates of the citie, which watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so continued till six at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the same till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more suertie that this night watch should be well and sufficientlie kept, two aldermen were assigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to see the watchmen well and discreetlie guided. The gates were shut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at seauen in the morning. Also euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occasion when he should be called.

Fabian. *Caxton.*

The order which the lord maior of London tooke.

Neuerthelesse the barons being come in forceable wise (as yee haue heard) vnto this parlement, they constreined the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Warren, and Penbroke, to agree vnto their purpose; and likewise some of the bishops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpose, for the expelling of the Spensers out of the realme, and so comming all togither before the king, they published certeine articles against the said Spensers, both the father and sonne, wherevpon they made an award, that they should be disherited and banished the land during their liues, if by the king and consent of all the lords in parlement assembled, they should not be restored. They had day and place appointed where to passe foorth of the land, to wit, at Douer, and not elsewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feast of the decollation of saint Iohn

Matt. West.

The Spensers banished by the decree of the barons.

Baptist, that day to be counted for one. Diuers articles (as before is said) were laid to the charge of those Spensers.

Articles wherwith the barons charged the Spensers.

1 Amongst other things it was alledged; First that Hugh Spenser the sonne, being on a time angrie and displeased with the king, sought to allie and confederate himselfe with the lord Gifford of Brimesfield, and the lord Richard Gray to haue constreined and forced the king by strong hand to haue followed his will and pleasure.

2 Secondlie it was alledged, that the said Spensers as well the father as the sonne, had caused the king to ride into Glocestershire, to oppresse and destroie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.

3 Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against one Thlewillin Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorganshire, whiles the lands of the earle of Glocester were in the kings hands, the same Thlewillin yéelded himselfe to the said earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promise that he should haue the kings pardon, and so the king receiued him. But after that the said earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers taking to them roiall power, tooke the said Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after that the said Hugh Spenser the sonne had his purpartie of the said earle of Glocesters lands, he caused the said Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.

4 Fourthlie, the said Spensers counselled the king to foreiudge sir Hugh Audlie, sonne to the lord Hugh Audlie, and to take into his hands his castels and possessions. They compassed also to haue atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioied the whole earledome of Glocester.

These and other articles of misdemeanour in the Spensers were exhibited, to persuade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthie of those places which they occupied. Now after that their disheriting and banishment was concluded in manner as before is said, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had prosecuted the quarell against them, came before the king, and humblie on their knees besought him of pardon for all things which they had committed against him, his lawes, or any other person in the pursuit of the said Spensers. The king, being brought into a streict, durst not but grant vnto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.

The king goeth to Canturburie.

The parlement being thus ended, the king and quéene went to Canturburie, there to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket somtime archbishop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might meet with his deare & welbeloued councellour Hugh Spenser the yoonger, whome he had of late sent in ambassage vnto the French king, and now being returned by sea into those parts, he was desirous to see him, that he might haue conference with him: and so comming togither, they spent certeine daies in commoning of such matters as they thought good. The king calling to him the mariners of the cinque ports, committed to them the custodie of the said Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ships, and the king sailing alongst the coast to Porchester, conferred with him of manie things.

He commeth to talke with the lord chamberlaine.

From Porchester the king went to returne vnto London, there to méet the quéene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the castell of Léeds, which the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere late steward of the kings house had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with other of his fréends and treasure in the same castell. Those that were put in trust with keeping this castell, would neither permit quéene nor other to enter therein, without expresse commandement from their lord and maister, and so they signified not onelie to the quéenes seruants that came before to make prouision for hir, but also declared the same to hirselfe comming thither in person.

The quéene not suffered to lodge in the castell of Léeds.

This

This chanced verie vnluckilie for the barons: for where the queene had euer sought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his lords, shée tooke such displeasure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that castell, that vpon hir gréeuous complaint sent to the king, he foorthwith raised a mightie armie out of Kent and Essex, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle Marshall, and Edmund earle of Kent, also the earls of Richmond, Penbroke, Arundell, and Atholl, he hasted thither, & laid siege about the castell; constreining them within by all meanes that might be deuised. The king besiegeth the castell of Léeds.

In the meane time, at the suit of the lord Badelismere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingstone, about the feast of Simon and Iude, and there staieng certeine daies for some of their companie that were to come vnto them, they sent vnto the king the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, with the earle of Penbroke, requiring him to remooue his siege, till by parlement some order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their suit, but continued his siege till the castell was yeelded to him. For those that were at Kingstone cowardlie leuing their enterprise, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the castell, hauing simplie submitted themselues to the king, caused twelue or thirtéene of them to suffer death. Amongst other was one Walter Culpepper reckoned for the chéefe of them that defended the castell against the king. The wife of the lord Badelismere, with his nephue Bartholomew de Burwash was sent to the tower of London, but his sister was sent to Douer castell, there to remaine in safe kéeping. The castell of Leeds being thus yéelded to the king, he entred the same on All halowes daie, and shortlie after the castell of Chilham was deliuered, and the castell of Tunbridge left void by them that had it in keeping. The king thus bestirring him, came into Essex, and seized into his hands the lands of the lord Badelismere, and likewise the lands of such as were his mainteiners, abbettors, fréends, fauourers, and furtherers; of the which such as he could meet with he put in prison, and herewith summoned an armie to meet him at Cirencester about saint Lucies day the virgine. And then about saint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbishop of Canturburie had called a prouinciall councell.

The lords came with a power to raise the siege.

The castell of Léeds yéelded.

Walter Culpepper executed.

At the same time Hugh Spenser the sonne, being latelie come from the sea, yéelded himselfe prisoner to the kings ward, beséeching the king that he might haue right ministred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him doone by the barons in maner as before ye haue heard, speciallie for the award which in parlement they had procured to be enacted against him, the errours committed in the processe, whereof he besought the king that he might be admitted to shew: as first, in that they made themselues iudges: secondlie, in that he was not called to answer: thirdlie, for that the same award was made without the assent of the prelats, who are péeres of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the said barons had no record in their pursuit vpon the causes conteined in that award: fiftlie, in that the award was made against the forme of the great charter of franchises, wherein is conteined that none shall be foreiudged nor destroied but by lawfull iudgment of his péers, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be considered, how the said barons and great men being summoned to come in due maner vnto that parlement, they came in forceable wise with all their powers. A like petition was also exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenser the father, for redresse to be had of the wrongs and losses, which in like case he had susteined.

The lord chamberleine yéeldeth himselfe to the law.

The king fauouring inough the causes and petitions of the Spensers, granted their requests, and deliuered the petitions vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and his suffragans, the which at the same time were there assembled in their prouinciall councell aforesaid, requiring to haue their aduise and opinion therein. He likewise requested of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the councellors in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelats vpon deliberation had, declared that in their opinion, the said award as touching the disheriting and banishing of the Spensers, the father and sonne was erronious,

An. Reg. 15.

The king asketh the opinions of the prelats.

The declaration of the prelats.

erronious, and not rightlie decreed, and for themselues they denied that they either did or could thinke it reason to consent therevnto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in presence of the king, and likewise of the foresaid prelats, affirmed that the said award pronounced against the Spensers was made contrarie to law and right, and therefore as the prelats requested, that the same might be repealed.

The declaration of the earles.

Further, the said earles alledged, that the assent which they gaue in the said award, was for doubt of the vnlawfull force which the barons brought vnto the said parlement, when they made that award, and for that the said earles that now were with the king, had counselled him to suffer the said award to passe, for feare of the said force, and confessed they had doone euill, and besought him of pardon for their offenses in so doing. The king thus hauing caused the prelats, earles, barons, and lawiers there present to vtter their iudgements in maner aforesaid, he iudiciallie reuoked and quite disanulled the processe of the said award, made as well touching the banishment, as the disheriting of the Spensers, and restored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former estates, in all conditions as they inioied the same before the making of the said award, notwithstanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaster, and other lords of his faction, which for the approuing and ratifieng of the said processe they directed vnder their seales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote also to the prelats, iustices, and barons of the excheker, to induce the king to giue his assent to that which in the tenor of their letters was conteined. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cherke, & the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Glocester, and tooke that citie. The castell was also deliuered vnto them by the constable thereof. The king hauing his people comming dailie vnto him, whereby his armie was hugelie increased, about the feast of saint Nicholas he set foorth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and manie other great lords and barons. The quéene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord Iohn de saint Iohn comming to submit himselfe vnto the king, at the intercession of diuerse noble men, with much adoo had his pardon at length granted him.

The barons againe get to armour.

The lord saint Iohn.

The king passing forward, seized into his hands the townes, castels, manors, and goods of them that were against him. But in the meane time the lord Henrie de Tieis, with certeine other that were entred into Glocestershire (hearing that a great multitude of people was assembled out of the countrie of Cirencester by the kings commandement) came thither and chased them home to their houses, putting them in feare of their liues, if they should offer to resist him. The king comming to Crikelade after the feast of saint Lucie the virgin, wrote to the earle of Lancaster an answer of his letters, which he had receiued from him at London, modestlie reprouing him, for that he had so greeuouslie and vndutifullie reproched him, without respect had to his roiall estate, and also presumed to assigne a daie within the which he should reforme those things which he misliked in him, as if he were his subiect and vnderling, & beside this was now ioined with his aduersaries against him, where on his behalfe there had béene no let nor staie at any time, but that they might be fréends & remaine in quiet togither. Wherein though he did more than stood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in somuch as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tollerated such insolencie of behauiour, as was vnseemelie to be shewed against the person of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highlie therein to be commended; though his forbearing and seeking means of quietnesse did neuer a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whose hart was so inchanted with ambition and supereminent honour, that he quite forgat this good lesson of submission and due allegiance,

The lord Tieis.

Cirencester.

The K. writeth to the erle of Lancaster.

Vt nequeas lædi maiori semper obedi.

From

From Crikelade the king went to Cirencester, where he held the feast of Christmasse, the earles of Norffolke, Penbroke, Surrie, and other great lords comming thither to ioine their powers with his. Thitfier came also a great strength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij, a right famous capteine, tooke the castell of Bromfield, those that had the kéeping of it fléeing foorth of it. The king comming to Worcester about Newyeres tide, caused the walles of the citie to be repared, committing the custodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe. After the Epiphanie he passed on the side of Seuerne towards Shrewsburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourablie receiued by the burgesses that came foorth to meet him in armor, and so conueied him into their towne being stronglie fensed. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entring with a strong power into England, destroied all the countrie to Newcastell vpon Tine with fire and sword. The Welshmen with their capteine Griffin Loitis tooke the castels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They tooke also the castels of Mole, Chirke, and Olono, the kéepers whereof comming vnto the king to Shrewsburie submitted themselues to him, who shortlie after sent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelie the elder, the lord Iohn de Hastings, and diuerse other comming in, and submitting themselues to the king were likewise committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worcester destroied all that which the K. had appointed to be doone, about the fortification thereof.

The K. kéepeth his Christmasse at Crikelade.
Earles that came to the king to Crikeland.
1322.
The Scots inuade Northumberland.
Castels taken by the Welshmen.

The earle of Lancaster lieng at Pomfret, and hearing of all this businesse, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they should make hast to come to him at Pomfret, promising from thencefoorth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioising at these newes, togither with all those that were about him, leauing Glocester and all other strengths which they held in those parts, set forward to passe through the middest of the realme, spoiling by the way mens cattell and goods verie disorderlie, and so came through to the earle of Lancaster. The king getting into his hands all the castels of his aduersaries in those parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorablie receiued of the cleargie and citizens. His armie increased dailie, many comming in vnto him, that before durst not for feare of his aduersaries. The bishop of Hereford was sharplie checked, bicause he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The king sent from hence the lord Iohn Hastings into Southwales, to take in his name the seizine of the castels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenser the yoonger, which the barons had the last yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings vse, were furnished with faithfull garrisons.

The earle of Lancaster writeth to the erle of Hereford.
The earle of Hereford cõmeth to ioine with the earle of Lancester.

¶ The king, after this, comming to Glocester, condemned the shiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part against him with the barons. The lord Maurice Berkley came to the king to Glocester, submitting himselfe to the kings pleasure. After this the king came by Weston vnder edge towards Couentrie, where he had appointed aswell such as he had latlie licenced to depart to their homes to refresh themselues for a time, as also diuerse other, to assemble with their powers to go with him from thence against his aduersaries. The day of this assemblie was the friday next after the first sundaie in Lent. The king from Couentrie went to Meriuall, and there lodged in the abbeie for his more ease, writing to William Sutton vnder-constable of Warwike castell, commanding him to be attendant on the shiriffe of Warwike, in helping him to watch the entries and issues to and from the castell of Killingworth that was holden against him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaster besieged Tickehill castell fiftéene daies togither, but preuailed not.

The lord Berkley submitteth himselfe to the K.
They appointed to méet at Couentrie.
Wil. Sutton.
Killingworth holden against the K.
Tikehil castle besieged.

There were letters intercepted about the same time, which a messenger brought foorth of Scotland, thrée closed and thrée open, for there were six in all. The king sent them to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his commandement published them in open audience at London. The first was closed with the seale of the lord Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland,

Letters intercepted.

Scotland, which conteined a safe conduct for sir Thomas Topcliue chapleine, and one to be associate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in safetie. The second was sealed with the seale of sir Iames Dowglas for a like safe conduct for the same persons. The third was closed with the seale of the said earle of Murrie for the safe conduct of the lord Iohn de Mowbraie, and the lord Iohn de Clifford, and fortie horsses with their pages for their safe comming vnto the said erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returning backe. The fourth was closed with the seale of Iames Dowglas, directed to king Arthur. The fift was closed with the seale of Iames Dowglas directed vnto the lord Rafe Neuill. The sixt had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as followeth.

King Arthur a name feined of purpose.

The tenour of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.

YOU shall vnderstand my lord, that the communication before hand had is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelie the yoonger, Bartholomew de Badelesmer, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford, Henrie Teis, Thomas Manduit, Iohn de Willington, and all other are come to Pomfret and are readie to make you good assurance, so that you will perform couenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarell. We therefore beseech you to assigne vs day and place, where we may meet, and we will be readie to accomplish fullie our businesse: and we beseech you to make vs a safe conduct for thirtie horsses, that we may in safetie come to your parts.

Record Tur. The king, when such earles and lords as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) & that the most part of those men of warre were assembled that had summons, although diuerse came not at all; about the first sundaie in Lent he set forward towards his enimies, hauing with him to the number of sixteene hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and footmen innumerable; with this power passing foorth towards his aduersaries, he caused proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that would come and submit themselues, those excepted which had beene at the siege of Tikehill castell, or at the taking of the citie of Glocester, or at the inuasion made vpon his men at Bridgenorth.

The king setteth forward towards his enimies.

He made a proclamation.

At his comming to a little village called Caldwell, he sent afore him certeine bands to Burton vpon Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yonger, Iohn de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford de Bremesfield, Henrie Teis, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the bridge, and assailing the kings people which he had thus sent before, some of them they slue, and some they wounded, so defending the bridge, that none could passe, and by reason that the waters, and speciallie the riuer of Trent through abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raised, there was no meane to passe by the foords, wherevpon the king was constreined to staie the space of three daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the bridge at Burton, with barriers and such like defenses, after the maner of warre, but the king at length vpon deliberate aduise taken how to passe the riuer, ordeined that the earle of Surrie with certeine armed men, should go ouer by a bridge that was three miles distant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backes of the enimies, as they were fighting with those that should assaile them afront.

Burton vpon Trent.

The earle of Surrie. Peraduenture at Wichnore.

The earles of Richmond and Penbroke were appointed to passe by a foord, which they had got knowledge of, with three hundred horssemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent should follow them, with the residue of the armie,

The earles of Richmond & Penbroke.

sauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to assaile the bridge, which he did verie manfullie, causing the archers & crossebowes to annoie them that kept it, so as he might draw the whole power of the enimies that waie, till the king and the earles were passed by the foord. But after that the earles of Lancaster and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was passed with his armie, they came foorth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiuing the great puissance which the king had there readie to encounter them, without more adoo they fled setting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people comming spéedilie forward, and entring the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the spoile of such things as the enimies for hast had left behind them. The king kept nothing to himselfe, but onelie a faire cup that belonged to the earle of Lancaster, a péece esteemed to be of some great value.

Robert Aquarie.

The K. passeth by a foord.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford flée and set fire on the towne.

On the same night, being wednesdaie, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the castell, sending foorth the next day with all spéed, letters to the shiriffe of Derbishire and Notinghamshire, aduertising him both of the successe he had against his enimies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for such they should be reputed, taken and vsed. Wherefore he commanded in the same letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the said shiriffe might forfeit, he should pursue the said rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yoonger, Iohn de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford de Brimesfield, Henrie Tieis, and all and euerie other person or persons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; causing hue and crie to be raised vpon them, in what part soeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the said shiriffe should thinke it expedient, and to inioine and streightlie command all and singular persons, the said rebels and enimies to pursue, take and arrest, and them to deliuer vnto the said shiriffe, and that such as were not able to pursue them, yet with hand or horne they should leuie hue and crie against them, in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherents to the said rebels and traitors, and that the said shiriffe should therevpon apprehend them, and put them in prison. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and sent foorth to all other shiriffes through the realme, and likewise to the bishop of Durham, and to the iustice of Chester.

The K. commeth to Tutburie.

Hue and crie.

Beside this, he directed also other writs to the said shiriffes and others, that although he had béene constreined to passe in forceable wise through diuerse parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to suppresse the malicious rebellion of diuerse his subiects, and that as yet he was constreined to continue his iournie in such forceable wise, neuertheles his pleasure was, that the peace should be mainteined and kept throughout his realme, with the statutes, lawes and customes inuiolated, and therfore he commanded the said shiriffes, that they should cause the same to be proclaimed in places where was thought most expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of person, of what state or condition soeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man should séeke to mainteine and preserue the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the statutes, lawes and good customes of the land, to the vttermost of his power: this alwaies obserued, that the rebels, wheresoeuer they might be found, should be arrested, and committed to safe custodie. The daie of this writ was at Tutburie aforesaid on the twelfth of March.

Proclamations made for the peace to be kept.

The lord Roger Damorie laie sicke in his bed at the same time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what iudgement the king had pronounced against him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the discomfiture at Burton, lost manie men and horsses in their flieng away, by reason of such pursuit as was made after them. Diuerse of them that had taken part with the lords against the king, came now and submitted themselues

The lord Damorie departed this life.

Sir Gilbert de Ellesfield & sir Robert Holland submit themselues to the king.

selues vnto him, amongst the which were sir Gilbert de Ellesfield, and sir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the said Holland in some suspicion, bicause he had promised to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaster had sent him at this time to raise his tenants in Lancashire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceiued him, and came not to him at all, wherevpon the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Pomfret, fell to councell in the Friers there, and finallie, after much debating of the matter, and considering how by the vntrue dealing of the said Robert Holland, their side was much weakened, it was concluded, that they should go to the castell of Dunstanborough, and there remaine till they might purchase the kings pardon, sith their enterprise thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith setting forward that waie foorth, they came to Borough bridge, where sir Andrew de Herkley with the power of the countesse of Cumberland and Westmerland had forlaid the passage, and there on a tuesdaie being the 16 of March, he setting vpon the barons, in the end discomfited them, and chased their people.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford came to Pomfret.

Rich. South. Sir Andrew Herkley.

The earle of Hereford slaine. The earle of Lancaster taken. Barõs taken.

In this fight was slaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie, with sir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuerse others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaster, the lord Roger Clifford son to that lord Roger which died in the battell of Bannockesborne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord Iohn Mowbraie, the lord Hugh de Willington, the lord Thomas Manduit, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wither, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Knouill, the lord Philip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Leiborne, the lord Henrie de Bradborne, the lord Iohn de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, Iohn de Strikeland, Odnell Heron, Walter Pauelie of Stretton, and a great number of other esquires and gentlemen. This battell was fought on the fiftéenth day of March, in the yeare 1322 after the accompt of them that begin the yeare at the Circumcision, which was in the said fiftéenth yéere of this kings reigne.

The battell of Borough bridge.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was sent to Yorke, two friers of the order of preachers being appointed to looke to it, till the king tooke order for the burieng of it. The lord Clifford also, bicause he was wounded with an arrow, was sent vnto Yorke. At the same time, the lord Henrie Percie tooke the lord Henrie Tieis, and Iohn de Goldington knight, with two esquires: and within a few daies after, Donald de Mar tooke the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, the lord Iohn Gifford, the lord William Tuchet, and in maner all those which escaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by such of the kings seruants and frèends as pursued them. Vpon the one and twentith of March, came sir Andrew de Harkley vnto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaster and other prisoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the castell yeelded to him by the constable, that not manie daies past was appointed to the kéeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captiue, was mocked, scorned, and in derision called king Arthur.

The castell of Pomfret is rendred to the king.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before these noble men, Edmund earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Richmond, Aimer earle of Penbroke, Iohn erle of Surrie, Edmund earle of Arundell, Dauid earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Anegos, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, the lord Robert de Malmesthorp iustice, and others with them associate, before whome he was arreigned of high treason, for that he had raised warre against the king, and defended the passage of Burton bridge, for the space of thrée daies togither against him, and after when it was perceiued that the king had passed the riuer, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, set fire on the said towne, and cruellie burnt part of the houses and men of the same towne, and after, the said earle of Lancaster with his complices, arranged himselfe in field with his armie and banners displaid readie to fight against the king, till that perceiuing the kings power to be ouerstrong for him & his partakers to resist, he togither with them fled, committing by the waie diuerse felonies and roberies, till they came

The earle of Lancaster arreigned.

came to Burrough bridge, where finding certeine of the kings faithfull subiects readie to resist them, they assailed the said faithfull subiects with force of armes and banners displaied, slaieng diuerse of them, till finallie the said earle of Lancaster was caught, and other of his complices, some taken, some slaine, and the residue put to flight, so that there wanted no good will in the said earle of Lancaster and others, whie the king should not haue béene vanquished. Which treasons, murthers, burning of houses, destroieng of the kings people, being plainlie & manifestlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the said earle of Lancaster was therevpon adiudged to die, according to the law in such cases prouided, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and headed. But bicause he was the queenes vncle, and sonne to the kings vncle, he was pardoned of all saue heading, and so accordinglie therevnto suffered at Pomfret the two and twentith of March.

He is found giltie. *Ri. Southwell.*

He is beheaded.

Thus the king séemed to be reuenged of the displeasure doone to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Peers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, whom he so déerelie loued, and bicause the earle of Lancaster was the chéefe occasioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirelie after. ¶ So that here is verified the censure of the scripture expressed by the wisedome of Salomon, that the anger and displeasure of the king is as the roring of a lion, and his reuenge ineuitable. Wherefore it is an hie point of discretion in such as are mightie, to take héed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their souereigne, which if it be not by submission made blunt, the burthen of the smart insuing will lie heauie vpon the offendor, euen to his vtter vndooing, and losse (perhaps) of life. In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest péere in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leauie warre against the king, he was possessed of fiue earledomes, Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derbie, beside other seigniories, lands, and possessions, great to his aduancement in honor and puissance. But all this was limited within prescription of time, which being expired, both honour and puissance were cut off with dishonour and death, for (O mutable state!)

Inuida fatorum series, summisq; negatum
Stare diu.

On the same day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William Chenie barons, with Iohn Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortlie after, Roger lord Clifford, Iohn lord Mowbraie, and sir Gosein d'Eeuill barons, were drawne and hanged at Yorke. At Bristow in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Montfort baronets; and at Glocester the lord Iohn Gifford, and sir William Elmebridge knight; and at London the lord Henrie Teies baron; at Winchelsie, Sir Thomas Culpepper knight; at Windsor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, and the lord Bartholomew de Ashbornham, barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Flemming knight was executed: diuerse were executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Mandit and others.

Lords executed.

But now touching the foresaid earle of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no lesse esteemed, for that he did manie almesdéeds in his life time, honored men of religion, and mainteined a true quarell till his liues end. Also, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceiued an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but liued in spouse-breach, defiling a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he slue him shortlie after in his wrathfull mood. Apostataes and other euill dooers he mainteined, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his dooings he vsed to commit vnto one of his secretaries, and tooke no heed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death,

Auesburie. Nic. Triuet.

he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, bicause he could not auoid it: yet by reason of certeine miracles which were said to be doone néere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused manie to thinke he was a saint; howbeit, at length, by the kings cõmandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were shut and closed, so that no man might be suffered to come to the toome to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of deuotion to the same. *Caxton.* Also, the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Gascoignes, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenser the sonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said earle, whome they tooke verelie for a martyr.

A parlement at Yorke.

When the king had subdued the barons, shortlie after, about the feast of the Ascension of our lord, he held a parlement at Yorke, in which parlement, the record and whole processe of the decree or iudgement concerning the disheriting of the Spensers, ordeined by the lords in parlement assembled at London the last summer, was now throughlie examined, and for their errours therein found, the same record and processe was cléerelie adnihilated and reuersed, and the said Spensers were restored to all their lands and offices, as before. And in the same parlement the lord Hugh Spenser the father was made earle of Winchester, and the lord Andrew de Herklie earle of Carleill. Moreouer, in the same parlement, all such were disherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaster & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, bicause he had married the kings néece, that was sister to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester which was slaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockesborne, as before is mentioned.

The record touching the banishing of the Spensers reuersed.

Creation of earls.

The lord Audelie pardoned.

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellour. *Polydor.*

At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of fiue yeares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expressed) were brought to confusion, did woonderfullie increase, and the quéene for that she gaue good and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes cléerelie worne out of the kings fauour. Moreouer, we find, that in this parlement holden at Yorke, the kings sonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

The quéene giueth good counsell.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Also the king caused the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and skill, and such as were thought necessarie to be established, he commanded that the same should be called statutes, and not ordinances. Beside a great subsidie granted to the king by the temporaltie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted fiue pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Yorke foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbroke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Yorke, was arrested by certeine knights, sent with authoritie therevnto from the king, who brought him backe to Yorke, where at length thorough suit of certeine noble men, he was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull subiect, and in consideration of a fine which he paied to the king, set at libertie. The occasion of his imprisonment came, for that he was accused and detected to be a secret fauourer of the barons cause against the Spensers in time of the late troubles.

Statutes.

A subsidie.

Addition to *Triuet.*

The earle of Penbroke arrested.

Fabian. Moreouer, shortlie after the king gathered the sixt penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had beene granted to him at the foresaid parlement holden at Yorke, towards the defending of the realme against the Scots. This tax was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in such euill and miserable state as it then was. ¶ This yeare also the sunne appeared to mans sight in colour

colour like to bloud, and so continued six houres, to wit, from seuen of the clocke in the morning of the last daie of October, vntill one of the clocke in the afternoone of the same daie.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whilest the ciuill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots wasted & destroied the countrie of the bishoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partlie heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incursions into the borders of Guien, alledging that they did it vpon good and sufficient occasion, for that king Edward had not doone his homage vnto the king of France, as he ought to haue doone, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. But the true occasion that mooued them to attempt the warres at that present, was for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the king of England held within France, cleerelie out of his hands, for so much as they vnderstood the discord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had sped against the Scots, by reason whereof they iudged the time to serue most fitlie now for their purpose. *Polydor.* The Scots inuade the bishoprike of Durham.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, Robert Bruce entring into England by Carleill, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coupeland, Kendall, and so into Lancashire, till he came to Preston in Andernesse, which towne he burnt, as he had doone others in the countries through which he had passed. There were some of the Scots that forraied the countrie fiue miles on this side Preston southwards, and thus being fourescore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entred againe into Scotland without incounter, after they had béene at this time within England the space of three wéeks and thrée daies. King Edward being thus beset with two mischiefes both at one time, thought good first to prouide remedie against the neerer danger, which by the Scots was still at hand, and therefore he meant to go against them himselfe, and to send his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Guien, to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Herevpon now in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great bootie and rich spoile, he got togither a wonderfull great armie of men, and entring into Scotland, passed far within the countrie, not finding any resistance at all (as the most part of our writers doo agree) but at length, through famine and diseases of the flix and other maladies that fell amongst the Englishmen in the armie, he was constreined to come backe, and in his waie besieged the castell of Norham, which fortresse he wan within ten daies after he had begun to assault it. *Rich. South.* Rob. Bruce inuadeth England. See more hereof in Scotland. An. Reg. 16. The king goeth into Scotland with an army. *Ri. Southw. Merimouth.*

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the English armie was retired home, raised a power, and entring into England by Sulwaie sands laie at a place called Beaumond, not past thrée miles frō Carleill, by the space of fiue daies, sending in the meane time the most part of his armie abroad to spoile and harrie the countrie on euerie side, and afterwards remouing from thence, he passed towards Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligent espials, that king Edward was in those parts, giuing himselfe more to pastime in hunting there within the woods about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Wherevpon the Scotish king Bruce, entring into that wild and moorish countrie, where he had not beene afore, conueied his enterprise so warilie, and with such diligent industrie, that on saint Lukes daie, comming vpon the English armie at vnwares, he put the same to flight, so that the king himselfe was in great danger to haue béene taken prisoner. For (as some authors write) the Scots had almost taken him at dinner in the abbeie of Beighland. Sir Iohn Britaine earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treasure was spoiled and carried awaie, with the prouision and ordinance that belonged to the host.

The king escaping awaie, got to Yorke, and the Scots hauing thus the vpper hand, after they had spoiled the monasterie of Riuale, and taken their pleasure there, they passed foorth into Yorkeswold, destroieng that countrie euen almost vnto *Beuerlie*, which towne they ransomed, receiuing a summe of monie for sparing it, least they should haue burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raise the powers of *Rich. South.* Yorkeswold spoiled by the Scots. Beuerlie ransomed. The earle of Carleill raiseth an armie.

of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancashire, did so, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them belowe the countries vnto Yorke, found the K. there in no plight to giue battell to his enimies, all things being brought about him into great confusion: wherevpon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the Scots so returned without battell home into their countries, entring into Scotland the morrow after All hallowes daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. *Fabian.* Some write, that in their returne, they spoiled Northalerton, and diuerse other townes and places as they passed.

A conspiracie to set prisoners at libertie.

In the same yeare, there was a great conspiracie practised by certein persons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purposing to set at libertie in one selfe night, all those noble men and others, that were by the king kept in prison for that quarrell. Certeine therefore of those conspirators came to the castell of Walingford, within the which the lord Maurice Berkelie, and the lord Hugh Audlie remained as prisoners. The conspirators found shift to enter the castell by a posterne gate towards the Thames side, howbeit not so secretlie but that the townesmen hauing knowledge thereof, assembled togither, and besieged them that were so entred the castell, till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to reenforce the siege, so that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chappell of the castell, in hope to be saued through sanctuarie of the place, but they were (against the willes of the deane and preests of the colledge there that sought to defend them) taken foorth by force, so that sir Iohn de Goldington knight, sir Edmund of the Bech chapleine, and an esquire called Roger Walton, were sent to Pomfret, and there put in prison; the esquire was after sent to Yorke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterprise caused all other prisoners to be more streightlie looked vnto.

Sir Iohn Goldington.

In this yeare was begun a wicked practise of treason vpon this occasion. Where K. Edward hauing assaied fortune so froward towards him, in chance of warre against the Scots at sundrie times, was therby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to seeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Herklie earle of Carleill, to séeke some means, whereby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, intreated with him of warre, and not of peace; for whether it were so that he despaired of the state of king Edwards businesse, which prospered neither at home nor abroad; chéefelie by reason of his owne wilfull negligence (as some write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing so much, as in deceipt, craft, and treason: he concluded vpon points with the Scotish king, how, when, and where king Edward should be betraied, and to the end that couenanted faith on either side might be the more suerlie kept and obserued, the sister of K. Robert was affianced vnto the said earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull ladie and a comelie as was anie where to be séene or found.

Polydor. *Rich. Southw.* *Polydor.*

This practise being thus contriued, shortlie after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: so hard a thing it is for man to conceale and keepe secret that thing which he goeth about, though he studie neuer so much so to doo, namelie in matters of treason, which hath a thousand feet to créepe abroad, and which way soeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thousand prints of the footsteps behind it, by the which it may be discouered to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arrested by commandement from the king, and straightwaies being arreigned of the treason, he was thereof condemned and put to execution. His head was sent vnto London, and there set vpon the bridge, or rather vpon some turret of the tower. So hard a matter it is for traitors to escape the hands of the executioner; vnder whose hatchet they submit their heads to be hewen from their shoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath vouchsafed them a superlatiue degrée of dignitie, that they might be obeied, neither

Treason will euer come to light by one meane or other.

1323.

The earle of Carleill put to death.

neither will his iustice permit impunitie to the disloiall enterprises and complots of male-factors, common peace-disturbers, hautie-harted Nemrods; ambitious Hamans, or anie lewd malcontent: for

Acer Dei est oculus ad omnia videndum,
Eius pœnas non effugit mortalis,
Viuere volens ergo ne faciat morte digna.

¶ But there be that write otherwise (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiuing the miserie of his countrie, without consent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as by Richard Southwell we find recorded. *Ri. Southwell.*[6] First, the earle promised faithfullie for him and his heires, that they should with all their force and means possible, séeke to maiuteine the said king of Scots, his heires and successors, in the peaceable possession of the kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers they shuld fight against all those that would not agrée vnto that couenant, as against them that should séeme to be enimies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promised faithfullie for his part, to defend the said earle, his heires, and adherents in the said couenant or paction, and not onelie to keepe peace with England, but also to build a monasterie within Scotland, assigning reuenues thereto, to the value of fiue hundred marks, to celebrate diuine seruice, and to pray continuallie for the soules of them that were dead, by occasion of the passed warres betwixt England and Scotland; and further, that he should giue to the king of England within ten yeares, fortie thousand pounds of siluer; and that the king of England should haue the king of Scots eldest sonne, to marrie him vnto some ladie of his bloud, as he should thinke expedient. To the performance of all which couenants well and truelie to be obserued, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey sware on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill sware for himselfe: and héerewith certeine writings indented were drawne and ingrossed, to the which interchangeablie they set their hands and séales.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the cheefe persons of the countrie, as well spirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwise, constreined them to receiue an oth, that they should aid & assist him to their powers, to sée all the couenants as abouesaid performed and kept. After that these things were knowne to the king and the realme, although some of the communaltie liked well inough of the matter, bicause they hoped thereby to remaine in peace, especiallie those of the north parts, the king yet and his councell (not without cause) were sore offended, for that he whom the king had so latelie aduanced, should confederate himselfe with the Scots, to the preiudice of the king and his crowne, concluding any couenants of peace without his consent, whereupon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king sent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the said earle by some meanes if he might, and for his paines he should not faile to be well rewarded. *The lord Lucie.*

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles men were gone some whither abroad, and but few left about him, the morrow after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he entred the castell of Carleill, as it were to talke with the earle of some businesse, as his manner was at other times to doo. He had with him sir Hugh Lowther, sir Richard Denton, and sir Hugh Moricebie knights, and foure esquiers, beside other priuilie armed, so that leauing some at euerie gate and doore as he entred, he came into the hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, arrested him. Herewith when certeine of the earles seruants made a noise, and cried, Treason, treason, the porter of the inner gate would haue shut it vpon them that were thus entred, but sir Richard Denton slue that porter with his owne hands, and there was not one more slaine by them in the apprehension of the earle, for all other his seruants yéelded themselues and the house vnto the said lord Lucie, without more resistance.

Howbeit

Howbeit one of his seruants that saw these doings, got awaie, and with all spéed ran to the péele of Heihead, and shewed to the earles brother Michaell Herkeley what was chanced to the earle, wherevpon the said Michaell foorthwith fled into Scotland, and with him sir William Blunt knight, a Scotishman, and diuerse other that were of the earles priuie councell. The lord Lucie streightwaies sent a messenger to the king vnto Yorke, aduertising him how he had taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. The king foorthwith sent the lord Geffrey Scroobe iustice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither on saint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being the third of March, he sat in iudgement vpon the said earle, in the castell of Carleill, and there (as out of the kings mouth) he pronounced sentence against him in this wise; first, that he should be disgraded of his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the sword which the king had gird him with, and likewise of his knighthood, by cutting off his spurs from his heeles, and that after this, he should be drawen from the castell through the citie vnto the place of execution, where felons were accustomed to suffer, and there to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head to be sent vnto London, there to be set aloft vpon one of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be diuided, one to be set vp at Carleill, an other at Newcastell vpon Tine, the third at Bristow, & the fourth at Douer.

Michaell de Herkley.

The earle of Carleils iudgement.

When he had heard this iudgement, he said; "You haue diuided my bodie at your pleasure, and I commit my soule vnto God;" and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where he suffered, he neuer shranke at the matter, but boldlie behaued himselfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death, that his intention in concluding the agréement with the Scots was good, and procéeding not of any euill meaning, but tending onelie to the wealth and quietnes of the realme. Neither could such friers as were permitted to come to him before his arreignement to heare his confession, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that which he had concluded with the king of Scots was not doone vpon any euill purpose, whereby any hurt might insue, either to the king or to the realme. ¶ Thus haue we thought good to shew the cause of this earles death, as by some writers it hath béene registred; although there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Beighland chanced through his fault, by misleading a great part of the kings host, and that therefore the king being offended with him, caused him to be put to death, albeit (as I thinke) no such matter was alleged against him at the time of his arreignement.

His constancie at his death.

Fabian.
Caxton.

About this season was the foundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one sir Henrie Stanton knight, chancellour of the excheker. About the feast of the Ascension, there came as commissioners from the king of England vnto Newcastell, Aimerie earle of Penbroke, and the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenser the yoonger, and other foure personages of good accompt. And from the king of Scots, there came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and other foure of good credit to treat of peace, or at the leastwise of some long truce, and through the good will and pleasure of God, the author of all peace and quietnesse, they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirteene yeares, and so about the feast of saint Barnabe the apostle, it was proclaimed in both realmes, but yet so, that they might not traffike togither, bicause of the excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet intangled, although as some write, about the same time, the interdict wherein the realme of Scotland stood bound, was by pope Iohn released.

Polydor.
Rich. South.
Commissioners méet to intreat of peace.

A truce concluded.

The French K. being latelie come to the crowne, sent certeine ambassadors vnto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue summons vnto him from the French king, to come and doo homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. And though the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the sonne, and the lord chancellour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure these ambassadors, not to declare the cause of their comming to the king, yet when they should depart, they admonished the king to come and doo his

Polydor.
Hect. Boetius.
An. Reg. 17.
Messengers from the French king.
The French king taketh townes in Aquitaine.

his homage vnto the French king, and vpon this admonition the said Andreas framed a publike instrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made processe against the king of England, and seized into his hands diuerse townes and castels in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the king of England, in refusing to come to doo his homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the king was throughlie informed, that the summons was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing at all.

The lord Mortimer breaketh out of the towre.

About the same time, the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giuing his kéepers a drinke that brought them into a sound and heauie sléepe, escaped out of the tower of London where he was prisoner. This escape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the king, so that immediatlie vpon the first news, he wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their roomes, they should cause hue and crie to be raised, so as he might be staied and arrested, but he made such shift, that he got ouer into France, where he was receiued by a lord of Picardie, named monsier Iohn de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, reprouing him of vnthankfulnesse, considering he had beene euer readie to pleasure him, and to aduance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithstanding he did succour the said lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

1324.

A parlement.

In Lent this yeare, a parlement was holden at London, in the which diuerse things were intreated, amongst other the cheefest was, to determine for the sending of some honorable ambassage to the French king, to excuse the king for not comming to him to doo his homage, according to the pretended summons. ¶ In the same parlement, Adam bishop of Hereford was arrested, and examined vpon points of treason, for aiding, succouring, and mainteining the Mortimers, and other of the rebels. This bishop was reckoned to be wise, subtill, and learned, but otherwise, wilfull, presumptuous, and giuen to mainteine factions. At the first, he disdeined to make anie answer at all, and finallie, when he was in manner forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might not make any answere to such matters as he was charged with, except by the licence and consent of his metropolitane the archbishop of Canturburie, and other his péeres. Héerevpon, the said archbishop and other bishops made such sute, that he was committed to the kéeping of the said archbishop, with him to remaine, till the king had taken order for his further answer.

The bishop of Hereford arrested. *Thom. de la More.*

Thom. Wals.

The presumtuous demeanor of prelats.

Within few daies after, when the king called him againe before his presence, to make answere to the matters laid against him, the archbishops of Canturburie, Yorke, Dublin, and ten other bishops came with their crosses afore them, and vnder a colour of the priuiledge and liberties of the church, tooke him awaie, before he had made anie answere, forbidding all men on paine of excommunication, to laie anie hands vpon him. The king greatlie offended with this bold procéeding of the prelats, caused yet an inquest to be impanelled, to inquire of the bishop of Herefords treasons, and vpon the finding of him giltie, he seized into his hands all the temporalties that belonged to his bishoprike, and spoiled his manours and houses most violentlie, in reuenge of his disloiall dealings.

Ra. Tur. Lands belonging to the templers.

Moreouer, in this parlement, the lands and possessions that belonged sometime to the Templers, and had beene deliuered vnto the knights Hospitalers, otherwise called knights of the Rodes by the king in the seauenth yeare of his reigne (according to the decrée of the councell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this parlement assured vnto the said knights, to enioy to them and their successors for euer. Also it was concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline should go ouer as ambassadours into France, to excuse the king for his not comming in person to the French king, to doo his homage for the lands he held in France. Moreouer, in the same parlement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies and rebels that had suffered and hanged still on the gallowes, should be taken downe, and buried in the churchyards next to the places where the same bodies were hanging, and not elsewhere, by such as would take paine to burie them, as by his writs directed vnto the shiriffes of London, and of the counties of Middlesex,

Licence to burie the bodies of the rebels. *Record. Tur.*

dlesex, Kent, Glocester, Yorke, and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this li-
Polydor. bertie was granted at that time for the taking down of those bodies, but (as some write) it was decréed by authoritie in the same parlement, that the bodies of all those that from thenceforth should be hanged for felonies, should incontinentlie be buried, which ordinance hath béene euer since obserued.

Ambassadors sent into France. The lord Basset. The earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline going ouer into France, could not light vpon anie good conclusion for the matter about the which they were sent, bicause the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Rafe Basset of Draiton, being the kings seneshall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a certeine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, trusting on the French kings fauour and maintenance, refused to obeie the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of Aquitaine, and séemed to despise and set at naught the authoritie of the said lord Basset in that countrie, contrarie to all right, good order or reason. Neuerthelesse, the French king tooke the matter so greeuouslie, that except the lord Basset might be constreined to come vnto Paris, and there make answer to his offense, he would not hearken to anie other satis-
An. Reg. 18. faction. And therevpon, when the ambassadours were returned, he sent his vncle the
The earle of Anion sent into Guien. lord Charles de Valois earle of Aniou, with a mightie armie, against the English subiects into Guien, where entring into Agenois, he tooke and seized all that countrie into the
The earle of Kent. French kings hands. The earle of Kent being now gotten into those parts, with a great number of other capteins and men of warre sent thither by the king of England, resisted the enimies verie manfullie, in so much that vpon their approch to the Rioll, a strong towne in those parts, the earle of Kent as then being within it, did issue foorth, and giuing them battell, slue (as some write) foureténe hundred of their men, so that they were glad to lodge at the first somewhat further off the towne.

Fabian. Whilest this siege remained before the towne of the Rioll, the king of England wrote
The king of England writeth to the duke of Britaine. his letters to the duke of Britaine, as one of the péeres of France, declaring the iniurious
Record. Tur. dealing of the French king, who had sent his vncle the earle of Aniou with an armie against his people in Agenois, where he had taken manie townes, destroied his people, and now had besieged his nephue Edmund earle of Kent, within the towne of the Rioll, inforsing his whole puissance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the duchie of Guien, and against all reason, and the prerogatiue of the peeres of France, to an euill president or example in time to come of the perpetuall seruitude of the said péeres. "And although" saith the king of England, "that the French alledge that we haue béen lawfullie summoned to come and doo homage, and haue refused so to doo, that is not so: for we were neuer in due order required as was conuenient, neither could we doo homage, by reason of the great iniuries and hard dealings practised against vs, from the feast of Easter last, till the date of those his present letters (which was the sixt of October, in this eighteenth yeare of his reigne) and yet," saith he, "there was neuer anie lawfull processe had against vs before our péeres, in the great chamber at Paris, as had béene requisite."

Herevpon he requested the duke of Britaine, that for the preseruation and maintenance of the honorable estate of the péeres of France, & for iustice sake he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of request, or other conuenient meanes, so as the said streict dealings and iniurious wrongs may ceasse, and the estate of the péereship may be main-
The lord of Biskie. teined as was requisite. He wrote likewise to the lord Iohn the infant, the lord of Biskie, and to the ladie Marie of Biskie gouernesse of the king of Castile and Leon, and to Iames king of Aragon, requesting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horssemen as footmen, against his aduersarie the French king, that most vniustlie went about to depriue him of his inheritance. But howsoeuer the matter went, no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till at length, the Frenchmen so reinforced the siege, that the
Tho. Wals. towne was deliuered to the earle of Aniou, and a truce taken vpon certeine conditions,
A truce take. that further talke might be had, for the conclusion of some peace.
The lord de Sullie sent into France in ambassage. Then were sent ouer other ambassadors, as the lord Iohn de Sullie a Frenchman borne,

and

and one maister Iohn de Shordich, but the lord Sullie had so strange interteinment for some displeasure which the French king conceiued against him, that if the French quéene had not the beter intreated for him, he had lost his head; and as for the other, he had also returned home without bringing any thing to passe, of that for the which he was sent. After this, the pope sent the archbishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to some agréement, but they could doo no good, and so taking monie of the cleargie for their expenses, they returned. After this, about the twentith daie after Christmasse, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to haue the aduise of the lords, how he might worke for sauing of the duchie of Guien, sore molested by the French. Hervpon it was concluded, that the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, should go ouer as ambassadors to the French king; who comming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuses, made on both parts, at length receiued a certeine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the bishop of Winchester was sent backe to England, the bishop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be knowen how the king of England would like thereof.

The pope sendeth ambassadors to the kings of England and France. 1325.

Other ambassadors sent ouer into France.

Finallie it was thought good, that the queene shuld go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon some reasonable conditions. She willinglie tooke vpon hir the charge, and so with the lord Iohn Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was ioifullie receiued, and finallie she being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England should giue to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu, and that the French king receiuing homage of him for the same, he should restore into his hands the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countries which had beene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Aniou should fullie see him satisfied, as right did require.

The quéene is sent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the French king.

A peace and concord agréed vpon.

Vpon the couenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come ouer himselfe in person. Upon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerse thinking it best that the king should go ouer himselfe: but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go ouer themselues with the king, nor abide at home in his absence, gaue contrarie counsell, and at length preuailed so, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldest sonne Edward should go ouer, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

An. Reg. 19.

Herevpon the king made a charter of grant vnto his sonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to depart this life whilest his father liued, those lands should returne to his father againe, so as the French king might not marrie the kings sonne at his pleasure, nor appoint vnto him any gardians or gouernours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with consent of the prelats and other noble men of the realme there present, the morrow after the Natiuitie of our ladie, and on the thursdaie following, the kings sonne tooke the sea, and with him Walter bishop of Excester and others in competent number, and about the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he did homage to his vncle the French king at Bois de Vincennes, vnder certeine protestations made, as well on the one part as the other.

The prince of Wales is sent into France.

The summer this yeare prooued excéeding hot and drie, so that springs and riuers failed to yéeld their accustomed course of waters, by reason wherof great numbers of cattell and beasts, both wild and tame died, through lacke of conuenient liquor to asswage their vehement thirst. In the beginning of the next spring, king Edward sent into France vnto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all conuenient speed. The queene receiuing the message from hir husband,

A drie summer.

Cattell died.

The king sendeth for his wife and son to returne home.

husband, whether it was so that she was staied by hir brother, vnto whome belike she had complained after what manner she was vsed at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, bicause she was loth to see all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spensers, whereof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slacked all the summer, and sent letters euer to excuse hir tarriance. But yet bicause she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diuerse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft iournies. A lamentable case, that such diuision should be betwéene a king and his quéene, being lawfullie married, and hauing issue of their bodies, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be drawne and allured vnto, if by euill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leaue vndoone, though neuer so inconuenient to those that should be most déere vnto hir, so hir owne fansie and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she reuoked from procéeding in an euill action, if she haue once taken a taste of the same? As verie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, saieng,

The womans dissimulation.

Plaut. in Truc.

Malè quod mulier incœpit nisi efficere id perpetrat,
Id illi morbo, id illi senio est; ea illi miseræ miseria est:
Si bene facere incœpit, eius eam citò odium percipit,
Nimísq; paucæ sunt defessæ, malè quæ facere occœperint;
Nimísq; paucæ efficiunt, si quid occœperint benefacere;
Mulieri nimiò malefacere melius est onus, quàm benè.

But to the purpose. King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope Iohn to write his letters vnto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne vnto hir husband. But when this nothing auailed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the nineteenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the quéene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphanie next insuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enimies to the realme and crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the queene determined to returne into England foorthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

A proclamation. *Fabian.*

Polydor.

Others write, and that more truelie, how she being highlie displeased, both with the Spensers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did appoint indéed to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, wherby she might reuenge hir manifold iniuries. Which (as the proofe of the thing shewed) séemeth to be most true, for she being a wise woman, & considering that sith the Spensers had excluded, put out, and remooued all good men, from and besides the kings councell, and placed in their roomes such of their clients, seruants and freends as pleased them, she might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spensers, which she knew hated hir deadlie. Wherevpon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be seized into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wife.

1326.

Sir Robert Walkfare.

About the same time, one sir Robert Walkfare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and subtill (who being taken in the warres which the lords raised against the king, had beene committed to prison in the castell of Corfe) found means now to kill the constable of that castell most cruellie, and escaping awaie, got ouer to the quéene into France, and so the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir dailie increased. This sir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the discord betwixt the king and the lords, and a chéefe leader, or rather seducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford, and whilest other gaue themselues to seeke a reformation in the decaied state of the commonwealth, he set his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerse other about the same time fled out of the realme vnto the queene, and vnto hir sonne the earle of

of Chester. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, which hitherto had remained with the queene in France, stale now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the queene: which thing turned first of all vnto his owne destruction, as shall after appeare. The bishop of Excester cõmeth from the quéene.

About the same time, one sir Oliuer de Ingham, a yoong, lustie, and valiant knight, was by the kings sonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers consent) established lord warden of the marches of Guien, the which sir Oliuer gathering an armie of hired soldiers, Spaniards, Aragons, and Gascoins, inuaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to couenant) and recouering it from the French, cleerelie reduced it to the English dominion. Moreouer, sir Iohn Oturum, sir Nicholas Kiriell, and sir Iohn Felton, admerals by the kings appointment, with the fléets of the east, south, and west parts, went to the sea, to apprehend such Frenchmen as they might méet withall. They according to their commission bestirred themselues so, that within few daies they tooke six score saile of Normans, and brought them into England, wherevpon the displeasure sore increased betwixt the two realmes. Sir Oliuer de Ingham lieutenant of Gascone. Agenois conuered out of the Frenchmens hands. Ships of Normandie taken.

The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should inuade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden inuasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well vnderstood, that the queene meant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Mortimer, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obteine anie fauour at the kings hands, so long as the Spensers bare rule. ¶ The pope lamenting this matter, sent two bishops into England, to reconcile the king and quéene, and also to agree the two kings. These bishops were reuerentlie receiued, but more than reuerence here they obteined not, and so departed as they came.

King Edward vnderstanding all the quéenes drift, at length sought the French kings fauour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his councell, that queene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of Iohn the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother, who being then in the court of France, and lamenting queene Isabels case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the yoong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and therevpon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting hereto, went thither with him, where she was most ioifullie receiued with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine. An. Reg. 20. The lord Beaumont of Heinault. The quéene of England with hir son goeth into Heinault. *Polydor.*

The Spensers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was aduised by the earle of Arthois chéefelie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spensers deliuered fiue barrels of siluer, the summe amounting vnto fiue thousand marks, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to bestowe it vpon such freends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his relme. But this monie was met with vpon the sea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whose dominion the Zelanders in those daies remained, of which good hap the earle and queene Isabell greatlie reioised. *Caxton.*

In the time that the quéene and hir sonne laie in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the ladie Philip, daughter to the said earle, vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that the said erle should at his proper costs set ouer into England the said prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any such mariage as then concluded, and that in consideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided quéene Isabell and hir sonne, it may be doubted, bicause other writers make no such report. Neuerthelesse, certeine it is, that the earls brother sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certeine bands *Fabian.* A marriage concluded.

bands of men of arms, to the number of foure hundred or fiue hundred, to passe ouer with the said quéene and hir sonne into England, and so therevpon began to make his purueiance for that iournie, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spensers, they caused musters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be set vp, kept and watched, as well in the vallies by the sea side, as within the countries, vpon hilles and high grounds, that the same vpon occasion of the enimies arriuall, might be set on fire, to warne the countries adioining to assemble and resist them.

Caxton. Prouision made in England to resist the quéene.

But quéene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, staied not their iournie for doubt of all their aduersaries prouision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they tooke the sea, namelie the queene, hir sonne, Edmund of Wodstoke earle of Kent, sir Iohn de Heinault aforesaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diuerse others, hauing with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heinewiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing foorth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an hauen called Orwell besides Harwich, the 23 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the queene and hir sonne were come to land, it was woonder to sée how fast the people resorted vnto them; and first of all, the earle Marshall, in whose lands she first came on shore, repaired vnto hir, so did the earle of Leicester, and diuerse barons & knights of those parts, with all the prelats in manner of the land, as the bishops of Lincolne, Hereford, Dubline, and Elie, the which being ioined with the queene, made a great armie. The archbishop of Canturburie and others aided hir with monie.

Tho. Walsin. The quéene with hir son land in Suffolke.

Tho. Walsi.

The readinesse of the prelats to assist the quéene.

After that she had refreshed hir people a little space at saint Edmundsburie, she marched foorth to seeke the aduersaries of hir and of the realme, as she bruted it; but they still kéeping themselues néere to the kings person, that vnder the shadow of the wings of his protection they might remaine in more safegard, durst not depart from his presence. At the time of the queenes landing he was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would doo all the honour they might vnto the king, the queene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the land: but as for strangers & traitors to the realme, they would kéepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to go foorth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged.

The answer of the Londoners to the king.

The king not greatlie liking of this answer, fortified the tower, and leauing within it his yoonger son Iohn of Eltham, and the wife of the lord Chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yoonger that was his neece, he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raise an armie against the queene. Before his departure from London, he set foorth a proclamation, that euerie man vnder paine of forfeiting of life & goods, should resist them that were thus landed, assaile, and kill them, the quéene, his sonne Edward, and his brother the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whosoeuer could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, should haue for his labour a thousand marks.

The king forsaketh London, and goeth towards the marches of Wales.

A proclamation set forth by the king.

The queenes proclamation.

The queenes proclamations on the other part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spensers publike enimies of the realme, and the lord chancellor Robert Baldocke, with their assistants onlie excepted, through whose meanes the present trouble was happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that no man should take ought from any person, and who so euer could bring to the quéene the head of Hugh Spenser the yoonger, should haue two thousand pounds of the queenes gift.

The king at his departure from London, left maister Walter Stapleton the bishop of Excester behind him, to haue the rule of the citie of London. Then shortlie after, the quéene with hir son, making towards London, wrote a letter to the maior, and the citizens, requiring to haue assistance for the putting downe of the Spensers, not onelie

The bishop of Excester left in charge with the citie of London.

knowne

knowne enimies of theirs, but also common enimies to all the realme of England. To this letter no answer at the first was made, wherefore an other was sent, dated at Baldocke the sixt daie of October, vnder the names of Isabell by the grace of God queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and countesse of Pontieu, and of Edward eldest sonne to the king of England, duke of Guien, earle of Chester, of Pontieu and of Muttrell. This letter being directed to the maior and communaltie of London, conteining in effect, that the cause of their landing and entring into the realme at that time, was onelie for the honor of the king and wealth of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of person, but to the Spensers, was fastened vpon the crosse in Cheape, then called the new crosse in Cheape, on the night before the ninth daie of October. Diuerse copies of the same letter were set vp, and fastened vpon windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and one of the same copies was tacked vpon the lord maiors gates. *Caxton.*

After which letter thus published in the citie, a great number of artificers, and other that loued not to sit in rest vpon such occasion of discord offered, now that things were in broile in other parts of the realme, assembled in great numbers, & with weapon in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they knew to fauour the kings part, & therefore they forced him through feare of some iniurious violence, to receiue an oth to stand to their ordinance, which was to put to death all those that were aduersaries to the quéene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the cities liberties, vnder pretext of which oth they ran and tooke one of the citizens, called Iohn Marshall, who bicause he was verie familiar with the earle of Glocester, and therefore suspected to haue accused the citizens, they stroke off his head, and spoiled all his goods. *Fabian: Thom. Walsi.* The lord maior forced to take an oth. Iohn Marshall taken & beheaded.

On the same day, being the fourtéenth of October, continuing their rage, they ran to the house of the bishop of Excester, Walter de Stapleton, and setting fire on the gates; they entred and spoiled him of all his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the bishop being at the same time returning from the fields, would not seeme to shrinke, although he was admonished of these outrágious attempts of the people; but sitting on horssebacke, came to the north doore of S. Paule, where foorthwith the furious people laid violent hands on him, threw him downe, and drew him most outragiouslie into Cheapeside, where they proclamed him an open traitor, a seducer of the king, and a destroier of their liberties. The bishop had vpon him a certeine cote of defense, which was called an aketon, the same therefore being plucked beside his backe as all other his garments, they shore his head from his shoulders, and to the like death they put two of his seruants, the one an esquire, and the other a yeoman. The bishops head was set on a pole for a spectacle, that the remembrance of his death, and the cause thereof might continue. His bodie was buried in an old churchyard of the pied friers, without any manner of exequies of funerall seruice doone for him. The bishop of Excester beheaded.

The chiefest cause of the enimitie which the Londoners bare towards this bishop, rose hereof. He being lord treasuror, procured that the iustices itinerants did sit in the citie of London, and where manie of the citizens were found offendors, and iustlie punished, as well by loosing their freedoms, as by paieng their fines, and suffering corporall punishments, they conceiued a great displeasure towards him. Moreouer, it was said, that he had raised a great multitude of armed men against the quéene, and hir son the duke of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as they affirmed) seeke to preuent his proceedings. ¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the bishop of Excester, they tooke by chance sir Iohn Weston constable of the tower, and from him they tooke the keies of the same tower, and so entering the tower, they set all the prisoners at libertie, and in like case all those that were imprisoned in maner through the land were permitted to go at large, and all the banished men and outlawes were likewise restored home.

The Londoners hauing the tower thus at their commandement, remoued all the officers therein placed by the king, and put other in their roomes, in the name of the lord Iohn de Eltham the kings son, whom they named warden of the citie and land. And yet they ceassed

ceassed not to commit manie robberies & other outragious & most insolent parts. In the meane time, the king being come to Bristow, left that citie in the keeping of the earle of Winchester. And with the earles of Glocester and Arundell, and the lord chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed ouer into Wales, there to raise a power of Welshmen in defense of himselfe against the quéene and hir adherents, which he had good hope to find amongest the Welshmen, bicause he had euer vsed them gentlie, and shewed no rigor towards them for their riotous misgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape ouer into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marish-ground, or other streict, where his enimies should not come at him.

The king sailed into Wales.

Polydor. His fauour towards the Welshmen.

But now to speake of the queene, yée most vnderstand, that after she had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, she being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Oxenford, staied there a while, and still came people to hir from all sides. Héere Adam de Torleton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had beene sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yée haue heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the quéene and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spensers, & reforme the state of the realme. And sith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of most naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the small trauell that remained in pursuit of the enimies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the quéenes liberalitie, whose loue was such towards the common-wealth, as she onelie applied all hir endeuours and dooings to the aduancement thereof.

The quéene following the king commeth to Oxenford.

Tho. de la More.

The bishop of Hereford maketh an oration to the quéenes armie.

These words spoken, the queene accompanied with a great power, departed from Oxenford, and went straight vnto Glocester, and sent before hir vnto Bristow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir Iohn of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their endeuour with such diligence, that the townesmen, compounding to be saued harmlesse in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and castell vnto the quéene, & to hir sonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the quéene at Glocester, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerse other, as well from the north parts, as foorth of the marches of Wales, so that hir armie hugelie increased.

The quéene goeth to Glocester.

From Glocester she passed by Berkley, and restored the castell of Berkley (which the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the yoonger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before deceassed in prison, within the castell of Wallingford, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence she went to Bristow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apostles Simon and Iude, through the instant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Winchester was drawne foorth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle.

The lord Berkley.

The quéene commeth to Bristow.

The earle of Winchester executed.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon sir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord steward of the kings house, tooke his seruants, with vittels, horsses, and armour in great plentie, and came to the queene, of whome, and likewise of hir sonne he was ioifullie receiued, and diuerse of them which he brought with him were reteined, and the other had letters of protection, and were sent awaie in louing manner. ¶ The king with the earle of Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a weeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganshire, and got him to the abbeie and castell of Neith, there secretlie remaining vpon trust of the Welshmens promises. ¶ Hugoline Spenser, the sonne of the earle of Glocester, defended the castell of Kersilie,

Sir Thomas Blunt, lord Steward to the king, reuolteth to the quéene.

against the power of the queene and of hir sonne till easter following, and then compounding for the safetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that castell, and likewise for the inioieng of their goods, he yéelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the queenes name, and of hir sonne.

But now touching the king, whilest he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie dailie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in councell at Hereford, whither the quéene was come from Bristow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decrée, vnto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the bishop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the bishop of Winchester lord treasuror.

A councell at Hereford. The prince of Wales made lord warden of the realme. A new chancellor and treasuror.

The quéene remained about a moneths spáce at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henrie erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to sée if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all thrée of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They vsed such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to vnderstand where the king was, and so on the day of saint Edmund the archbishop, being the sixtéenth of Nouember, they tooke him in the monasterie of Neith, neere to the castell of Laturssan, togither with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marshall, not caring for other the kings seruants, whome they suffered to escape.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leicester, who conueied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth castle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the queene, where on the foure & twentith of Nouember, the said earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in height. Then was his head striken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was sent to London, and set vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were sent to foure seuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be séene of the people. He was drawne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, conteining a parcell of the 52 psalme, as followeth.

The king is brought to Killingworth.

Hugh Spenser the yonger executed.

1 QVID gloriaris in malitia potens?
2 Iniquitatem tota die, iniustitiam cogitauit lingua tua, sicut nouacula acuta fecisti dolum,
3 Dilexisti malitiam super bonitatem, iniustitiam magis quàm loqui iustitiam,
4 Dilexisti omnia verba demersionis lingua dolosa,
5 Propterea Deus destruat te in finem, euellat te & emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem tuam de terra viuentium,
6 Videbunt iusti & timebunt, & super eum ridebunt, & dicent,
7 Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem suum, sed sperauit in multitudine diuitiarum suarum, & prævaluit in vanitate sua.

1 WHY boastest thou that thou canst do mischiefe?
2 Thy toong imagineth wickednesse, & with lies thou cuttest like a sharpe raser,
3 Thou hast loued vngratiousnesse more than goodnesse, and to talke of lies more than righteousnesse,

4 Thou

4 Thou hast loued to speake all words that may doo hurt ô thou false toong,
5 Therefore shall God destroie thee for euer, he shall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy dwelling, and roote thee out of the land of the liuing,
6 The righteous also shall see this, and feare, and shall laugh him to scorne,
7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted vnto the multitude of his riches, & strengthned himselfe in his wickednesse.

Simon de Reading executed.

On the same daie was Simon de Reading drawne and hanged on the same gallowes, but ten foot lower than the other. This Reading being marshall of the kings house, had vsed the queene very vncourteouslie, giuing hir manie reprochfull words, which now were remembred, and therefore may serue for an example, how dangerous a thing it is to speake euill of the higher powers. The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenser the sonne was taken, he would receiue no sustenance, wherefore he was the sooner put to death, or else had he beene conueied to London, there to haue suffered. Iohn earle of Arundell was taken on S. Hughs day, in the parts about Shrewesburie, and the same day seuennight before the execution of the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the yoonger, as well the said earle, who had beene euer a great freend to both the Spensers, as also Iohn Daniell, and Thomas de Milcheldoure were put to death at Hereford, by procurement of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, that hated them extreamelie, by reason whereof they were not like to speed much better, for what he willed the same was doone, and without him the queene in all these matters did nothing.

Caxton.

The earle of Arundell taken.

Th. Walsing.

Execution.

The fauour in which the lord Mortimer was with the quéene.

The chancellour Robert de Baldocke being committed to the custodie of Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in safe keeping till Candlemasse next, and then the bishop being at London, appointed him to be brought vp, where not without the bishops consent (as was thought) he was taken out of his house by violence, and laid in Newgate, where shortlie after through inward sorow and extreame greefe of mind he ended his life. Thus the quéene and hir companie hauing compassed their businesse in so happie maner as they could wish, she with hir sonne and a great companie of lords and gentlemen repaired vnto Wallingford, where they kept Christmasse togither with great ioy and triumph, the king in the meane while remaining (as ye haue heard) at Killingworth, in a kind of honorable estate, although he was prisoner. ¶ After Christmasse, the quéene with hir son and such lords as were then with them, remooued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feast of the Epiphanie, they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, and large gifts, and so brought to Westminster, where the morrow after the same feast, the parlement which before hand had beene summoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agréed by all the states (for none durst speake to the contrarie) that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the king, he was not worthie longer to reigne, and therefore should be deposed, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Westminster by one of the lords, on the feast day of saint Hilarie being tuesdaie, to the which all the people consented. The archbishop of Canturburie taking his theame, Vox populi, vox Dei, made a sermon, exhorting the people to praie to God to bestow of his grace vpon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended, euerie man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother tooke the matter heauilie in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus depriued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so therevpon it was concluded, that certeine solemne messengers should go to Killingworth to mooue the king to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne.

Robert Baldocke ended his life.

1327.

A parlement.

The king is deposed by act of parlement.

The archbishop of Canturburie preacheth.

Thom. de la More.
Thom. Wals.

There were sent on this message (as some write) three or (as other haue) two bishops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Walsingham haue) foure barons, and for euerie countie, citie, and burrough, and likewise for the cinque ports, certeine knights

knights and burgesses. The bishops that were sent were these (as T. de la More noteth) Iohn de Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, and Henrie bishop of Lincolne. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaster and Warwike: the two barons, Rose and Courtney: beside these (as he saith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iustices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelits, two knights for the commons on the north side of Trent, and two for the other on the south side of the same riuer: two citizens for London, two burgesses for the cinque ports, so as in all there went of this message (as Southwell saith) thrée and twentie or rather foure and twentie persons of one degree and other.

None of the frier minors went, bicause they would not be the bringers of so heauie tidings, sith he had euer borne them great good will. The bishops of Winchester and Lincolne went before, and comming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in kéeping. And hauing secret conference with the king, they sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to doo, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceiued against him, would not faile but procéed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in linage. And sith this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficiall to the whole realme.

The king being sore troubled to heare such displeasant newes, was brought into a maruelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himselfe, he determined to follow their aduise, and so when the other commissioners were come, and that the bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent, the king in presence of them all, notwithstanding his outward countenance discouered how much it inwardlie grieued him; yet after he was come to himselfe, he answered that he knew that he was fallen into this miserie through his owne offenses, *Rich. South.* and therefore he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not (he said) but gréeue him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwith- The kings standing he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their receiued answer. iniuries, and ceassed not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to satisfie them, sith otherwise it might not be, he vtterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlie he besought the lords now in his miserie to forgiue him such offenses as he had committed against them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miserable calamitie, procured by them chéefelie that should haue beene the pillers of the kings estate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we see it verefied by triall, that

——miser átq; infœlix est etiam rex,
Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.

The ambassadours with this answer returning to London, declared the same vnto all *Polydor.* the states, in order as they had receiued it, whervpon great ioy was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the choosing of a new king. And so thervpon the nine and twentith day of Ianuarie in session of parlement then at Westminster assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first (as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agréed to be the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the fiue & twentith day of March, but by the *Merimuth.* common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the same daie sir William Trusell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the

whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, so that the same fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie hath béene reputed and taken for the first day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, so that whatsoeuer chanced before that day, is ascribed to be doone during the reigne of his father.

Thom. de la More.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of Leicester. But within a while the queene was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester fauoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of hir sonnes state, wherevpon he was appointed to the kéeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and Iohn Matreuers, who receiuing him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the castell of Berkley, situate not farre off from the riuer of Seuerne, almost the midwaie betwixt Glocester and Bristow.

Sir Thomas Gourney.

But forsomuch as the lord Berkley vsed him more courteouslie than his aduersaries wished him to doo, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appointed in his stead, who togither with the lord Matreuers conueied him secretlie (for feare least he should be taken from them by force) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Corfe, and such like, still remouing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowne whither they had conueied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret maner vnto the castell of Berkley, where whilest he remained (as some write) the queene would send vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other such things, but she would not once come neere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreamelie. Howbeit, she with the rest of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuise for his dispatch, though by painted words she pretended a kind of remorse to him in this his distresse, & would séeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world; for

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

The earle of Kent conspireth to deliuer his brother.

But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept, so that none of his frèends might haue accesse vnto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will euer pitie their state, there were diuerse of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was chéefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had togither, how they might restore him to libertie, discommending greatlie both quéene Isabell, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the yoong king, for his fathers streict imprisonment. The queene and other the gouernours vnderstanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And herevpon the queene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no streictlier, but suffered him to haue such libertie, that he aduertised some of his freends abroad how and in what manner he was vsed, and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:
To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of spéech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called Cõma, they construed in the worse sense, putting the Comma after Timere, and so presuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough nature, contiued

nued still in life, so as it séemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp, or downe auoided the force of such poison as had béene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

Wherevpon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asléepe, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did moone manie within the castell and towne of Berkley to compassion, plainelie hearing him vtter a wailefull noise, as the tormentors were about to murther him, so that diuerse being awakened therewith (as they themselues confessed) praied heartilie to God to receiue his soule, when they vnderstood by his crie what the matter ment. *Tho. Wals.* *Thom. de la More.* K. Edward the second murthered.

The quéene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who flieng vnto Marcels, thrée yeares after being knowne, taken, and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe dooers, as the bishop and other. Iohn Matreuers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie. Thus was king Edward murthered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The fame went that by this Edward the second, after his death manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceiued as before had beene of earle Thomas of Lancaster, namelie amongst the common people. He was knowne to be of a good and courteous nature, though not of most pregnant wit. The fond opinion of the ignorant people. The nature & disposition of king Edward the second.

And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counsell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the same by repentance, and patientlie suffered manie reproofes, and finallie death it selfe (as before ye haue heard) after a most cruell maner. He had suerlie good cause to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiscreet and wanton misgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and beside such as were slaine in Scotland by his infortunate conduct.

All these mischeefes and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discréet councellors, receiuing those into his fauour, that abused the same to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they themselues might atteine to riches and honour, for which they onelie sought, in somuch that by their couetous rapine, spoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue shewed to their souereigne, going about by force to wrest him to follow their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonlie fauoured, wherein suerlie they were worthie of blame, and to tast (as manie of them did) the deserued punishment for their disobedient and disloiall demeanors. For it was not the waie which they tooke to helpe the disfigured state of the common-wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodnesse had not béene the greater it must néeds haue come to passe, as to those that shall well consider the pitifull tragedie of this kings time it may well appeare.

But to procéed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had issue by his wife quéene Isabell two sonnes, Edward which was made king whilest he was yet aliue, and Iohn which died yoong: also two daughters, Elianor which died before His issue.

she

she came to yeares able for mariage; and Ione which was after giuen in marriage vnto Dauid king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of stature, strong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him stoutnesse of stomach, if his euill councellors had béene remooued, that he might haue shewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them, he could not doo. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained vp in youth with good and honest companie. ¶ It is said that he was learned, insomuch that there remaine verses, which (as some haue written) he made whilest he was in prison. Certeine it is he fauoured lerning, as by the erection of Oriall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Oriall & S. Maries hall in Oxford.

Ex centuria 4 Bale.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time these as follow. Iohn Duns that subtill logician, borne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emildune, thrée miles distant from Alnwike, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countrieman, and the Irishmen for theirs; Robert Walsingham a Carmelite frier that writ diuerse treatises, Iohn Wilton an Augustine frier, Walter Winterborne, Rafe Locksley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Ioice, Walter Ioice, William Gainesburgh, Robert Baston borne not farre from Notingham a Carmelite frier of Scarburgh, the same whome king Edward tooke with him into Scotland to write some remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was constreined by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrarie tune; Iohn Horminger a Suffolke man borne, William Rishanger a moonke of S. Albons an historiographer, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London wrote also an historie, which was intituled Historia Anglica; Richard Bliton a Lincolnshire man borne a Carmelite frier, Iohn Walsingham borne either in Walsingham or Brunham (as Bale supposeth) a Carmelite frier also, and wrote diuerse treatises; Thomas Chabham a canon of Salisburie and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Plimpton borne in Deuonshire a regular canon, Thomas Castleford a moonke of Pomfret, William Mansfield, Iohn Canon, Robert Grime, William Askettle of Beuerley, Geffrey of Cornewall, Iohn Gatisdene, Theobald Anglicus, Stephan Eiton or Edon, Iohn Goldstone borne in Yorkeshire, Iohn Winchelsey, Nicholas de Lyra a Iew by birth of those that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatises, to his great commendation for his singular knowledge and zeale, which he shewed in disprouing the Rabines that still sought to kéepe the Iewish nation in blindnesse and vaine hope, in looking for another Messias; Rafe Acton an excellent diuine, Iohn Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Essex a logician, Osbert Pickenam a Carmelite frier of Lin in Norfolke, Nicholas Okeham a graie frier, William Ockam a frier minor that wrote diuerse treatises, and namelie against Iohn Duns; and likewise against Iohn the three and twentith pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Lewes of Bauier, Richard Walingford, Thomas Haselwood a canon of Léeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called Chronicon compendiarium, Robert Karew, Robert Perscrutator borne in Yorkeshire a blacke frier and a philosopher or rather a magician, Richard Belgraue a Carmelite, Brinkley a minorite; and others.

See in Scotland.

Thus far infortunat Edward the second.

EDWARD

EDWARD THE THIRD

who came to the crowne by the resignation of his father Edward the second.

EDWARD the third of that name, the sonne of Edward the second, and of Isabell the onelie daughter of Philip le Beau, & sister to Charles the fift king of France, began his reigne as king of England, his father yet liuing, the 25 daie of Ianuarie, after the creation 5293, in the yeare of our lord 1327, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Christmasse, 867 after the comming of the Saxons, 260 after the conquest, the 13 yeare of the reigne of Lewes the fourth then emperour, the seuenth of Charles the fift king of France, the second of Andronicus Iunior emperour of the east almost ended, and about the end of the 22 of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland. He was crowned at Westminster on the day of the Purification of our ladie next insuing, by the hands of Walter the archbishop of Canturburie. 1327.

And bicause he was but fourteene yeares of age, so that to gouerne of himselfe he was not sufficient, it was decréed that twelue of the greatest lords within the realme should haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfect yeares. The names of which lords were as followeth. The archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Winchester and of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Oliuer de Ingham, & the lord Iohn Ros. These were sworne of the kings councell, and charged with the gouernement as they would make answer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the quéene, and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule so into their hands, that both the king and his said councellors were gouerned onelie by them in all matters both high and low. Neuerthelesse, although they had taken the regiment vpon them, yet could they not foresee the tumults and vprores that presentlie vpon the yoong kings inthronizing did insue: but needs it must come to passe that is left written where children weare the crowne, & beare the scepter in hand, Governours appointed.

Væ pueri terræ sæpissimè sunt ibi guerræ.

He confirmed the liberties and franchises of the citie of London, and granted that the maior of the same citie for the time being might sit in all places of iudgement within the liberties thereof for cheefe iustice, aboue all other, the kings person onelie excepted; and that euerie alderman that had béene maior should be iustice of peace through all the citie of London and countie of Middlesex; and euerie alderman that had not béene maior, should be iustice of peace within his owne ward. He granted also to the citizens, that they should not be constreined to go foorth of the citie to anie warres in defense of the land, and that the franchises of the citie should not be seized from thenceforth into the kings hands for anie cause, but onelie for treason and rebellion shewed by the whole citie. Also Southwarke was appointed to be vnder the rule of the citie, and the maior of London to be bailiffe of Southwarke, and to ordeine such a substitute in the same borough as pleased him. The franchises of the citie of London confirmed.

In the first yeare of this kings reigne, we find in records belonging to the abbeie of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, that the inhabitants of that towne raised a sore commotion against the abbat & moonks of the same abbeie, and that at seuerall times, as first on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the conuersion of S. Paule, in the said first yeare Records of Burie.

of this kings reigne, one Robert Foxton, Richard Draiton, and a great number of other, assembling themselues togither in warlike order and araie, assaulted the said abbeie, brake downe the gates, windowes, and doores, entered the house by force, and assailing certeine moonks and seruants that belonged to the abbat, did beat, wound, and euill intreat them, brake open a number of chests, coffers, and forssets, tooke out chalices of gold and siluer, books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church, beside a great quantitie of rich plate, and other furniture of household, apparell, armour, and other things, beside fiue hundred pounds in readie coine, & also three thousand florens of gold.

All these things they tooke and caried awaie, togither with diuerse charters, writings, & miniments, as three charters of Knute sometime king of England, foure charters of king Hardiknute, one charter of king Edward the confessor, two charters of king Henrie the first, & other two charters of king Henrie the third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the same abbeie, as the grants and confirmations of the possessions and liberties belonging thereto. Also they tooke awaie certeine writings obligatorie, in the which diuerse persons were bound for the paiement of great summes of monie, and deliuerie of certeine wines vnto the hands of the said abbat. Moreouer they tooke awaie with them ten seuerall buls, concerning certeine exemptions and immunities granted to the abbats and moonks of Burie by sundrie bishops of Rome.

Furthermore, not herewith contented, they tooke Peter Clopton prior of the said abbeie, and other moonks foorth of the house, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there imprisoned them, till the thursdaie next before the feast of the Purification of our ladie, and that daie bringing them backe againe into the chapter-house, deteined them still as prisoners, till they had sealed a writing, conteining that the abbat and conuent were bound in ten thousand pounds to be paid to Oliuer Kempe and others by them named. And further, they were constreined to seale a letter of release for all actions, quarels, debts, transgressions, suits and demands, which the abbat might in anie wise claime or prosecute against the said Oliuer Kempe and others in the same letters named.

For these wrongs and other, as for that they would not permit the abbats bailiffes and officers to keepe their ordinarie courts as they were accustomed to doo, as well three daies in the weeke for the market, to wit, mondaie, wednesdaie and fridaie, as the Portman mote euerie tuesdaie three weeks, and further prohibit them from gathering such tols, customes, and yearelie rents, as were due to the abbat for certeine tenements in the towne, which were let to farme, the abbat brought his action against the said Foxton, Draiton, and others, and hauing it tried by an inquest, on the fridaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine, in a sessions holden at Burie by Iohn Stonore, Walter Friskney, Robert Maberthorpe, & Iohn Bousser, by vertue of the kings writ of oier and determiner to them directed, the offendors were condemned in 40000 pounds, so that the said Richard Draiton, and others there present in the court, were committed to prison in custodie of the shiriffe Robert Walkefare, who was commanded also to apprehend the other that were not yet arrested, if within his bailiwike they might be found, and to haue their bodies before the said iustices at Burie aforsaid, on thursdaie in Whitsunweeke next insuing.

The second riot.

Beside this, there was an other indictement and action of trespasse found there the same daie against the said Richard Draiton and others, for a like disorder and riot by them committed, on the thursday next after the feast of the Purification of our ladie, in the same first yeare of this king, at what time they did not onelie breake into the abbie, and beat the abbats men, but also tooke the abbat himselfe, being then at home, with certeine of his moonks, keeping both him and them as prisoners, till the next daie that they were constreined to seale certeine writings. And amongst other, a charter, in which it was conteined, that the abbat and his conuent did grant vnto the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themselues, and to haue a common seale with a gild of merchants and aldermen: also they were compelled to seale another charter, wherein was conteined a grant to the said inhabitants, that they should haue the custodie of the

towne

towne gates, and likewise the wardship of all pupils and orphans within the same towne, beside diuerse other liberties.

Moreouer, they were in like manner constreined to seale thrée seuerall obligations, in which the abbat and conuent were bound to the said inhabitants, as to a communaltie of a corporation, in seauen thousand pounds, as in two thousand by one obligation, and in two thousand by an other, and in three thousand by the third obligation: and further they were driuen to seale a letter of release of all trespasses, and other things that might be demanded against the said inhabitants, with a generall acquittance of all debts. Beside this, the said riotous persons tooke at the same time foorth of the abbie great riches, as well in plate, armor, books, & apparell, as in other things. They also brake downe two houses or messuages, that belonged to the abbeie, and situate within the towne of Burie: they also destroied his fish-ponds, and tooke out such store of fish as they found in the same: they cut downe also thréescore ashes there growing on the soile that belonged to the said abbat, and did manie other great outrages and enormities, so that it was found by the inquest, that the abbat was damnified to the value of other fortie thousand pounds.

These riots may seeme gréeuous and verie strange, but yet the same were not so heinous- The third riot.
lie taken, as an other which the said inhabitants of Burie attempted against the said abbeie in manner of a plaine commotion, vpon saint Lukes day in the same yeare, at what time (as by the records of that abbeie it should appeare) both the abbat and his house were in the kings speciall protection, and the said inhabitants prohibited by his letters to attempt anie iniurie against him or his conuent. But neuerthelesse we find that not onelie the inhabitants of Burie, but also a great number of other misgouerned persons, that resorted to them from places there about, arraied and furnished with horsse, armor and weapons, after the manner of warre, came and assaulted the abbeie gates, set fire on them, and burned them with diuerse other houses néere adioining, that belonged to the abbeie, and continued in that their riotous enterprise all that day and the night following.

The same night also they burnt a manor of the abbats called Holdernesse barne, with The manour of Holdernesse barne.
two other manors called the Almoners barne, and Haberdone, also the granges that stood The manour of Westlie burnt.
without the south gate, and the manour of Westlie, in which places they burned in corne & graine, to the value of a thousand pounds. The next daie they entered into the abbeie court, and burnt all the houses on the north side, as stables, brewhouses, bakehouses, garners, and other such necessarie houses and conuenient roomes of offices; and on the other side the court, they burnt certeine houses belonging to the Almonrie. On the next daie they burned the mote hall, and Bradford hall, with the new hall, and diuerse chambers and sollers to the same halles annexed, with the chapell of saint Laurence at the end of the hospitall hall. Also the manor of Eldhall, the manor of Horninger, with all the corne and graine within and about the same.

The next day they burnt the soller of the Sollerer, with a chapell there: also the kitchin, the larder, and a part of the farmarie. On the thursdaie they burnt the residue of the farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a chapell of S. Andrew therein. In executing of all these riotous disorders, one Geffrie Moreman was an aider, who with diuerse other persons vnknowne, departed foorth of the towne of Burie, and by the assent of the other his complices he burnt the manor of Fornham. The same day also other of The manour of Fornham burnt.
their companie, as William the sonne of Iames Neketon, Rafe Grubbe, Richard Kerie, and a great number of other persons vnknowne, by the assent and abbetment of the other that committed the said disorders, burnt two manors belonging also to the said abbeie in great Berton, with all the corne and graine there found.

Vpon knowledge had of these great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commission directed from the king, vnto Thomas earle of Northfolke high marshall of England, to Thomas Bardulfe, Robert Morlie, Peter Wedall, Iohn Howard, and Iohn Walkfare, authorising them with the power of the countesse of Suffolke and Northfolke, to apprehend,

hend, trie and punish such lewd disordered persons, and rebellious malefactors, which had committed such felonious enterprises, to the breach of the kings peace, and dangerous disquieting of his subiects: but the said commissioners procéeded not according to the effect of their commission in triall of anie felonies by the same persons committed and doone, but onelie caused them to be indicted of trespasse: albeit Robert Walkfare, and Iohn Clauer, with their associats iustices of peace, in their sessions holden at Elueden the tuesdaie next after the feast of the apostles Simon and Iude, in the said first yeare of this K. Edward the third procéeded in such wise against the said malefactors, that Iohn de Berton cordwainer, Robert Foxton, and a great number of other were indicted of felonie, for the misdemenours afore mentioned, and the indictements so found were after sent and presented vnto Iohn Stonore, Walter de Friskenie, Robert Malberthorpe, and Iohn Bousser, who by vertue of the kings commission of oier and determiner to them directed, sat at S. Edmundsburie the wednesdaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine; and then and there sent foorth precepts to the shiriffe, commanding him to apprehend the said Berton, Foxton, and others, that were indicted of the foresaid felonies, and also to returne a sufficient iurie to trie vpon their arreignment the said malefactors by order of law, the fridaie next after the said feast of S. Lucie. Herevpon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Dalling, with seauenteene others, being arreigned, were found guiltie, and suffered death according to the order appointed for felons.

One Adam Miniot stood mute, and refused to be tried by his countrie, and so was pressed to death, as the law in such case appointeth. Diuerse other were saued by their bookes, according vnto the order of clerkes conuict, as Alexander Brid person of Hogeset, Iohn Rugham person of little Welnetham, Iohn Burton cordwainer, and diuerse other. Some were repriued, as one woman named Iulian Barbor, who being big bellied was respited, till she were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio and Robert Russell were repriued, and committed to the safe kéeping of the shiriffe, as triers or appeachers (as we tearme them) of other offendors: and bicause there was not anie as yet attached by their appeales, they were commanded againe to person. One Robert de Creswell was saued by the kings letters of speciall pardon, which he had there readie to shew. As for Robert Foxton, Adam Cokefield, and a great number of other, whome the shiriffe was commanded to apprehend, he returned that he could not heare of them within the precinct of his bailiffewéeke, wherevpon exigents were awarded against them, and the shiriffe was commanded, that if he might come to attach them, he should not faile but so to doo, and to haue their bodies there at Burie before the said iustices, the thursdaie in Whitsunwéeke, next insuing.

The common people often deceiued by lewd informations.

Diuerse also were arreigned at the same time of the said felonies, and thereof acquited, as Michaell Scabaille, Rafe Smeremonger, and others. Indéed those that were found guiltie, and suffered, were the chéefe authors and procurors of the commotion, bearing others in hand that the abbat had in his custodie a certeine charter, wherein the king should grant to the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, certeine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free, and discharged from the paiment of diuerse customes and exactions, wherevpon the ignorant multitude easilie giuing credit to such surmised tales, were the sooner induced to attempt such disorders as before are mentioned. ¶ Thus haue yée heard all in effect that was doone in this first yeare of king Edward the third his reigne, by and against those offendors. But bicause we will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this businesse, we haue thought good to put the whole that we intend to write thereof here in this place.

Yée shall therefore vnderstand, that diuerse of those, against whome exigents were awarded, came in, and yéelded their bodies to the shiriffes prison, before they were called on the fift countie daie. Albeit a great manie there were that came not, and so were outlawed. Robert Foxton got the kings pardon, and so purchasing foorth a supersedeas, the suit therevpon against him was staied. The shiriffe therefore in Whitsunwéeke, in the

Rob. Foxton pardoned.

second

second yeare of this kings reigne, made his returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Russell, & Iulian Barbor, so that he deliuered them vnto the bailiffes of the libertie of the abbat of Burie, by reason of an ancient priuilege, which the abbat claimed to belong to his house. The bailiffes confessed they had receiued the said prisoners, but forsomuch as they had beene arreigned at a Portmane mote, which was vsed to be kept euerie three weeks, and vpon their arreignment were found guiltie of certeine other felonies by them committed within the towne of Burie, and therevpon were put to execution, Adam Finchman the kings attornie there tooke it verie euill, & laid it greeuouslie to the charge of the abbats officers, for their hastie and presumptuous proceeding against the said prisoners, namelie, bicause the said Sio and Russell were repriued, to the end that by their vtterance, many heinous offenses might haue béene brought to light.

A priuilege.

Portman mote.

The abbats officers blamed.

On the same daie, that is to wit, the thursdaie in Whitsunweeke, the foresaid Robert Foxton, and diuerse other came in, and were attached by the shiriffe to answer the abbat to his action of trespasse, which he brought against them, and putting the matter to the triall of an inquest, they were condemned in sixtie thousand pounds, to be leuied of their goods and chattels, vnto the vse of the abbat, and in the meane time they were committed to prison. But first they made suit that they might be put to their fines for their offenses committed against the kings peace, and their request in that behalfe was granted, so that vpon putting in sufficient suerties for their good abearing, their fines were assessed, as some at more and some at lesse, as the case was thought for to require.

A condemnation.

Thus rested the matter a long season after, vntill the fift yeare of this kings reigne, in which the thursdaie next after the feast of the blessed Trinitie, the K. being himselfe in person at S. Edmundsburie aforesaid, a finall agreement and concord was concluded betwixt the said abbat and his conuent on the one partie, and Richard Draiton and others of the inhabitants of that towne on the other partie, before the right reuerend father in God Iohn bishop of Winchester and chancellour of England, and the kings iustices Iohn Stonore and Iohn Cantbridge sitting there at the same time, by the kings commandement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

An agreemẽt.

The articles of agreement betweene the moonks of Burie and the inhabitants of Burie.

FIRST, whereas the said abbat had recouered by iudgement before the said Iohn Stonore and other his associats iustices of oier and determiner in the said towne of Burie, the summe of seuen score thousand pounds for trespasses to him and his house committed and doone by the said Richard Draiton, and other the inhabitants of Burie: now at the desire of the said king, and for other good respects him mooving, he pardoned and released vnto the said Richard Draiton, and to other the inhabitants of Burie, to their heires, executors, and assigns the summe of 122333 pounds, eight shillings eight pence, of the said totall summe of 140000 pounds.

And further the said abbat and conuent granted and agreed for them and their successors, that if the said Richard Draiton, & other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, or any of them, their heires, executors or assignes, should paie to the said abbat & conuent, or their successors within twentie yeares next insuing the date of that present agreement, 2000 marks, that is to saie, 100 marks yearelie at the feasts of S. Michaell & Easter, by euen portions: that then the said Richard & other the inhabitants of the towne of Burie should be acquited & discharged of 4000 marks, parcell of 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence residue behind for euer.

Moreouer, whereas the said abbat and conuent, & the said abbat by himselfe, since the 19 yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second vnto that present time, had sealed certeine charters, deeds, & writings, as well with the proper seale of the abbat, as with the common seale of the abbat & conuent, if the said Richard and the inhabitants of the said

towne of Burie did restore vnto the said abbat & conuent all the same writings, or take such order, that neither the abbat nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wise hindered, indamaged nor molested by force of the same: and further if neither the said Richard, nor any the inhabitants of the said towne, nor their heires, executors, nor assignes, shall go about to reuerse the iudgements against them, at the suit of the said abbat, nor shall seeke to impeach the executions of the same iudgements by anie false or forged aquitances or releases, nor implead nor molest any of the iurie, by whom they were conuict, that then they and their heires, executors & assignes shall be acquited & discharged of ten thousand pounds parcell of the said 17666 pounds, 13 shillings foure pence.

And furthermore, if the said Richard and other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, doo not hereafter maliciouslie rise against the said abbat or conuent, nor seeke to vex them by any conspiracie, confederacie, or by some other secret vniust cause, nor likewise euill intreat any man by reason of the inditement found against them, nor yet claime to haue any corporation of themselues within that towne, that then the said Richard, & the said inhabitants, their heires, successors & assignes, shall remaine acquited and discharged of all the residue of the said 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence for euer. And the said abbat and conuent doo grant for them & their successours, that their intention is not, that if any singular person of his owne priuate malice, shall rise against the said abbat and conuent, their successors, moonks, bailiffes, or seruants, to doo them, or any of them iniurie or displeasure; that those which be not partakers of the offense, shall be in any wise punished for the same, so that the offendors be not mainteined by any of the same towne, but that the inhabitants there, doo assist the abbat and conuent their successours, bailiffes, seruants & officers, that the same offendors may be punished, according to their demerits, as reason and law shall allow.

This was the effect of the agréement at length had and made betwixt the abbat and moonks of Burie on the one part, & the inhabitants of that towne on the other part, and for the more confirmation therof, it pleased the king to put his seale to the charter conteining the same agréement. ¶ But how soeuer it chanced, it should appeare by such records as came to the hands of master Iohn Fox, as he alledgeth in the first tome of his booke of acts and monuments, this agreement was but sorilie kept: for diuerse of the former offendors, bearing grudge towards the abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did confederat themselues togither, and priuilie in the night comming to the manour of Chennington where the abbat then did lie, burst open the gates, and entring by force, first bound all his seruants, and after they had robbed the house, they tooke the abbat, and shauing him, secretlie conueied him to London, and there remooning him from stréet to stréet vnknowne, had him ouer the Thames into Kent, and at length transported him ouer vnto Dist in Brabant, where they kept him for a time in much penurie, thraldome and miserie, vntill at length the matter being vnderstood, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop, & after by the pope. At the last, his freends hauing knowledge where he was, they found means to deliuer him out of the hands of those théeues, and finallie brought him home with procession, and so he was restored to his house againe.

This might come to passe before the agréement was made in the fift yeare of the kings reigne as aboue is mentioned, and so thervpon he might be restored.

Thus much touching those troubles betwixt the townesmen of Burie & the abbat and moonks there, and now we will returne to other generall matters touching the publike state of the realme. ¶ And first you shall vnderstand, that in the beginning of this kings reigne the land trulie séemed to be blessed of God: for the earth became fruitfull, the aire temperate, and the sea calme and quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder the gouernement of other, neuerthelesse he began within a short time to shew tokens of great towardnesse, framing his mind vnto graue deuises, and first he prepared to make a iornie against the Scotishmen, the which in his fathers time had doone so manie displeasures to the Englishmen, and now vpon confidence of his minoritie, ceassed not to inuade the

borders of his realme. And namelie the verie selfe night that followed the day of this kings coronation, they had thought by skaling to haue stolne the castell of Norham: but Robert Maners capteine of that place, vnderstanding of their enterprise aforehand by a Scotishmen of the garison there, so well prouided for their comming, that where sixteene of them boldlie entred vpon the wall, he slue nine or ten of them and tooke fiue. *Rich. South. Rob. Maners capteine of Norham castell.*

This was thought an euill token, that they should still be put to the worsse in this kings time, sith they had so bad successe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purposes, about saint Margarets tide inuaded the land with three armies, the earle of Murrey hauing the leading of one of the same armies, and Iames Douglas of another, and the third was guided by the earle of Mar. King Edward aduertised hereof, assembled not onelie a great power of Englishmen, but also required Iohn lord Beaumont de Heinault, whome he had latelie sent home right honorablie rewarded for his good assistance, to come againe into England, with certeine bands of men at armes, and he should receiue wages and good interteinement for them. The lord Beaumont, as one that loued déeds of armes, was glad to accomplish king Edwards request: and so therevpon with seauen hundred men at armes, or fiue hundred (as Froissart saith) came ouer into England againe, to serue against the Scots. *The Scots inuade England.* *The lord Beaumont of Heinault.* *Caxton.*

The generall assemblie of the armie was appointed to be at Yorke, and thither came the said lord Beaumont with his people, and was ioifullie receiued of the king and his lords. Here whilest not onelie the Scotish ambassadours (which had béene sent to treat of peace, were heard to tell their message) but also whilest the councell tooke some leisure in debating the matter how to guide their enterprise, which they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie sundaie, it chanced that there arose contention within the citie of Yorke, betwixt the English archers, and the strangers, which the lord Beaumont of Heinault had brought with him, insomuch that fighting togither there were slaine to the number of foure score persons of those archers, which were buried within the church of saint Clement in Fosgate. *A fraie betwix ye English archers and the Henuiers. Caxton.*

¶ Some write that there were slaine to the number of three hundred Englishmen: yet bicause the Henuiers came to aid the king, their peace was cried vpon paine of life. And further, it was found by an inquest of the citie, that the quarrel was begun by the Englishmen, the which (as some write) were of the Lincolneshire men, of those that sometime belonged to the Spensers, and to the earle of Arundell, so that there was cause, whie they bare euill will to the Henuiers which had aided (as ye haue heard) to bring the said earle and Spensers to their confusion. *Froissart.* *Caxton, Froissart.*

In this meane time the Scots being entred into England, had doone much hurt, and were come as farre as Stanop parke in Wiredale: and though they had sent their ambassadours to treat with the king and his councell for peace, yet no conclusion followed of their talke. At the same time, bicause the English souldiers of this armie were cloathed all in cotes and hoods embrodered with floures and branches verie séemelie, and vsed to nourish their beards: the Scots in derision thereof made a rime, which they fastened vpon the church doores of saint Peter toward Stangate, conteining this that followeth. *Stanop parke. Caxton.*

Long beards, hartlesse, Painted hoods, witlesse,
Gaie cotes, gracelesse, Make England thriftlesse. *A rime in derision of the Englishmen.*

The king when he saw it was but a vaine thing to staie anie longer in communication with the ambassadors about peace, departed from Yorke with his puissant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were closelie lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he came and stopped all the passages, so it was thought that he should haue had them at his pleasure, but through treason (as was after reported) of the lord Roger Mortimer, after that the Scots had béene kept within their lodgings for the space of fiftéene daies, till they were almost famished, they did not onelie find a waie out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the lord William Douglas, assailing that part of the English campe where the kings tent stood, in the night season, missed not much of either taking the king *Froissart. The lord Dowglas.*

Or

or sleieng him: and hauing doone hurt inough otherwise, as in the Scotish chronicle is also touched, they followed their companie, and with them returned into Scotland without impeachment.

It is said, that Henrie earle of Lancaster, and Iohn the lord Beaumont of Heinault would gladlie haue passed ouer the water of Wire, to haue assalted the Scots, but the earle of March through counsell of the lord Mortimer, pretending to haue right to the leading of the fore ward, and to the giuing of the first onset, would not suffer them. Howsoeuer it was the king missed his purpose, and right pensiue therefore, brake vp his field, and returned vnto London. ¶ Walter bishop of Canturburie departed this life in Nouember, and then Simon Mepham was aduanced to the gouernement of that sée. The lord Beaumont of Heinalt was honorablie rewarded for his paines and trauell, and then licenced to returne into his countrie, where he had not beene long, but that through his means then (as some write) the marriage was concluded betweene king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to William earle of Heinault, and neece to the said lord Beaumont, who had the charge to sée hir brought ouer thither into England about Christmasse: where in the citie of Yorke vpon the eeuen of the Conuersion of saint Paule, being sundaie, in the latter end of the first yeare of his reigne, king Edward solemnlie maried hir.

The lord Beaumõt returned home. *Polydor.*

Fabian. 1328.

An. Reg. 2. In the second yeare of his reigne, about the feast of Pentecost, king Edward held a parlement at Northampton, at the which parlement by euill and naughtie counsell, whereof the lord Roger Mortimer and the queene mother bare the blame, the king concluded with the Scotish king both an vnprofitable and a dishonorable peace. For first, he released to the Scots their fealtie and homage. Also he deliuered vnto them certeine old ancient writings, sealed with the seales of the king of Scots, and of diuerse lords of the land both spirituall and temporall: amongst the which was that indenture, which they called Ragman, with manie other charters and patents, by the which the kings of Scotland were bound as feodaries vnto the crowne of England; at which season also there were deliuered certeine iewels, which before time had béene woone from the Scots by the kings of England, and among other, the blacke crosier or rood is speciallie named.

A parlement at Northampton.

A dishonorable peace.

Ragman. *Fabian.* *Caxton.*

The blacke crosse.

And not onelie the king by his sinister councell lost such right and title as he had to the realme of Scotland, so farre as by the same councell might be deuised, but also the lords and barons, and other men of England that had anie lands or rents within Scotland, lost their right in like manner, except they would dwell vpon the same lands, and become liege men to the king of Scotland. Herevpon was there also a marriage concluded betwixt Dauid Bruce the sonne of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the ladie Iane sister to king Edward, which of diuerse writers is surnamed Ione of the tower, and the Scots surnamed hir halfe in derision, Ione Makepeace. This marriage was solemnised at Berwike vpon the daie of Marie Magdalen. The quéene with the bishops of Elie and Norwich, the earle Warren, the lord Mortimer, and diuerse other barons of the land, and a great multitude of other people were present at that marriage, which was celebrate with all the honour that might be.

A marriage concluded.

Ione Makepeace.

Ri. Southwell.

After the quindene of saint Michaell, king Edward held a parlement at Salisburie, in which the lord Roger Mortimer was created earle of March, the lord Iohn of Eltham the kings brother was made earle of Cornwall, and the lord Iames Butler of Ireland earle of Ormond, who about the same time had married the earle of Herefords daughter. But the earle of March tooke the most part of the rule of all things perteining either to the king or realme into his owne hands: so that the whole gouernment rested in a manner betwixt the queene mother and him. The other of the councell that were first appointed, were in manner displaced; for they bare no rule to speake of at all, which caused no small grudge to arise against the quéene and the said earle of March, who mainteined such ports, and kept among them such retinue of seruants, that their prouision was woonderfull, which they caused

Tho. Wulsin. *Adam. Meri-muth.* *Polydor.* Creations of earles.

The earle of March ruleth all things at his pleasure.

Caxton.

caused to be taken vp, namelie for the queene, at the kings price, to the sore oppression of the people, which tooke it displesantlie inough.

There was like to haue growen great variance betwixt the queene and Henrie earle of Lancaster, by reason that one sir Thomas Wither, a knight perteining to the said earle of Lancaster, had slaine Robert Holland, who had betraied sometime Thomas earle of Lancaster, and was after committed to prison by earle Henries means, but the queene had caused him to be set at libertie, and admitted him as one of hir councell. The quéene would haue had sir Thomas Wither punished for the murther, but earle Henrie caused him to be kept out of the waie, so that for these causes and other, Henrie the earle of Lancaster went about to make a rebellion, and the quéene hauing knowledge thereof, sought to apprehend him: but by the mediation of the earles Marshall and Kent, the matter was taken vp, and earle Henrie had the kings peace granted him for the summe of eleuen thousand pounds, which he should haue paid, but he neuer paid that fine, though it was so assessed at the time of the agreement.

The earle of Lancaster.

Robert Holland slaine.

The archbishop of Canturburie was the chiefe procuror of the agréement & reconciliation of the earle (as *Merimuth* saith.)

There were diuerse lords and great men that were confederat with him, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Foulke Fitz Warrein, sir Thomas Rosselin, sir William Trussell, and other, to the number of an hundred knights. ¶ In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Ascension tide, king Edward went ouer into France, and comming to the French king Philip de Valois, as then being at Amiens, did there his homage vnto him for the duchie of Guien (as in the French historie appeareth.) ¶ The same yeare Simon the archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at London, wherein all those were excommunicated that were guiltie to the death of Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, that had béene put to death by the Londoners, as in the last kings time ye haue heard. ¶ This bishop of Excester founded Excester colledge in Oxford, & Harts hall. But now to the purpose.

Adam Merimuth.

1329.

An. Reg. 3.

The king about the beginning, or (as other saie) about the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Winchester, during the which, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent the kings vncle was arrested the morrow after saint Gregories day, and being arreigned vpon certeine confessions and letters found about him, he was found giltie of treason. There were diuerse in trouble about the same matter, for the earle vpon his open confession before sundrie lords of the realme, declared that not onelie by commandement from the pope, but also by the setting on of diuerse nobles of this land (whome he named) he was persuaded to indeuour himselfe by all waies and meanes possible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the second out of prison, and to restore him to the crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be aliue, hauing (as he himselfe said) called vp a spirit to vnderstand the truth thereof, and so what by counsell of the said frier, and of three other friers of the same order, he had purposed to worke some meane how to deliuer him, and to restore him againe to the kingdome. Among the letters that were found about him, disclosing a great part of his practise, some there were, which he had written and directed vnto his brother the said king Edward, as by some writers it should appeare.

Tho. Walsi. Ri. Southwell. Additions to Meri.

Thom. Dunhed a frier.

Thom. Walsi.

The bishop of London and certeine other great personages, whome he had accused, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder suerties taken for their good demeanour and foorth comming. But Robert de Touton, and the frier that had raised the spirit for to know whether the kings father were liuing or not, were committed to prison, wherein the frier remained till he died. The earle himselfe was had out of the castell gate at Winchester, and there lost his head the 19 day of March, chiefelie (as was thought) thorough the malice of the quéene mother, and of the earle of March: whose pride and high presumption the said earle of Kent might not well abide. His death was the lesse lamented, bicause of the presumptuous gouernement of his seruants and retinue, which he kept about him, for that they riding abroad, would take vp things at their pleasure, not paieng nor agréeing with the partie to whome such things belonged; in so much that by their meanes, who ought to haue

1330.

Anno Reg. 4.

The earle of Kent beheaded.

Naughtie seruants bring their master into displeasure.

haue doone their vttermost for the inlargement of his honour, he grew in greater obloquie and reproch: a fowle fault in seruants so to abuse their lords names to their priuat profit, to whome they cannot be too trustie. But such are to be warned, that by the same wherin they offend, they shall be punished, euen with seruants faithlesse to plague their vntrustinesse, for

Qui violare fidem solet, & violetur eidem.

The Blacke prince borne.

The yoong queene Philip was brought to bed at Woodstoke the 15 day of Iune of hir first sonne, the which at the fontstone was named Edward, and in processe of time came to great proofe of famous chiualrie, as in this booke shall more plainlie appeare. He was commonlie named when he came to ripe yeares prince Edward, & also surnamed the Blacke prince. The sixteenth day of Iulie chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, and for the space of two moneths before, and three moneths after, there fell exceeding great raine, so that through the great intemperancie of weather, corne could not ripen, by reason whereof, in manie places they began not haruest till Michaelmas, & in some places they inned not their wheat till Alhallontide, nor their pease till saint Andrews tide.

Camden. An eclipse.

A late haruest.

A mightie wind.

On Christmasse euen, about the breake of day, a maruellous sore and terrible wind came foorth of the west, which ouerthrew houses and buildings, ouerturned trees by the roots, and did much hurt in diuerse places. ¶ This yeare shortlie after Easter, the king with the bishop of Winchester, and the lord William Montacute, hauing not past fifteene horsses in their companie, passed the sea, apparelled in clokes like to merchants, he left his brother the earle of Cornewall his deputie & gardian of the realme till his returne. Moreouer, he caused it to be proclaimed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpose. He returned before the later end of Aprill, and then was there holden a turnie at Dertfort.

The mondaie after saint Matthews day in September, the king held a solemne iusts in Cheapeside, betwixt the great crosse and Soperlane, he with 12 as chalengers answering all defendants that came. This solemne iusts and turnie continued three daies. The queene with manie ladies being present at the same, fell beside a stage, but yet as good hap would they had no hurt by that fall, to the reioising of manie that saw them in such danger, and yet so luckilie to escape without harme. ¶ Also in a parlement holden at Notingham about saint Lukes tide, sir Roger Mortimer the earle of March was apprehend the seuenteenth day of October within the castell of Notingham, where the king with the two queenes, his mother and his wife, and diuerse other were as then lodged. And though the keies of the castell were dailie and knightlie in the custodie of the said earle of March, and that his power was such, as it was doubted how he might be arrested (for he had, as some writers affirme, at that present in retinue nine score knights, besides esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen) yet at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Montacute, the lord Humfrie de Bohun, and his brother sir William, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Vfford, the lord William Clinton, the lord Iohn Neuill of Hornbie, and diuerse other, which had accused the said earle of March for the murther of king Edward the second, found means by intelligence had with sir William de Eland constable of the castell of Notingham, to take the said earle of March with his sonne the lord Roger or Geffrey Mortimer, and sir Simon Bereford, with other.

Additions to *N. Triuet.*

Sir Hugh Trumpington or Turrington (as some copies haue) that was one of his cheefest freends with certeine other were slaine, as they were about to resist against the lord Montacute, and his companie in taking of the said earle. The manner of his taking I passe ouer, bicause of the diuersitie in report thereof by sundrie writers. From Notingham he was sent vp to London with his sonne the lord Roger or Geffrey de Mortimer, sir Simon Bereford, and the other prisoners, where they were committed to prison in the tower. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Westminster, cheefelie (as was thought) for reformation of things disordered through the misgouernance of the earle of March. But whosoeuer was glad or sorie for the trouble of the said earle, suerlie the queene mother

mother tooke it most heauilie aboue all other, as she that loued him more (as the fame went) than stood well with hir honour. For as some write, she was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were house togither, for the earle to haue his prouision the better cheape, laid his penie with hirs, so that hir takers serued him as well as they did hir both of vittels & cariages. Of which misvsage (all regard to honour and estimation neglected) euerie subiect spake shame. For their manner of dealing, tending to such euill purposes as they continuallie thought vpon, could not be secret from the eies of the people. And their offense héerein was so much the more heinous, bicause they were persons of an extraordinarie degree, and were the more narrowlie marked of the multitude or common people, Maister *Fox.*

——— nam lux altissima fati *Claudi.*
Occultum nil esse sinit, latebrásq; per omnes
Intrat, & obtrusos explorat fama recessus.

But now in this parlement holden at Westminster he was attainted of high treason expressed in fiue articles, as in effect followeth. The earle of March attainted.

1 First, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnaruan the kings father to be murthered in most heinous and tyrannous maner within the castell of Berklie.

2 Secondlie, that the Scots at Stanop parke through his means escaped.

3 Thirdlie, that he receiued at the hands of the lord Iames Dowglas, at that time generall of the Scots, great summes of monie to execute that treason, and further to conclude the peace vpon such dishonorable couenants as was accorded with the Scots at the parlement of Northampton.

4 Fourthlie, that he had got into his hands a great part of the kings treasure, and had wasted and consumed it.

5 Fiftlie, that he had impropried vnto him diuerse wards that belonged vnto the king: and had béene more priuie with queene Isabell the kings mother, than stood either with Gods law, or the king pleasure.

These articles with other being prooued against him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parlement to suffer death, and according therevnto, vpon saint Andrewes eeuen next insuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in those daies The elmes, & now Tiborne, as in some bookes we find. His bodie remained two daies and two nights on the gallowes, and after taken downe was deliuered to the friers minors, who buried him in their church the morrow after he was deliuered to them, with great pompe and funerall exequies, although afterwards he was taken vp and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lord. He came not to his answer in iudgement, no more than any other of the nobilitie had doone, since the death of Thomas earle of Lancaster. *Adam Meremuth.* The earle of March executed.

Sir Simon de Bereford knight that had béene one of the kings iustices, was drawne also and hanged at London, vpon S. Lucies daie. In this parlement holden at Westminster, the king tooke into his hand, by aduise of the states there assembled, all the possessions, lands and reuenues that belonged to the quéene his mother, she hauing assigned to hir a thousand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir estate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elsewhere abroad: yet the king to comfort hir would lightlie euerie yeare once come to visit hir. Sir Simon Bereford executed. Some bookes haue 3 thousand pounds.

¶ After that the erle of March was executed (as yée haue heard) diuerse noblemen that were departed the realme, bicause they could not abide the pride and presumption of the said earle, now returned: as the sonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, the lord Thomas Wake, the L. Henrie Beaumont, sir Thomas de Rosselin, sir Foulke fitz Warren, sir Griffin de la Poole, and diuerse other. *Ad. Meremu.*

In the fift yeare of K. Edwards reigne, Edward Baliöll came foorth of France into England, and obteined such fauour through the assistance of the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Dauid of Strabogie earle of Athole, the lord Geffrey de Mowbraie, the lord Walter Cumin, and others, that king Edward granted him licence to 1331. An. Reg. 5. Edward Baliöll commeth into England.

to make his prouision in England to passe into Scotland, with an armie of men to attempt the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotland, with condition that if he recouered it, he should acknowledge to hold it of the king of England as superiour lord of Scotland. The comming awaie of Edward Balioll out of France is diuerslie reported by writers: some saie that he was aided by the French king, whose sister he had married: and other saie, that he being in prison in France, for the escape of an Englishman, one John Barnabie esquier, which had slaine a Frenchman by chance of quarelling in the towne of Dampierre, where the same Barnabie dwelled with the said Edward Balioll, so it came to passe that the lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occasion of businesse with the French king, that fauoured him well, came ouer to France, and there vnderstanding of Baliols imprisonment, procured his deliuerance, and brought him ouer into England, and caused him to remaine in secret wise at the manor of Sandhall vpon Ouse in Yorkeshire with the ladie Vescie, till he had purchased the kings grant for him to make his prouision of men of war and ships within the English dominions.

Caxton.

Iohn Barnabie.

The lord Beaumont.

1332. In the sixt yeare of king Edwards reigne, Reignold earle of Gelderland married the ladie Elianor sister to this king Edward the third, who gaue vnto the said earle with hir for hir portion, fifteene thousand pounds sterling. ¶ Isabell the kings daughter was borne also this yeare at Woodstoke. ¶ After that Edward Balioll had prepared and made readie his purueiances for his iournie, and that his men of warre were assembled and come togither, being in all not past fiue hundred men of armes, and about two thousand archers, and other footmen, he tooke the sea at Rauenspurgh in Yorkeshire, and from thence directing his course northward, he arriued at length in Scotland, where he atchiuing great victories (as in the Scotish chronicle yée may read more at large) was finallie crowned king of that realme.

An. Reg. 6. Croxden. *The earle of Gelderland.*

Edward Balioll crowned K. of Scotland.

It may séeme a woonder to manie, that the king of England would permit Edward Balioll to make his prouision thus in England, and to suffer his people to aid him against his brother in law king Dauid that had married his sister (as before ye haue heard.) Indéed at the first he was not verie readie to grant their suit that mooued it, but at length he was contented to dissemble the matter, in hope that if Edward Balioll had good successe, he should then recouer that againe, which by the conclusion of peace during his minoritie, he had through euill counsell resigned out of his hands. The Scots neuerthelesse in December chased their new king Edward Balioll out of Scotland, so that he was faine to retire into England, and celebrated the feast of the Natiuitie at Carleill, in the house of the friers minors, and the morrow after being S. Stephans day, he went into Westmerland, where of the lord Clifford he was right honorablie receiued, to whome he then granted Douglas Dale in Scotland, which had béene granted to the said lord Cliffords grandfather in the daies of king Edward the first, if he might at anie time recouer the realme of Scotland out of his aduersaries hands.

The cause that mooued K. Edward to aid Edward Balioll.

Rich. South. *Edward Balioll chased out of Scotland.*

1333. After this, he went and laie a time with the ladie of Gines, that was his kinswoman. Finallie about the téenth day of March, hauing assembled a power of Englishmen and Scotishmen, he entred Scotland, and besieged the towne of Berwike, during the which siege, manie enterprises were attempted by the parties: and amongst other, the Scots entred England by Carleill, dooing much mischiefe in Gillesland, by burning, killing, robbing and spoiling. The king aduertised hereof, thought himselfe discharged of the agréement concluded betwixt him and Dauid Bruce, the sonne of Robert Bruce that had married his sister, & therfore tooke it to be lawfull for him to aid his coosen Edward Balioll the lawfull K. of Scots. And herewith assembling an armie, came to the siege of Berwike, togither with his brother Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall, and other noble men, séeking by all meanes possible how to win the towne: and finallie discomfited an armie of Scots, which came to the rescue theerof vpon Halidon hill, in sleaing of them what in the fight and chase, seuen earles, nine hundred knights and baronets, foure hundred esquiers, and vpon 32 thousand of the common people: and of Englishmen were slaine

An. Reg. 7. *Berwike besieged.*

The victorie of English men at Halidon hill.

slaine but 15 persons, as our English writers make mention. The Scotish writers confesse, that the Scotishmen lost the number of 14 thousand.

On the morrow following, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendered vnto king Edward with the castell, as in the Scotish chronicle ye may read, with more matter touching the siege and battell aforesaid, and therfore here in few words, I passe it ouer. King Edward hauing thus sped his businesse, left a power of men with Edward Balioll, vnder the conduct of the lord Richard Talbot, and returned himselfe backe into England, appointing the lord Percie to be gouernor of the towne of Berwike, and sir Thomas Grey knight his lieutenant. The lord Iohn Darcie lord chéefe iustice of Ireland, hauing the lord Thomas Bourgh his deputie in that countrie, passed ouer with an armie into Scotland, to aid the king, who (as ye haue heard) was there the same time in person. And so by the king on one side, and by the Irishmen on an other, Scotland was subdued, and restored vnto Balioll, who the morrow after the octaues of the Natiuitie of our ladie, held a parlement at saint Iohns towne, in the which he reuoked and made void all acts, which the late king of Scots Robert Bruce had inacted or made: and further ordeined, that all such lands and possessions as the said Bruce had giuen to any maner of person should be taken from them, and restored to the former and true inheritour.

Berwike deliuered.

The lord Richard Talbot.

The lord iustice of Ireland cõmeth into Scotland.

In this yeare about the twelfth of October, Simon Mepham archbishop of Canturburie, departed this life, in whose place succeeded Iohn Stretford, being remooued from the see of Winchester, whereof he was bishop, before that he was thus called to the see of Canturburie. After Candlemas the king of England repaired towards Yorke, there to hold a parlement, to the which (beginning on the mondaie in the second wéeke in Lent) when Edward Balioll doubting to be surprised by his aduersaries, could not come, yet he sent the lord Henrie de Beaumont, and the lord William de Montacute, to make excuse for him. The king of England passing further into the north parts, held his Whitsuntide at Newcastell vpon Tine, with great roialtie: and shortlie after, Edward Balioll king of Scots came thither, and vpon the ninetéenth daie of Iune made his homage vnto the king of England, and sware vnto him fealtie in the presence of a great number of Nobles and gentlemen there assembled, as to his superiour and chiefe lord of the realme of Scotland, binding himselfe by that oth, to hold the same realme of the king of England, his heires and successors for euer. He also gaue and granted vnto the king of England at that time fiue counties next adioining vnto the borders of England, as Berwike and Rocksburgh, Peplis, and Dunfres, the townes of Hadington and Gedworth with the castell, the forrests of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, so as all these portions should be cléerelie separated and put apart from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed vnto the crowne of England for euer. And these things were confirmed and roborated with oth, scepter, and witnesse sufficient.

Adam Meri-muth. 1334.

An. Reg. 8. *Adam Meri-muth.*

A parlement at Yorke.

Edward Balioll dooth homage vnto the king of England for Scotland.

Which things doone in due order, as was requisite, the king of England returned home, and the kings went backe into Scotland. And then were all such lords restored againe to their lands and possessions in Scotland, which in the daies of Edward the second had béene expelled from the same: and now they did their homage vnto the king of Scotland for those lands as apperteined. ¶ Immediatlie after, the king of England called a councell of his lords spirituall and temporall at Notingham, commanding them to meet him there about the thirtéenth daie of Iulie, there to consult with him of weightie causes concerning the state of the realme. This yeare on saint Clements daie at night, which fell on the thrée and twentith of Nouember, through a maruellous inundation & rising of the sea all alongst by the coasts of this realme, but especiallie about the Thames, the sea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beasts and cattell drowned, fruitfull grounds and pastures were made salt marishes, so as there was no hope that in long time they should recouer againe their former fruitfulnesse.

Inundation of the sea.

In this meane time the French king was appointed to haue made a viage against the

Saracens, enimics of our faith, and had sent to the king of England, requiring him of his companie in that iournie. But the king of England being otherwise occupied with the affaires of Scotland, made no direct answer therevnto, so that the French king perceiuing that the king of England was not in all things well pleased with him, thought good before he set forward on that iournie to vnderstand his meaning, and thervpon sent eftsoones vnto him other ambassadours. These ambassadours arriued here in England and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, saue that the king promised to send his ambassadors ouer into France, to haue further communication in the matter touching such points of variance as depended betwixt them.

Ambassadors from the French king.

Although Edward Balioll by the puissance of the king of Englands assistance had got the most part of the realme of Scotland into his hands, yet diuerse castels were holden against him, and the Scots dailie slipped from him, and by open rebellion molested him diuerse waies. The king of England aduertised thereof called a parlement at London, wherein he tooke order for his iournie into Scotland, had a tenth and a fiftéenth granted him, and so about Alhallontide he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, with his armie, and remained there till the feast of saint Katharine, and then entring into Scotland, came to Rockesburgh, where he repared the castell which had beene aforetime destroied. After the third daie of Christmasse was past, the king of England entred into Ethrike forrest, beating it vp and downe, but the Scots would not come within his reach: wherevpon he sent the king of Scots that was there present with him, and the earles of Warwike and Oxenford, and certeine other barons and knights with their retinues vnto Carleill, to keepe and defend those west parts of the realme from the Scots.

Fich. South. A parlement at London.

The king entreth into Scotland with an armie. 1335.

In their iournie thitherwards, they went by Peplis to apprehend certeine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged and abiding thereabouts, but when they found them not, they wasted the countrie, and turned streight to Carleill, where after the Epiphanie there assembled an armie foorth of the counties of Lancaster, Westmerland, and Cumberland, by the kings appointment, which armie togither with the king of Scots and the other lords there found, entred Scotland, and did much hurt in the countrie of Galloway, destroieng towns and all that they found abroad, but the people were fled and withdrawne out of their waie. And when they had taken their pleasure, the king of Scots returned backe to Carleill. This yere there fell great abundance of raine, and therevpon insued morren of beasts: also corne so failed this yeare, that a quarter of wheat was sold at fortie shillings.

Hen. Marle.

A dearth and deth of cattell.

Finallie, when the king had finished his businesse in Scotland, as to his séeming stood with his pleasure, he returned into England, and shortlie after he sent the archbishop of Canturburie, sir Philip de Montacute, and Geffrey Scroope vnto the French king, to conclude a firme amitie & league with him. These lords comming into France, were not at the first admitted to the French kings presence, till they shewed themselues halfe greeued with that strange dealing: for then finallie were they brought vnto him, who gentlie receiued them, and caused the matter to be intreated of about the which they were sent, in furthering whereof, such diligence was vsed, that finallie a conclusion of peace and concord was agreed, and so farre passed, that proclamation thereof should haue béene made in Paris, and in the countrie thereabout the next day: but scarse were the English ambassadours returned vnto their lodgings, when they were sent for backe againe, and further informed, that the French king minded to haue Dauid king of Scotland comprised in the same league, so that he might be restored vnto his kingdome, and the Balioll put out. The English ambassadors answered, that their commission extended not so farre, and therefore they could not conclude any thing therein. Herevpon all the former communication was reuoked, and cléerelie made void, so that the English ambassadors returned home into England without anie thing concluded.

An. Reg. 9. Ambassadors sent into France.

About the feast of the Ascension, the king held a parlement at Yorke, ordeining for his iournie into Scotland, and also deuising by authoritie thereof diuerse profitable statutes for the common-wealth. About midsummer, he came with his armie vnto Newcastell vpon

Ri. Southwell. A parlement.

Tine, whither came to him from Carleill the king of Scots, and there order was taken, that the king of England, and his brother the earle of Cornwall, the earls of Warwike, Lancaster, Lincolne, and Hereford, with all their retinues, and the earle of Gulikerland, that had married the kings sister, and with a faire companie was come to serue the king in these warres, should passe to Carleill, and on the twelfe of Iulie enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the earles of Surrie, and Arundell, and the lord Henrie Percie, a baron of great might and power, being all of kin vnto the king of Scots, with their retinues should go to Berwike, and there enter the same day aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, so it was put in practise. For both kings on the same day entring Scotland in seuerall parts passed forward without resistance at their pleasures, wasting and burning all the countries, both on this side, and beyond the Scotish sea. The Welshmen spared neither religious persons nor their houses, making no more accompt of them than of others: the mariners of Newcastell also burnt a great part of the towne of Dundée. The Welshmen. Dundée burnt.

The earle of Namure about the same time comming into England, to serue the king in his warres, tooke vpon him to passe into Scotland with a band of an hundred men of armes, beside seauen or eight knights which he brought ouer with him, and certeine Englishmen to be his guides from Berwike, but he was assailed before he could get to Edenburgh, by the earles of Murrey and Dunbarre, and the lord William Dowglas: so that notwithstanding the strangers bare themselues verie manfullie, yet oppressed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet still fighting and defending themselues till they came to Edenburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruines of the castel stood, kept the same all the night folowing. But the next day they despairing of all succours, and hauing neither meat nor drinke, at length yéelded themselues, whom the earle of Murrey receiuing right courteouslie, shewed them such fauour, that without ransome he was contented they should returne into their countries: and for more suertie, he conueied the said earle of Namure (whome the Scotish books call earle of Gelderland) and his companie backe to the borders; but in his returne, or shortlie after, the same earle of Murrey that tooke himselfe for gouernour of Scotland, was encountred by the Englishmen that laie in garrison within Rockesburgh, and by them taken prisoner. The lord William Dowglas being there also with him escaped, but James Dowglas brother to the said lord William Douglas, was at that bickering slaine with diuerse other. The earle of Namure. *Fourdon.* *Fourdon.* The earle of Murrey take. *Rich. Southto.*

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, diuerse of the Scotish nobilitie came and submitted themselues to the king, namelie the earle of Atholl and others, but earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the earle of Rosse, the lord Andrew de Murrey, the lord William Dowglas, and the lord William de Keth, and manie other would not come in, but assembling themselues togither, did all the mischéefe they could vnto those that had receiued the kings peace. The earle of Atholl in the winter season, besieging the castell of Kildrummie beyond the Scotish sea was set vpon by the earles of Dunbarre and Rosse, so that they slue him there in field, for his men fled from him (through some traitorous practise as was thought) and left him and a few other in all the danger. ¶ The king of England being returned foorth of Scotland, remained for the most part of the winter in the north parts, and held his Christmasse at Newcastell vpon Tine, and after the Epiphanie hauing assembled an armie readie to passe into Scotland, to reuenge the earle of Athols death, which he tooke verie displeasantlie, there came in the meane time ambassadors both from the pope and the French king, and found the king of England at Berwike, readie with his armie to set forwards into Scotland. But these ambassadors did so much by intreatie with the two kings of England and Scotland, that about the feast of the Purification, a truce was agréed vpon to indure till midlent. Scots submit them to the king of England. The castell of Kildrummie. The earle of Atholl slaine. 1336. An. Reg. 10. A truce granted to the Scots.

Then was a parlement to be holden at London, and herewith articles were drawne, and certeine petitions put foorth, vpon the which if the parties in the meane time could agrée, the peace accordinglie might be established, if not, then the warre to be prosecuted as before. The chiefest article and petition which the Scots proponed, as desirous to be therein

therein resolued, was to vnderstand which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to wit, Edward Balioll, and Dauid Bruce, had most right thereto. But when in the parlement time the lord Maurice de Murrey slue sir Geffrey de Rosse a Scotish knight, that was shiriffe of Aire and Lenarke, being of the Baliols side, for that in time of open warre the same sir Geffrey had slaine his brother, vpon respect of this presumptuous part, and by reason of such stoutnesse as the Scots otherwise shewed, no conclusion of peace could be brought to effect.

The stoutnes of Scots hindered the conclusion of the peace.

Before the feast of the Ascension, the king of England sent forward the king of Scots, the earles of Lancaster, Warwike, Oxford, and Anegos, and diuerse lords and capteins with an armie, the which after Whitsuntide entring into Scotland, passed ouer the Scotish sea, and comming to saint Iohns towne (which the Scots had burnt, despairing to defend it against the English power) they set in hand to fortifie it, compassing it with déepe diches and a strong rampier of earth. ¶ About the same time the king called a parlement at Northampton, where leauing the prelats and other to treat of such matters as were proponed, he himselfe rode northwards, and comming to Berwike, tooke with him a small band of men of armes, and setting forward, hasted foorth till he came to saint Iohns towne, where he found the king of Scots, and other his nobles greatlie woondering at his comming thither so vnlooked for. After he had rested there a little, he tooke with him part of the armie, and passed forward ouer the mounteines of Scotland euen vnto Elgen in Murrey and Inuernes, further by manie miles than euer his grandfather had gone.

An armie sent into Scotland.
S. Iohns towne fortified.
Adam Meri-muth.
The K. gooth into Scotland.

In his returne he burnt the towne of Aberden, in reuenge of the death of a right valiant knight called sir Thomas Rosselin, that comming thither by sea tooke land there, and was slaine by the enimies: he burnt diuerse other townes and places in this voiage, spoiling and wasting the countries where he came, not finding anie to resist him. About Lammas the earle of Cornewall with the power of Yorkeshire and Northumberland, and the lord Anthonie Lucie with the Cumberland and Westmerland men entred Scotland, and destroied the west parts, as Carrike, and other which obeied not the Balioll. The lord William Douglas still coasted the Englishmen, dooing to them what damage he might. At length this armie loden with preies and spoile returned home, but the earle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came through to saint Iohns towne, where he found the king being returned thither frō his iournie which he had made beyond the mounteins. The king staied not long there, but leauing the king of Scots with his companie in that towne, he went to Striueling, where, on the plot of ground vpon which the destroied castell had stood, he built an other fortresse, called a Pile. And now, bicause he had spent a great deale of treasure in those warres of Scotland, he summoned a parlement to be holden at Nottingham, in which there was granted to him a tenth of the clergie, and likewise of the citizens and burgesses of good towns, and a fifteenth of other that dwelt foorth of cities and boroughes.

Aberden burnt.
Tho. Wal in. Sir Thomas Rosselin slain.
The earle of Cornewall.
The lord Douglas.
Striueling castell built or rather repared.

About the latter end of October, Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall the kings brother departed this life at saint Iohns towne in Scotland: his bodie was afterwards conueied to Westminster, & there buried with all solemne funerals. The Scotish writers affirme that he was slaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vsed in the west parts of Scotland, in sleaing such as for safegard of their liues fled into churches. Moreouer, in December there deceassed at S. Iohns towne aforesaid, Hugh de Fresnes, that in right of the countesse of Lincolne was intituled earle of Lincolne. He died of the flix, or (as was said) through excessiue cold, which in those quarters in that cold time of the yeare sore afflicted the English people. ¶ In the meane time, about the feast of saint Luke the euangelist, the king went with an armie into Scotland toward the castell of Bothuille, and comming thither repared the same, which by the Scots had latelie before béene destroied. The baron Stafford at the same time comming towards the king with a power of men, tooke Dowglas Dale in his waie, taking in the same a great preie of cattell and other things.

The deceasse of the earle of Cornewall.
The deceasse of Hugh de Fresnes earle of Lincolne.
Walter Gisburgh.
Thom. Wals.
The lord Stafford.

Before

Before Christmasse the king returned into England, but the king of Scots remained all the winter in saint Iohns towne with a sober companie. When the king had setled the state of Scotland vnder the gouernement of the Balioll, those Scotishmen which tooke part with the Balioll, ordeined as it were in recompense of king Edwards friendship a statute, whereby they bound themselues to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England, that they should aid and assist him against all other princes: and whensoeuer it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightfull inheritor, had any wars against any prince, either within the land or without, the Scotishmen of their owne proper costs and expenses should find three hundred horssemen, & a thousand footmen well and sufficientlie arraied for the warre, the which thirteene hundred men the Scots should wage for a whole yeare: & if the king of England ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the said number of thirteene hundred Scots, as he dooth to other of his souldiers and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England should not onelie fortifie saint Iohns towne about this time, as before is mentioned, but also saint Andrews, Cowper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certeine other castels, leauing garisons of men in the same. But for so much as ye may read sufficientlie of those troubles in Scotland; and of the returne of king Dauid foorth of France, and how his realme was recouered out of the Baliols hands in the Scotish chronicles: we need not here to make anie long discourse thereof.

A statute ordeined by the Scots in fauour of the K. of England.

Polydor.

Townes fortified by king Edward in Scotland.

The queene was deliuered of hir second sonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named William of Hatfield, who liued but a short time, departing this world when he was but yoong. The king being returned home out of Scotland, sought by all waies possible how to recouer monie, both to supplie his charges for the Scotish wars, and also to furnish the other wars which he meant to take in hand against the French king: he got so much into his hands (as it is reported by writers) that it was verie scant and hard to come by throughout the whole realme: by reason of which scarsitie and want of monie, or vpon some other necessarie cause, vittels, and other chaffer and merchandize were excéeding cheape: for at London a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat oxe for six shillings eight pence, a fat shéepe for six pence or eight pence, halfe a doozen of pigeons for one penie, a fat goose for two pence, a pig for one penie, and so all other vittels after the like rate.

Th. Walsing. Croxden.

1337.

The king studieth to gather monie to maintaine his warres.

Great cheapnesse of wars and scarsitie of monie.

This yeare was the warre proclamed betwixt England and France, cheefelie by the procurement of the lord Robert Dartois, a Frenchman, as then banished out of France, vpon occasion of a claime by him made vnto the earledome of Artois. This lord Robert after he was banished France, fled ouer vnto king Edward, who gladlie receiued him and made him earle of Richmond. ¶ All the goods of the Italians were by the kings commandement this yeare confiscate to his vse, and so likewise were the goods of the moonks of the Cluniake and Cisterceaux orders. ¶ This yeare also a comet or blasing starre appeared, with long and terrible streames passing from it. In the eleauenth yeare of his reigne, the king held a parlement at Westminster, about the time of Lent, during the which, of the earledome of Cornewall he made a duchie, and gaue it vnto his eldest sonne Edward, that was then earle of Chester, whom also (as some write) he created at the same time prince of Wales.

1338.

An. Reg. 11.
Thom. Wals. Ran. Higd. Polydor. Fabian.

Moreouer in reward of seruice, there were six noble men at this parlement aduanced to the honour and title of earles, as the lord Henrie sonne to the earle of Lancaster was created earle of Derbie, or after some writers, earle of Leicester; William Bohun was created earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Hugh Audeley earle of Glocester, William Clinton earle of Huntingdon, and Robert Vfford earle of Suffolke. This creation was on the second sundaie in Lent, and the same day were twentie knights made, whose names for breefenesse we doo here omit. In this parlement it was enacted, that no man should weare any manner of silke in gowne, cote, or doublet; except he might dispend of good and sufficient rent an hundred pounds by yeare, which act was not long obserued. For the nature of man is such, that of it owne corrupt & euill inclination, it withstandeth good:

Creations of noble men.

Additions to *Hen. Marle. Croxden.*

An act of araie, against sumptuous apparell.

good things, and chooseth rather to follow whatsoeuer is forbidden, yea though the same be starke naught and offensiue to law and conscience: which preposterous and ouerthwart disposition the poet noteth well, saieng,

——— aliúdq; cupido
Mens aliud suadet: video meliora, probóq;,
Deteriora sequor.

It was also ordeined by the aduise of this parlement, that Henrie of Lancaster newlie created erle of Derbie should go ouer into Gascoine, there to remaine as the kings lieutenant. But Richard Southwell saith, that the earle of Salisburie, and not the earle of Derbie was appointed to go into Gascoine at that time, and the earle of Warwike into Scotland.

An act for restraint of transporting ouer wools. *Adam Meriemuth.*

Moreouer in this parlement it was enacted that no wooll of the English growth should go foorth of the land, but be there wrought and made in cloath: and further an act was ordeined for receiuing of strangers that were clothworkers, and order taken, that fit and conuenient places should be assigned foorth to them where to inhabit, with manie priuileges and liberties, and that they should haue wages and stipends allowed them, till they were so setled as they might gaine commodiouslie by their occupation and science: but now to returne againe to other matters.

Rich. South. The castell of Bothuile taken.

The Scots this yeare tooke the castell of Bothuile by surrender, so as the Englishmen that were within it, departed with their liues and goods saued. Diuerse other castels and fortresses were taken by the Scots in Fife, and in other parts, but the countrie of Galloway was by them speciallie sore afflicted, bicause the people there held with their lord Edward Balioll. Herevpon it was agreed in this last parlement, that the earle of Warwike being appointed to go thither, should haue with him the power beyond Trent northwards. But when about the Ascension tide the Scots had besieged the castell of Striueling, the king of England in person hasted thitherwards, of whose approach the Scots no sooner vnderstood, but that streightwaies they brake vp their siege, and departed thence: the king therefore returned backe into the south parts. About the same time sir Eustace de Maxwell knight, lord of Carlauerocke, reuolted from Edward Balioll vnto Dauid le Bruse his side, and so that part dailie increased, and also the warre continued, with damage inough vnto both parts.

Sir Eustace Maxwell.

The earle of Warwike inuadeth Scotland.

In the beginning of September the earle of Warwike with an armie entred Scotland by Berwike, and the lord Thomas de Wake, and the lord Clifford, with the bishop of Carleill accompanied with the Westmerland and Cumberland men, entred by Carleill, and within two daies after met with the earle of Warwike, as before it was appointed, and so ioining togither, they passed forwards, spoiling and wasting Teuidale, Mofeteidale, and Nidesdale. The lord Anthonie Lucie with a part of the armie entred into Galloway, and after he had wasted that countrie, he returned to the armie, which by reason of the exceeding great weat that fell in that season, they could not keepe on their iournie into Douglasdale, and to Aire, as they had appointed: but hauing remained in Scotland twelue daies, they returned altogither vnto Carleill. Edward Balioll was not with them in this iournie, but remained still in England.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made diuerse rodes into England, withdrawing still with their prey and booties, before the English power could assemble to giue them battell.

The castell of Edenburgh besieged.

About Alhallontide, the Scots besieged the castell of Edenburgh, but the bishop of Carleill, the lord Randoll Dacres of Gillesland, with the power of the counties of Cumberland and of Westmerland, and the king of Scots Edward Balioll, with the lord Anthonie Lucie; and such companie as they brought from Berwike, meeting at Rockesburgh, marched foorth vnto Edenburgh, and chasing the Scots from the siege, tooke order for the safe keeping of the castell from thencefoorth, and returned into England.

The siege is raised.

The K. practiseth with ye Flemings.

In this meane time things happened so well to the purpose of king Edward, that by practise he alienated the hearts of the Flemings from the obedience of their earle, being altogither an earnest freend to the French king. He therefore vnderstanding the minds of his people, sought to winne them

them by some gentle treatie, and so did euen at the first, concluding an agréement with them of Gaunt, which were fullie at a point to haue entred into league with the king of England, as with him whose fréendship by reason of the traffike of merchandize, (and namelie of the English wools) they knew to be more necessarie for their countrie than the French kings.

Although by the helpe of the bishop of Tournie the earle of Flanders caused them to staie from concluding or ioining in anie such bonds of amitie with the king of England for that time, yet he doubted the arriuall of some power out of England, and therevpon appointed his bastard brother Guie of Rijckenburgh, and certeine other noble men and capteins, with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Ile of Cadsant, to defend the passage there, and to see that no English ships should come or go that waie by the seas: whereof the king of England being aduertised, sent thither the earle of Derbie, the lord Lewes Beauchampe, the lord Reginald Cobham, also the lord William sonne to the earle of Warwike, the lord Walter de Mannie an Hanneuier, and other lords, knights, and capteins, with a power of fiue hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, the which comming to the foresaid Ile of Cadsant, found the Flemings, about fiue thousand in number, readie arranged on the towne dikes and sands, in purpose to defend the entrie, which they did a certeine space right valiantlie: but in the end they were discomfited, and three thousand of them slaine in the stréets, hauen, and houses. Sir Guie the bastard of Flanders was taken with diuerse other knights and gentlemen, the towne was burnt, and the goods with the prisoners were carried into England. This chanced on a sundaie the daie before the feast of saint Martine in Nouember. Where the lord Walter de Mannie might haue had 11 thousand pounds sterling for the ransome of the said sir Guie, and other prisoners, the king bought them of him in the fouretéenth yeare of his reigne for eight thousand pounds sterling, as by records in the tower it appeareth.

The bishop of Tournie. *Ia. Meir.* The Ile of Cadsant. An armie sent by sea into Flanders. Foure thousand saith *Ia. Meir.* *Froissard.*

About the feast of saint Martine in winter, there came vnto London two cardinals, sent by the pope to treat for a peace betwixt the kings of England, and France. ¶ The archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Winchester, Elie, Chichester, Couentrie, & the cõmoners of the citie of London met them on Shooters hill. The duke of Cornewall with the earle of Surrie, and manie other of the nobilitie receiued them a mile without the citie. The king himselfe receiued them at the lesser hall doore of his palace at Westminster, and brought them into the painted chamber, where they declared their message: wherevpon the king caused a parlement to be summoned at London, to begin the morrow after Candlemasse day. The king held his Christmasse at Gildford, and within the octaues of the same feast he tooke his iournie towards Scotland, or rather (as other haue) he sent thither the earles of Salisburie, Glocester, Derbie, and Anegos, with three barons, the lords Percie, Neuill, and Stafford, the which with twentie thousand men besieged the castell of Dunbar.

Two cardinals come into England. Additions to *Meri.* 1339. *Ri. Southwell.* The castell of Dunbar besieged. An. Reg. 12.

This siege began euen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne, and continued for the space of nineteene weeks, with small gaine and lesse honour to the Englishmen, in so much that the same brake vp vnder a colour of a truce, when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that laie there at siege, hasted to make an end, that they might attend the king in his iournie ouer into Brabant. The morrow after Candlemasse day the parlement began, in which there was a grant made to the king by the laitie of the one halfe of their woolles through the whole realme for the next summer, which he receiued, and likewise he leuied of the cleargie the whole, causing them to paie nine marks of euerie sacke of the best wooll. But after the rate of the one halfe he tooke in whose hands so euer it was found, aswell merchants as others. After this, he tooke a fiftéenth of all the communaltie of his realme in wooll, the price of euerie stone conteining fouretéene pounds rated at two shillings. The one and twentith of March the two cardinals tooke the sea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Durham to treat of a peace, if by any good means the two kings might be

A parlement. *Croxden.* A subsidie. The cardinals returne.

be made frèends. But as it appeared, their trauell was in vaine, for although they abode togither for a time on the frontiers, dooing their best indeuor, yet their trauell nothing auailed, as by that which followeth is most manifest.

Iames or Iacob Arteueld, a honimaker of Gant. His authoritie among the commons.

The Flemings that fauoured king Edward, were put in such comfort by the late victorie obteined by the Englishmen in the Ile of Cadsant, that falling to their former practise, one Iaques or Iacob van Arteueld an honimaker of the towne of Gant, was chosen amongst them to be as it were the defender of the people, and namelie of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finallie, his authoritie grew so hugelie amongst all the whole number of the commons in Flanders, that he might doo more with them than their earle; and yet the earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceassed not to vse all courteous means towards them that he could deuise, as releasing customes and duties of monie, pardoning offenses, forfeitures, and other such like, but all would not auaile him. The king of England had so woon them by the meanes of the said Iaques van Arteueld, that in the end Iohn archbishop of Canturburie, & Richard the bishop of Durham, came into Flanders as ambassadors from king Edward, and trauelled so earnestlie to draw the Flemings vnto an amitie with their master king Edward, that finallie a league was concluded betwixt the countrie of Flanders, and the said king at Gant, in the presence of the earle of Gelderland, as then being there. The cheefe authors of this league were the said Iaques van Arteueld, and a noble man of Flanders, called Siger de Curtrey.

A league betwixt England & Flanders. *Iac. Meir.*

Siger de Curtrey.

But this Siger being immediatlie after apprehended by the earle of Flanders, was put to death. Which act procured the earle so much hatred of the people, that shortlie after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, he was forced himselfe to flee from thence, for otherwise he had béene either taken or slaine; the commons of the towne & namelie the fullers, of whome he had slaine some there in the stréets, rose so fast vpon him. Herevpon fléeing home to his house, he tooke his wife, and a sonne which he had, and fled with them into France, so forsaking his countrie which was now gouerned by Iaques van Arteueld, as though he had béene immediatlie lord thereof. After this, the earle returned home againe, as it were with the French kings commission, to persuade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the king of England: but he could bring nothing to passe, but was still in danger to haue beene arrested and staied of his owne subiects, both at Gant and in other places, but namelie at Dixmue, where if he had not made the more hast awaie, he had beene taken by them of Bruges. Amongst other of his stuffe which he left behind him in that hastie departure, his signet was forgotten, and not missed till he came to saint Omers, whither he fled for his safegard.

The Fullers of Gant.

The earle of Flanders fléeth into France. He returneth home.

Dixmue.

He eftsoones fléeth.

Thus we may perceiue that Flanders rested wholie at king Edwards commandement, who to establish amitie also with the duke of Brabant, and other princes of the empire, about the middest of Iulie sailed ouer vnto Antwerpe, with his wife quéene Philip, his sonne the prince of Wales, and a great number of other of the péeres and barons of his realme, where he was most ioifullie receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lords of the empire. There was sent to the emperour to procure his frèendship, from the king of England, the marques of Gulike with certeine noble men of England, and also certeine of the duke of Gelderland his councell, the which marques was made at that time an earle, & the earle of Gelderland was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had married the ladie Isabell sister of king Edward, and therefore in fauour of the king his brother in law, trauelled most earnestlie to procure him all the frèends within the empire that he could make.

Flanders wholie at the deuotion of K. Edward. K. Edward saileth to Antwerpe.

Froissard. The marques of Gulikerland. The earle of Gelderland created duke.

The princes and lords then with whom king Edward was alied and confederated at that time, I find to be these; the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the archbishop of Cullen, the marquesse of Gulike, sir Arnold de Baquehen, and the lord of Valkenburgh, who all promised to defie the French king, in the king of Englands quarrell, and to serue him with notable numbers of men, where and whensoeuer it should please him to appoint. The aliance of the earle of Heinault first procured the king of England all these frèends,

K. Edwards confederates.

vnto

vnto the which earle he had sent ouer the bishop of Lincolne and other in ambassage, immediatlie after that he had resolued to make warres against France, by the counsell and aduise of sir Robert Dartois, as in the French historie more plainlie appeareth. In this meane season was queene Philip brought to bed at Antwerpe of hir third sonne, which was named Lionell. ¶ The king of England earnestlie followed his businesse, and had manie treaties with his frēends and confederats, till at length he made sure to him the frēendship of all those townes & countries, which lie betwixt France and the riuer of Rhene: onelie the cities of Tournie and Cambrie held of the French kings part, though Cambrie belonged to the empire.

Lionell that was after duke of Clarence borne.

In this twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne at a councell holden at Northampton by the duke of Cornewall, lord warden of England in absence of the king his brother, and by manie of the prelats and barons of the realme, there was granted to the king a subsidie in wooll, to the great burthen of the commons: but for so much as the cleargie of the land was not present at that councell, it was ordeined that they should be called, and so they assembled in a conuocation at London the first day of October, in which the cleargie granted to the king a tenth for the third yeare then to come, ouer and besides the two tenths before granted, and that the tenth of this present yeare should be paid in shorter time than it was appointed: but they flatlie denied to grant their wools, which neuertheless the laitie paid, and that to their great hinderance, for it rose double to a fiftéene. From the beginning of October, to the beginning of December this yeare, fell such abundance of raine that it hindered greatlie the husbandmen in sowing of their winter corne: and in the beginning of December came such a vehement frost continuing the space of twelue wéeks, that it destroied vp all the séed almost that was sowne, by reason whereof small store of winter corne came to proofe in the summer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kinds of graine were sold at a reasonable price, through want of monie.

Additions to *Adam Meri-muth.*
A parlement at Northampton.
A subsidie vpon wooll.
The cleargie granteth a tenth.
Great raine.

1339.
An. Reg. 13.

The Frenchmen by sea sore troubled the sea coasts of this realme, speciallie where the champion countries stretch towards the sea coasts. At Hastings in the feast of Corpus Christi, they burnt certeine fishermens houses, and slue some of the inhabitants. Also in the hauens about Deuonshire and Cornewall, and towards Bristow, they tooke and burnt certeine ships, killing the mariners that came to their hands, and in the Whitsun-wéeke they landed at Plimmouth, and burnt the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtnie earle of Deuonshire, a man almost fourescore yeares of age, and other knights and men of the countrie came against these Frenchmen, sleaing such as came into their hands to the number of fiue hundred, as was estéemed, and chased the residue. ¶ The Scots also about the same time did much hurt and great mischéefe to the Englishmen both by sea and land.

The Frenchmen inuade ye coasts of this land.
Plimmouth burnt.
The earle of Deuonshire.
Rich. South.

In the beginning of Iulie the lord William Dowglas, with a number of men of warre, returned from France home into England, and to him vpon his returne the castell of Cowper was deliuered, with all the countrie thereabouts. After this, comming to the siege of S. Iohns towne, which the gouernour the earle of Murrey, the erle of March, Patrike de Dunbarre, and other of the Scotish lords had besieged, at length it was surrendered by sir Thomas Vthred capiteine there of the English garison, departing in safetie home into England. Thrée daies before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, there chanced in the night season such a mightie and sudden inundation of water at Newcastell vpon Tine, that it bare downe a péece of the towne wall, six perches in length, néere to a place called Walknow, where a hundred and twentie temporall men with diuerse préests and manie women were drowned and lamentablie perished.

William Dowglas.
Hect. Boetius.
A floud.

But now to returne to the king, which all this while remained in Brabant. Ye haue heard how the citie of Cambrie held with the French king: wherefore the K. of England, assembling togither a mightie strong armie aswell of Englishmen as of the low countries of Dutchland, ment to besiege it, but first he sent the archbishop of Canturburie with the

Cõmissioners sent to treat of peace.

bishops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commissioners from him to méet there with the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Langres and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commissioners from the French king, to treat with the Englishmen of a peace, but they could not agrée vpon anie conclusion, wherevpon king Edward, comming forward with his power, approached to Cambrie, and planted his siege round about it.

They cannot agrée. Cambrie besieged.

But the bishop not meaning to deliuer the citie vnto king Edward nor vnto anie other that should demand it to the behoofe of the emperour Ludouike of Bauiere, as then excommunicated of the pope, had receiued into the towne fiue thousand Frenchmen, with the French kings eldest sonne, the duke of Normandie latelie returned out of Guien, and the lord Theobald Maruise, with certeine companies of Sauoisins, so that the citie was so defended, that the king of England perceiuing he should but lose time, leuied his siege, and entred into France, pitching his field at a place called Flaminguerie.

Ia. Meir. The king raiseth his siege and entreth into France. Flaminguerie.

Fabian. Thom. Walsi.

In the meane time had the French king not onelie made himselfe strong by land, but also by sea, hauing sent foorth a strong nauie of ships and gallies towards the coasts of England, which arriuing at Southampton the mondaie after Michaelmas day, tooke and spoiled the towne, and the morrow after set fire vpon it in fiue places, so that a great part of it was burnt. Also thirteene sailes of the French fléet met with fiue English ships, and after a sore fight which continued nine houres, tooke two of those fiue being tall and goodlie ships, the one called the Edward, and the other the Christopher; the other three being smaller vessels, as two of them barks and the other a caruell escaped by their swiftnesse of sailing. There was slaine in that fight vpon both parts about the number of six hundred men.

Southamptõ burnt.

Two English ships taken.

The French king himselfe hearing that the king of England would inuade his realme, made his generall assemblie of his armie at Peronne; and when he heard that he was entred France, he remooued towards him with his whole power, being at the point of an hundred thousand men, as in the French chronicle yee may read more at large. The king of England had not past thréescore thousand in his armie at the most: but whilest he laie there vpon the borders of France, his people did much hurt, making roads abroad beyond the water of Some, burning and spoiling abbies, towns, and villages, as Orignie, saint Benoit, Ribemont in Thierasse, saint Gouan, Marle, and Cressie. Also the lord Beaumont of Heinault burnt the towne of Guise, though his daughter was as then within the same towne wife vnto Lewes earle of Blois: his brother William earle of Heinault was latelie before deceassed, leauing the earledome to his sonne named also William, who continued with the king of England so long as he laie before Cambrie, & kept him within the bounds of the empire, as though his allegiance had bound him to no lesse, but after the said king was passed the riuer of Lescault, otherwise called the Skell, and in Latine Scaldis, which diuideth the empire from the kingdome of France, he would no longer serue the king of England, but departed from him for feare to offend the French king, accounting that the matter perteined not now to the empire, but to the priuate quarell and businesse of the king of England: notwithstanding his vncle the said sir Iohn like a faithfull gentleman continued still in king Edward his seruice.

The French kings armie. *Iacob. Meir.*

Townes burnt by the Englishmen in France. The towne of Guise burnt. The earle of Heinault.

The two armies of England and France approched within foure miles togither, so that euerie man thought that there would sure haue béene battell betwixt them, as there had béene in deed, if the French king had béene willing; yet some saie, that he of himselfe was disposed thereto: but his councellors aduised him to the contrarie, by reason of certeine signs and tokens which they misliked, as the starting of an hare amongst them, and such like. Also it was said that Robert king of Naples being then come into France, whose knowledge in astronomie was knowne to be great, dissuaded the French king by his letters, that in no wise he should fight with the king of England, for he had vnderstanding by art of the heauenlie influences and disposition of the bodies aboue, that if the French king fought with this Edward king of England, he should assuredlie be put to the worsse. Whether this was the cause, or anie other, sure it is that the Frenchmen had no mind to fight, so that

The armies approch neere togither. *Froissard.*

Robert king of Sicill dissuadeth the French king to fight with the king of England.

that these two mightie armies departed in sunder without battell, and the king of England returned into Flanders, sorie in déed that he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in trust of the valiancie of his souldiers, chosen out of thē pikedst men through England and all the low countrie on this side the Rhene, he ment verelie to haue incountered his enimies, if they had come forward. The armies retire without battell.

At his comming backe into Brabant, therè was a councell called at Brussels, where were present all those lords of the empire which had béene with him in that iournie, as the dukes of Brabant, Gelderland, and Gulike, the marques of Blankbourgh, the earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heinault otherwise called sir Iohn de Heinault, the lord of Valkenbourgh, and manie others. Thither came also Iaques Arteueld chéefe gouernour of Flanders. Here in councell taken how the king of England might best mainteine the wars which he had begun thus against the French king, he was aduised that he should in anie wise require them of Flanders to aid him and in his quarell to defie the French king, and to go with him against the said French king, and if they would thus doo, then should he promise them to recouer and deliuer into their hands the towns of Lisle, Dowaie, and Bethon. The king of England, according to this aduise to him giuen, made such request to the Flemings, who therevpon desired time to consult togither, what they might doo therein, and finallie they declared for answer, that they would gladlie so doo, but yet whereas they were bound by faith and oth, and in the summe of two millians of florens in the popes chamber, not to make nor mooue any warre against the king of France, whosoeuer he were, on paine to lose that summe, and beside to run in the sentence of cursing, they besought him, that it might stand with his pleasure, to take vpon him the title and armes of France, as the same apperteined to him of right, and then would they obey him as rightfull K. of France, and require of him acquittances in discharge of their bonds, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of France. A councell at Brussels. The motiō of the Flemings to haue the K. of England to take vpon him the title to the crowne of France.

The king of England, though he had iust cause to claime the crowne of France, in right of his mother queene Isabell, yet to take vpon him the name and armes of that realme, before he had made conquest of any part thereof, he thought it stood not with much reason: but yet after he had caused the matter to be throughlie debated amongst them of his councell, as well to satisfie the Flemings, as for other respects, he saw it should be the best waie that might be taken to the aduancement of his purpose. Then he answered the Flemings, that if they would sweare, and seale to this accord, and promise to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill their desire, and also he promised to get for them againe the townes of Lisle, Dowaie, and Bethune. Herevpon was a day assigned to méet at Gant: the king came thither, and the most part of the said lords, and all the councellors of the good townes & places in Flanders were there assembled, and so all the foresaid matters were rehearsed, sworne, and sealed, and the armes of France were then quartered with those of England, and from thenceforth he tooke vpon him the name of king of France, in all his writings, proclamations, and commandements. This is noted by Christopher Okland, where speaking of the mingling of the French and English armes, he saith amongst other things, The kings answer to the Flemings. These townes had béene ingaged to the king of Frāce for monie. The quartering of the armes of England & France.

——— vt hæres
Legitimus regni Celtarum, insignia gentis
Ille suis immiscet atrox, quòd auunculus orbus
Carolus è vita ad superas migrauerat oras, &c. *In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.*

¶ Sith then that we be come to this place, it shall not be much amisse to rehearse somewhat of the right and title whereby king Edward did thus claime the crowne of France, hauing of purpose omitted to speak thereof, till now that he intituled himselfe with the name, & tooke vpon him to beare the armes also of Ffance, vpon occasion before expressed. It is well knowne that Philip le Beau king of France had issue by his wife queene Ione three sons, Lewis surnamed Hutine, Philip le Long, and Charles le Beau: also two daughters, the one dieng in hir infancie, and the other named Isabell liued, *Polydor.* The issue of Philip le Beau.

and

and was maried vnto Edward the second of that name king of England, who begot of hir this Edward the third, that made this claime. The three sonnes of the foresaid Philip le Beau reigned ech after other, as kings of France. First after Philip the father, succeeded his eldest sonne Lewes Hutine, who had issue by his first wife Margaret, daughter to Robert duke of Burgogne, a daughter named Ione, the which was anon giuen in mariage vnto Lewes earle of Eureux: but she liuing not long, died without issue. Hir father the said Lewes Hutine married after the deceasse of his first wife, an other wife named Clemence, daughter to Charles Martell, the father of K. Robert of Sicill, whom he left great with child when he died. The child being borne proued a son, & was named Iohn, but liued not manie daies after. Then Philip the Long was admitted vnto the crowne of France, though manie stood in opinion that Ione the daughter of Lewes Hutine, which yet was aliue, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namelie Odo duke of Burgogne, vncle to the said Ione, was most earnest in that matter, in fauour of his neece. But might ouercame right, so that he was constreined to be quiet. Philip le Long, after he had reigned fiue yeares, died also, and left no issue behind him. Then lastlie Charles le Beau tooke vpon him the kingdome, and the seuenth yeare after died, his wife big bellied, which shortlie after brought foorth a maiden named Blanch, that streightwaies hasting to follow hir father, liued no while in this world. By this means then the bloud roiall in the heires male of Philip le Beau was extinguished in his sonne the foresaid Charles le Beau, whereof the contention tooke beginning about the right to the crowne of France, betwixt the Frenchmen and Englishmen, which hangeth as yet vndecided till these our daies. For king Edward auerred that the kingdome of France appertained vnto him as lawfull heire, bicause that he alone was remaining of the kings stocke, and touched his mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of consanguinitie, as he that was borne of his daughter Isabell.

Lewes Hutine.

Philip le Long.

Charles le Beau.

Therefore immediatlie after the deceasse of the said Charles le Beau, by ambassadours sent vnto the peeres of France, he published to them his right, requiring that they would admit him king according therevnto: but his ambassadours could neuer be quietlie heard; and therefore returned home without anie towardlie answer, which mooued him in the end to attempt the recouerie of his lawfull inheritance by force, sith by law he could not preuaile, and now by aduise of his freends to take vpon him both the title and armes of France, to signifie to the world what right he had to the same. After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flanders, and that king Edward had taken vpon him the name of king of France with the armes; the duke of Gelderland and Iaques van Arteueld went vnto all the good townes and iurisdictions of Flanders, to receiue their oths of fidelitie vnto king Edward, persuading with the people, that the supreme rule belonged vnto him, sauing to the townes their ancient lawes and liberties, and to their earle his right of proprietie.

King Edward signifieth his right to the crowne of France.

Ia. Mair. King Edward tooke vpon him the title & armes of the K. of France.

The Flemings swere fealtie to the king of England.

About the latter end of this thirteenth yeare of K. Edwards reigne, the mariners and sea-men of the cinque ports, getting them aboord into a number of small ships and balingers, well trimmed and appointed for the purpose, passed ouer to Bullongne, where they tooke land one day in a thicke foggie weather, and setting on the Base towne, they burnt nineteene gallies, foure great ships, and to the number of twentie smaller vessels, togither with their tackle and furniture. They set fire also on the houses that stood neere to the water side, and namelie they burnt one great house, wherein laie such a number of oares, sailes, armour, and crossebowes, as might haue sufficed to furnish so manie men as could be well aboord in nineteene gallies. There were manie slaine on both parts in atchiuing this enterprise, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Englishmen. About the same time the queene of England was deliuered of hir fourth sonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named Iohn, first created earle of Richmond, and after duke of Lancaster. He was borne about Christmasse, in the thirteenth yere of king Edwards reigne.

Additions to *Nic. Triuet.*

Iohn of Gaunt borne.

When king Edward had finished his businesse with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife

wife quéene Philip there still in that towne, and returned himselfe vnto Antwerpe, and shortlie after about the feast of Candlemasse tooke the sea, and came backe into England, to prouide for monie to mainteine his begun warres. And herevpon about the time of Lent following, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which he asked of his commons towards his charges, for the recouerie of his right in France, the fift part of their moueable goods, the customes of wools for two yeares to be paid aforehand, and the ninth sheafe of euerie mans corne. At length it was agreed, that the king should haue for euerie sacke of wooll fortie shillings, for euerie three hundred wooll fels fortie shillings, and for euerie last of leather fortie shillings, and for other merchandize after the rate; to begin at the feast of Easter, in this foureteenth yeare of the kings reigne, and to indure till the feast of Pentecost, then next following, and from that feast till the feast of Pentecost then next insuing into one yeare: for which the king granted, that from the feast of Pentecost, which was then to come into one yeare, he nor his heires should not demand assesse, nor take, nor suffer to be assessed or taken, more custome of a sacke of wooll of any Englishman, but halfe a marke, and vpon the wooll fels and leather the old former custome.

1340. An. Reg. 14.

A parlement. *Hen. Marl. Polydor.* A subsidie.

Beside this, the citizens and burgesses of cities and good townes, granted to giue the ninth part of all their goods; and the forren merchants and other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of sheepe, should giue the fiftéenth part of all their goods lawfullie to the value: for the which he granted that as well now in time of warre as of peace, all merchants, denizens and forreiners (those excepted that were of the enimies countries) might without let safelie come into the realme of England with their goods and merchandize, and safelie tarie, and likewise returne, paieng the customs, subsidies, and profits, resonable thereof due, so alwaies that the franchises and frée customs granted by him or his predecessours reasonablie to the citie of London, and other cities, burroughes, and townes, might alwaies to them be saued. Moreouer, there was granted vnto him the ninth sheafe, the ninth fléece, and the ninth lambe, to be taken by two yeares next comming. And for the leuieng thereof, the lords of euerie shire through the land, were appointed to answer him, euerie one for the circuit within the which he dwelled. And bicause the king must néeds occupie much monie yer the receit of this subsidie could come to his hands, he borowed in the meane time manie notable summes of diuerse cities, and particular persons of this land, amongst the which he borrowed of the citie of London 20000 marks, to be paied againe of the monie comming of the foresaid subsidie.

The citie of London lendeth the king monie.

In the meane while, now that king Edward was come backe into England, the warres were hotlie pursued against his frends, that had their lands néere to the borders of France, and namelie against sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, for the Frenchmen burned all his lands of Chimaie, except the fortresses, and tooke from thence a great preie. All the frontiers were full of men of warre, lodged within townes in garrison, as at Tournie, Mortaigne, S. Amond, Dowaie, Cambrie, and in other smaller fortresses. These men of warre laie not idle, but were dooing oftentimes in Flanders, and sometime otherwhere, neither was the countrie of Heinault spared, though the earle (as yee haue heard) did not onelie refuse to serue the king of England against France, but also when the same king entred France, he resorted to the French king, and serued him; yet by the suggestion of the bishop of Cambrie, who complained of the Hainuiers, for the damages which they had doone him, the French garrisons of the frontiers thereabouts were commanded to make a road into that countrie, which they did, burning the towne of Asper, and brought from thence a great bootie. The earle of Heinault sore mooued therewith to haue his lands so spoiled and burnt, defied the French king, and ioining with his vncle the lord Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thierasse, tooke & destroied Aubenton, with Mawbert, Fonteine, Daubecuille, and diuerse other.

The frontiers of France full of men of warre.

The towne of Asper burnt. The erle of Heinault defieth the French king. Townes burnt in Thierasse.

In this meane time the French king procured the pope to pronounce his cursse against the Flemings for their rebellion, and to suspend all diuine seruice that ought to be said in anie hallowed place, so that there were no priests to be found that would take vpon them

Flanders interdicted.

to

to saie any diuine seruice: wherevpon the Flemings sent ouer into England certeine messengers to giue notice to king Edward how they were intreated, but he sent them word that he would bring at his comming ouer vnto them, priests that should saie masses and other seruice, whether the pope would or not, for he had priuilege so to doo. ¶ In Aprill, William Melton archbishop of Yorke departed this life, after whome variance rose in the election of a new gouernour to that church, so that two were elected, William la Zouch and William Killesbie: but at length William la Zouch tooke place, being the 43 archbishop that had sit in that seat. ¶ The earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, which were left in Flanders by king Edward to helpe the Flemings, shortlie after Ester, or (as other haue) in the time of Lent, were discomfited by the garrison of Lisle, and taken prisoners as they would haue passed by that towne, to haue ioined with Iaques Arteueld, meaning to besiege Tournie; but now by the taking of those two earles that enterprise was broken. The duke of Normandie with a great armie entred into Heinault, burning and wasting the countrie, euen to the gates of Valenciennes and Quesnoy. And thus were they occupied in those parts, whilest the king of England prepared himselfe with all diligence to returne into Flanders.

Ad. Merim.
Adam Merimuth.
Iac. Meir.
The earles of Salisburie & Suffolke taken.
The countrie of Heinault inuaded.

The French king being aduertised, that the king of England meant shortlie to returne into Flanders with a great power, in purpose to inuade the realme of France on that side, assembled a nauie of foure hundred ships vnder the leading of three expert capteins of the warres by sea, as sir Hugh Kiriell, sir Peter Bahuchet, and a Geneweis named Barbe Noir, appointing them to the coasts of Flanders to defend the king of England from landing there, if by any meanes they might. These three capteins or admerals came and laie with their ships in the hauen of Sluise, for that it was supposed the king of England would arriue there, as his meaning was indeed, wherevpon when his men, ships, and prouisions were once readie in the moneth of Iune, he tooke the sea with two hundred saile, and directing his course towards Flanders, there came vnto him the lord Robert Morley, with the north nauie of England, so that then he had in all about three hundred saile, or (as other saie) two hundred and three score.

Gaguin.
A great nauie prepared by the French king.
The king of England taketh the sea.

The French nauie laie betwixt Sluise and Blancbergh, so that when the king of England approched, either part descried other, & therewith prepared them to battell. The king of England staied, till the sunne which at the first was in his face, came somewhat westward, and so had it vpon his backe, that it should not hinder the sight of his people, and so therewith did set vpon his enimies with great manhood, who likewise verie stoutlie incountered him, by reason whereof insued a sore and deadlie fight betwixt them. The nauies on both sides were diuided into three battels. On the English part, the earles of Glocester, Northampton and Huntington, who was admerall of the fleet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the lord Robert Morley admerall of the northerne nauie had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themselues right valiantlie, so that at length the Englishmen hauing the aduantage, not onlie of the sunne, but also of the wind and tide, so fortunatlie, that the French fléet was driuen into the streights of the hauen, in such wise that neither the souldiers nor mariners could helpe themselues, in somuch that both heauen, sea, and wind, seemed all to haue conspired against the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ships of Flanders ioining themselues with the English fleet, in the end the Frenchmen were vanquished, slaine and taken, their ships being also either taken, bowged, or broken.

Polydor.
Ia. Meir.
The king of England setteth vpon his enimies.
Additions to *Triuet.*
The victorie of the Englishmen at the battell of Sluise.

When night was come vpon them, there were thirtie French ships, that yet had not entred the battell, the which sought by couert of the night to haue stolne awaie, and one of them being a mightie great vessell, called the Iames of Déepe, would haue taken awaie with hir a ship of Sandwich that belonged to the prior of Canturburie: but by the helpe of the earle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night till the next morning, the Englishmen at length preuailed, and taking that great huge ship of Déepe, found in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies. To conclude, verie few of the French ships escaped, except

Additions to *Triuet* & *Merimuth.*
The Iames of Déepe.

except some of their smaller vessels, and certeine gallies with their admerall Barbenoir, who in the beginning of the battell got foorth of the hauen, aduising the other capteins to doo the like, thereby to auoid the danger which they wilfullie imbraced. There died in this battell fought (as some write) on midsummer daie, in the yeare aforesaid, of Frenchmen to the number of 30000, of Englishmen about 4000, or (as other haue that liued in those daies) not past 400, amongst whom there were foure knights of great nobilitie, as sir Thomas Monhermere, sir Thomas Latimer, sir Iohn Boteler, and sir Thomas Poinings. Barbenoir. *Guguin.* *Auesburie.* *Tho. Walsi.* *Adam Merimuth.* *Froissard.* *Ia. Meir.* *R. Southw.* The number slaine. *Rich. South.*

It is said also, that the king himselfe was hurt in the thigh. The two English ships that had béene taken the yéere before, the Edward and the Christopher, were recouered at this time, amongst other of the French ships that were taken there. ¶ Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged vpon a crosse pole fastened to a mast of one of the ships. Through the wilfulnesse of this man, the Frenchmen receiued this losse (as the French chronicles report) bicause he kept the nauie so long within the hauen, till they were so inclósed by the Englishmen that a great number of the Frenchmen could neuer come to strike stroke, nor to vse the shot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows. Howsoeuer it was, the Englishmen got a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themselues, and discomfort of their aduersaries. ¶ The king of England, after he had thus vanquished his enimies, remained on the sea by the space of three daies, and then comming on land, went to Gant, where he was receiued of the queene with great ioy and gladnesse. *Rich. South.* The king goeth to Gant.

In this meane while had the duke of Normandie besieged the castell of Thuine Leuesques, néere to Cambrie, which was taken by sir Walter of Mannie, a lord of Heinault, at the first beginning of the warres, and euer since till that time kept to the king of England his vse. The earle of Heinault, who had beene of late both in England with king Edward, and also in Almaine with the emperour, to purchase their assistance for the defense of his countrie against the inuasions of the Frenchmen, was now returned home, and meaning to rescue such as were besieged in Thuine, sent for succours into Flanders, and into Almaine, and in the meane time leuieng such power as he could make with his owne countrie, came therewith to Valenciennes, whither foorthwith resorted vnto him the earle of Namure with two hundred speares, the duke of Brabant with six hundred, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Bergen, the lord of Valkenburgh, and diuerse other, the which togither with the earle of Heinault went and lodged alongst by the riuer of Lestault ouer against the French host, which kept siege (as ye haue heard) vnder the conduct of the duke of Normandie before Thuine Leuesques, that is situate vpon the same riuer. *Froissard.* The riuer of Lestault, or the Scelle.

There came also to the aid of the earle of Heinault Iaques Arteueld, with his three score thousand Flemings. Now it was thought that they would haue fought yer they had departed in sunder, but they did not. For after it was knowne how the king of England was arriued in Flanders, and had discomfited the French fléet, the duke of Brabant and others thought good to breake vp their enterprise for that time. and to resort vnto the king of England, to vnderstand what his purpose was to doo. Neither were the Frenchmen hastie to giue battell, so that after the capteins of Thuine Leuesques, sir Richard Limosin knight an Englishman, and two esquiers, brethren to the erle of Namure, Iohn and Thierrie, had left their fortresse void, and were come ouer the riuer by boats vnto the earle of Heinaults campe, the armies on both sides brake vp and departed, the Frenchmen into France, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the princes and great lords drew to Gaunt, to welcome the king of England into the countrie, of whome they were right ioifullie receiued: and after they had commoned togither of their affaires, it was appointed by the king, that they should meet him at Villefort in Brabant at a daie prefixed, where he would be readie to consult with them about his proceedings in his warres against his aduersaries the Frenchmen. The Flemings. Sir Richard Limosin. The armies brake vp.

At the day appointed, there came to Villefort the dukes of Brabant, and Gelderland, The assemblie of the princes at Villefort.

the earle of Heinault, Gulike, Namure, Blackenheim, Bergen, sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earle of Valkenburgh, and Iaques Arteueld, with the other rulers of Flanders, and manie others. Here it was ordeined, that the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault, should be so vnited and knit in one corporation, that nothing should be doone amongst them in publike affaires, but by common consent, and if anie warres were mooued against anie of them, then should the other be readie to aid them, against whome anie such warre was mooued: and if vpon anie occasion anie discord rose betwixt them for anie matter, they should make an end of it amongst themselues; and if they could not, then should they stand to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of England, vnto whome they bound themselues by oth to keepe this ordinance and agreement.

The couenãts betwixt the K. of England & his cõfederats.

Froissard. Tournie furnished with a strong power of men.

The French king being informed that the king of England ment to laie siege vnto Tournie, as it was indeed deuised at this councell holden at Villefort, tooke order for the furnishing thereof with men, munition, and vittels in most defensible wise. There were sent to that towne the best men of warre in all France, as the earle of Ewe constable of France, the yoong earle of Guines his sonne, the earle of Foiz and his brethren, the earle Amerie de Narbon, with manie other, hauing with them foure thousand souldiers. Sir Godmar du Foie was there before as capteine of the towne, so that it was prouided of all things necessarie. Howbeit, the king of England (according as it was appointed at the councell holden at Villefort, about the feast of Marie Magdalen) departed from Gaunt, and came to Tournie, hauing with him seauen earles of his owne countrie, as Darbie, Penbroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Glocester, and Arundell, eight prelats, eight and twentie baronets, two hundred knights, foure thousand men of armes, and nine thousand archers, besides other footmen. He lodged at the gate called saint Martine, in the waie that is toward Lisle and Dowaie.

Tournie besieged.

Anon after came the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, the marquesse of Blanqueburgh, the marquesse of Musse, the earls of Bergen, Sauines, and Heinault: also Iaques Arteueld, who brought with him about fortie thousand Flemings. So that there was at this siege to the number of six score thousand men, as some writers affirme. There was also an other armie of Flemings, as of the townes of Ypres, Popringue, Furnes, Cassell, of the Chateleinie, & of Bergis, being to the number of fortie thousand, appointed to make warre against the Frenchmen that kept saint Omers, and other townes there on the frontiers of Arthois, which armie was led by the earle of Richmond, otherwise called the lord Robert Dartois, and by sir Henrie de Flanders, the which approching one day to saint Omers, were sharplie fought with; for within saint Omers at that time laie a strong power of Frenchmen with the duke of Burgoine, the earle of Arminacke and others.

The great number of people at the siege of Tournie. *Ia. Meir.*

The earle of Richmond.

The Flemings were not willing to serue, for neither had they any trust in their capteine the said erle of Richmond, neither would they willinglie haue passed out of their owne confines, but onlie to defend the same from the inuasion of their enimies: yet through much persuasion, forward they went, diuided into sundrie battels contrarie to their manner. The enimies perceiuing some aduantage, issued forth vpon them, and assailed them verie stoutlie, insomuch that the earle of Arminacke setting vpon them of Ypres, ouerthrew them, and chased them vnto a towne called Arques, which they had a little before set on fire and burned. An other companie of Frenchmen, skirmishing with them of Franks, Furnes, and Bergis, put them also to the worse. Contrarilie, those Frenchmen that encountered with the lord Robert Dartois, and them of Bruges whome he led, susteined great losse, and were beaten backe into the citie: the duke of Burgoine himselfe being in no small danger for a time, so sharpe the bickering was betwixt them, and the euent so variable. Wherefore it is notablie and fitlie said in this behalfe, that

The French-men set vpon ye Flemings.

The variable fortune of fights.

Additions to *Adam Merimuth.*

Sil. Ital. lib. 6.

———incerti fallax fiducia Martis.

There be that write, that this fight continued from three of the clocke till euentide, and that the earle of Richmond was twise put to flight, for his people did leaue him in the

plaine

plaine field: but at length by the aduise of sir Thomas Vthred, whome the king of England had appointed to attend the said earle, with manie Englishmen and archers, he assembled his people eftsoones togither againe, and setting on his enimies. Now when it was almost night, neere to the gates of saint Omers, he finallie ouercame them, where were slaine of the French part fiftéene barons and fourescore knights, beside a great number of other people. Diuerse also were slaine on the earle of Richmonds part at this last encounter, and among other an English knight, that bare armes eschecked siluer and gules. Sir Thomas Vthred.

Finallie, as the earle of Richmond returned towards his campe, which laie in the vale of Cassell, he met with certeine Artesines and Frenchmen, which had béene chasing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the euening, that one could not take good view of an other, yet here they fought againe, and so diuerse of the Frenchmen were taken and killed, and amongst other that were caught, was a knight of Burgoine, named sir William de Nillie. But when the earle of Richmond and those that were with him came to the place where the campe laie, they found that all the residue of the Flemings were fled and gone. And when the said earle came to Cassell, the people were readie to haue slaine him, their former malice towards him being now much increased with the euill successe of this passed enterprise, so that he was glad to get him thence, and to repaire vnto king Edward, that laie yet at the siege before Tournie, during which siege manie proper feats of armes were doone betwixt those within and them without: for few daies passed without the atchiuing of some enterprise. The earle of Richmond in danger to be slaine.

Also the French king, hauing made his assemblie at Arras, and got thither a mightie host, as well out of the empire as of his owne subiects, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuins, thrée leagues from Tournie. There were with him the king of Bohem, the duke of Lorreine, the bishop of Mentz, the earles of Bar, mount Belliard, & Sauoie, also the dukes of Burgogne and Burbone, with a great number of other earles and lords, so that the greatest puissance of all France was iudged to be there with the king. Whilest he laie incamped thus at Bouuins, and the king of England at Tournie, manie exploits were atchiued betwixt their people, who laie not idle, but still rode abroad and oftentimes met, and then that part which was weakest paied for the others charges, so that manie were slaine & taken on both sides as well of the nobilitie as other. Also diuerse townes were sacked and burned on the frontiers of France, during this siege at Tournie, namelie at the pursuit of the earle of Heinault, as Seclin, S. Amond, Orchies, Landas, and other. The great armie raised by the French king.

At length at the suit of the ladie Iane de Valois, sister to the French king, and mother to the earle of Heinault, trauelling still betwixt the parties to bring them vnto some accord, it was granted that either partie should send certeine sufficient persons to intreat of the matter, which should méet at a little chappell, standing in the fields called Esplotin, and hereto also was a truce granted for thrée daies. For the English part were appointed the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincolne, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, and sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont. For the French part, the king of Bohem, Charles erle of Alanson brother to the French king, the bishop of Liege, the earle of Flanders, and the earle of Arminacke: and the ladie of Valois was still among them as a mediatrix, by whose meanes chéefelie they at length did agrée vpon a truce to indure for a yeare betweene all parties and their men, and also betweene them that were in Scotland, in Gascoigne, and Poictou. The ladie Iane de Valois treateth for a peace. A truce accorded.

It was agréed also by these commissioners, that there should other commissioners of either part foure or fiue meet at Arras at a daie appointed, and thither also should the pope send his legats, to treat of a perpetuall peace and full agréement to be made betwixt the two kings of England and France. There was also consideration had of the Flemings, so that they were released of all such summes of monie as they were by any bonds indangered to paie by forfeiture, or otherwise, for any matter before that time vnto the The Flemings released of debts, and of the interdiction.

Polydor. the crowne of France. Also they were released of the interdiction and cursse of the
Restitution of townes to the king of England. *Gaguin.* church, and then also was their earle restored home. It was further accorded, that the French king should restore vnto the king of England certeine townes and places in Guien, which in the beginning of these warres the earle of Alanson had taken from the Englishmen, as Penne in Agenois, and others. Also whereas the French king had seized the countie of Pontieu into his hands, which was the dower of quéene Isabell, the mother of king Edward, he should also restore the same vnto king Edward, to hold it as he did before.

The siege raised from Tournie. Herevpon was the siege raised from Tournie, after it had continued there the space of ten wéekes and foure daies. They within stood in great danger for lacke of vittels to haue beene constreined to the surrendring of the towne, if this truce had not béene concluded, which caused the French king the sooner to agrée, in like case as the lacke of monie caused the king of England to take his truce, which otherwise (as was thought) he would not haue doone: so that by the violent constraint of necessitie they were forced thus to doo, against which there is no trieng of maisteries, nor strugling to make it stoope and obeie: for

A necessitate omnia in seruitutem rediguntur.

The earle of Flanders feasteth the K. of England. *Ja. Meir.* After he had raised his siege he went to Gant, and thither came also the earle of Flanders being now restored home to his countrie, and made the king of England great cheare, feasting and banketting him right princelie, togither with the quéene. Finallie, after that king Edward had refreshed himselfe a while at Gant, he tooke a verie few with him, and came into Zealand; and there taking the seas to passe ouer into England, he was sore tossed by force of outragious stormes of wind and weather. Yet at length after thrée daies and thrée nights sailing, in the night of the feast of saint Andrew, he came on land at the tower of London about cocke-crowing, and with him the earle of Northampton, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord Iohn Darcie, the sonne of the lord Iohn Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two chapleins that were his secretaries, sir William Killesbie, and sir Philip Weston, beside a few others.

The king goeth into Zealand. Continuation of *Trinet.*

After his arriuall he sent for the bishop of Chichester that was lord chancellor, for the bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield being lord treasuror, and for such of the iudges as were then in London. The lord chancellor and the lord treasuror he streightwaies discharged of their offices, threatening to send them into Flanders, there to remaine as pledges for monie that he there owght, or if they refused to go thither, then to kéepe them prisoners in the towne. But when the bishop of Chichester declared to him the danger of the canon established against such as imprisoned bishops, he suffered them to depart: but the iudges, to wit, Iohn de Stonore, Richard de Willoughbie, William de Shareshull, and also Nicholas or (as other haue) Matthew de la Bech, who was before gardian of his sonne, and lieutenant of the tower; also Iohn de Fultnie, and William de Poole merchants; and the chiefe clerkes of the chancerie, Iohn de saint Paule, Michaell de Wath, Henrie de Stretford, and Robert de Chikewell; and of the escheker, Iohn de Thorpe, and manie other, were committed to diuerse prisons, but yet bicause they were committed but onelie vpon commandement, they were within a while after deliuered.

Auesburie.

Iudges and other officers committed to the tower.

The lord Wake was also committed but shortlie after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walsingham writeth. Robert de Bourchier was made lord chancellor and Richard de Sadington lord treasuror: all the shiriffes of shires, and other officers also were remooued, and other put in their places, and iustices appointed in euerie shire, to inquire vpon the defaults of collectors and other officers, so that few or none escaped vnpunished, howsoeuer they had demeaned themselues, so streictlie those iustices proceéeded in their commissions. The king indeed was sore offended with those whom he had put in trust to leuie monie, and to sée it conueied ouer to him into the low countrie, bicause that for want therof in time of néed, he was constreined to take truce with his aduersarie the French king, and leaue off his enterprise, which he was in good for-

New officers made in place of other that were discharged.

wardnesse to haue gone through withall, if he had not béene disappointed of treasure which he had commanded to be sent ouer vnto him, which was not doone but kept backe, in whom soeuer the fault rested.

The K. offended with the archb. of Canturburie.

There were some of his secretaries, namelie, sir William Killesbie, which stirred him to take no small displeasure against the archbishop of Canturburie Iohn Stratford, who therevpon withdrew him into the priorie of Christes church at Canturburie, and there remaining for a season, wrote his mind to the king, exhorting him not to giue too light credit vnto such as should counsell him to haue those in contempt that were faithfull and true to him, for in so dooing, he might happilie loose the loue and good will of his people. Neuertheles, he wished that he should trie out in whose hands the wools and monie remained, which were taken vp to his vse, and that vpon a iust accompts had at their hands, it might appeare who were in fault, that he had not monie brought to him, whilest he laie at siege before Tournie, as he had appointed, and that when the truth was knowne, they that were in fault might be worthilie punished. And as for his owne cause, he signified, that he was readie to be tried by his péeres, sauing alwaies the state of holie church, and of his order, &c. Further, he besought the king, not to thinke euill of him, and of other good men, till the truth might be tried, for otherwise, if iudgement should be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his answere, as well the guiltlesse as the guiltie might be condemned.

1341.

The archbish. writeth to the king.

The king neuerthelesse still offended towards the archbishop, caused Adam bishop of Winchester to indite a letter against him, directed from the king to the deane and chapiter of Paules, openlie to be published by them: the effect whereof was, to burthen the archbishop with vnthankfulnesse, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his souereigne lord and louing maister, namelie, in that where he promised the king to sée him throughlie furnished with monie, towards the maintenance of his warres: when it came to passe, none would be had, which turned not onelie to the hinderance of the kings whole procéedings, but also to his great discredit, and causing him to run greatlie in debt by interest, through borrowing of monie, for the paiment of the wages of his men of warre, when through the archbishops negligence, who had the chéefe rule of the land, the collectors and other officers slacked their duetie, whereby there was no monie sent ouer, according to that was appointed: and wheras now, since his comming ouer, he had sent to the archbishop to come vnto him, that by his information, he might the better learne who they were that neglected their duetie, he disobedientlie refused to come, pretending some feare of bodilie harme, through the malice of some that were about the king. Wherevpon, when Rafe lord Stafford, lord steward of the kings house, was sent with a safe conduct, for him to come in all safetie to the court, he flatlie made answer that he would not come, except in full parlement.

An. Reg. 15.

A letter sent to the deane of Paules.

The archbishop refuseth to come to the court.

Manie other misdemeanors was the archbishop charged with towards the king in that letter, as maliciouslie slandering the king for vniust oppression of the people, confounding the cleargie, and greeuing the church with exactions, leuies of monie, tolles and tallages. Therefore, sith he went about to slander the kings roiall authoritie, to defame his seruants, to stirre rebellion among the people, and to withdraw the deuotion and loue of the earles, lords, and great men of the land from the king: his highnesse declared, that he meant to prouide for the integritie & preseruation of his good name (whereof it is said trulie,

Dulcius est ære pretiosum nomen habere)

and to meet with the archbishops malice. And herewith diuerse things were rehersed to the archbishops reproch, which he should doo, procure, and suffer to be doone, by his euill and sinister counsell, whilest he had the rule of the realme in his hands vnder the king: wherein he had shewed himselfe not onelie an acceptor of gifts, but also of persons, in gratifieng diuerse that nothing had deserued sundrie waies foorth, and presuming to doo rashlie manie other things to the detriment of the kings roiall state, and hurt of his regall dignitie,

dignitie, and to no small damage of the people, abusing the authoritie and office to him committed, so that if he persisted in his obstinate wilfulnesse, and rebellious contumacie, the king by those his letters signified, that he meant to declare it more apparantlie in due time and place, and therefore commanded the said deane and chapiter of Paules, to publish all those things openlie, in places where they thought conuenient, according to their wisedome giuen to them by God, so as he might haue cause to commend therein their carefull diligence. ¶ This letter was dated at Westminster the tenth of Februarie, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne ouer England, and second ouer France.

Where the Londoners would not permit the kings iustices to sit within the citie of London, contrarie to their liberties, the king appointed them to sit in the tower; and when they would not make anie answer there, a great tumult was raised by the commons of the citie, so that the iustices being in some perill (as they thought) feigned themselues to sit there till towards Easter. Wherevpon, when the king could not get the names of them that raised the tumult, no otherwise but that they were certeine light persons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offense. After this, those iustices neither sat in the tower, nor elsewhere, of all that yeare.

A parlement. *Adam Merimuth.*

In the quindene of Easter, the king held a parlement at London, in the which, the prelats, earls, barons, and commons, presented manie petitions; as to haue the great charter of liberties, and the charter of forrests dulie obserued, and that they which brake the same should be discharged of their offices, if they were the kings officers, and that the high officers of the king should be elected and chosen by their peeres in parlement. The king withstood these petitions a certeine time, yet at length he granted to some of them; but as concerning the election of his officers, he in no wise would consent, but yet he was contented that they should receiue an oth in parlement, to doo iustice to all men in their offices, &c. Vpon which article and others, a statute was made and confirmed with the kings seale.

The emperor woone frō the king of Englands frēndsEip.

In the meane while, the French king had with bribes wonne Lewes of Bauaria, that named himselfe emperour, from further fauouring the king of England; in so much that, vnder a colourable pretense of finding himselfe greeued, for that the king of England had without his knowledge taken truce with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of being vicar in the empire, from the king of England, but yet signified to him, that where the French king had at his request put the matter in controuersie betwixt him and the king of England into his hands, to make an end thereof, if it so pleased the king of England, that he should treat as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promised to doo his indeuour, so as he doubted not, but that by his means he should come to a good agréement in his cause, if he would follow his aduise. And to receiue answer hereof, he sent his letters by one Eberhard a chapleine of his, the reader of the friers heremits to S. Augustins order, requesting the king of England to aduertise him by the same messenger, of his whole mind in that behalfe.

The emperor offereth to be a meane to cōclude a peace.

The kings answer.

The king for answer, signified againe by his letters to the emperour, that for the zeale which he had to make an accord betwixt him and his aduersarie Philip de Valois, that named himselfe French king, he could not but much commend him, and for his part he had euer wished, that some reasonable agreement might be had betwixt them: but sith his right to the realme of France was cléere and manifest inough, he purposed not to commit it by writing vnto the doubtfull iudgement or arbitrement of anie. And as concerning the agréement which the emperour had made with the French king, bicause (as he alledged) it was lawfull for him so to doo, sith without the emperors knowledge he had taken truce with the same French king, he said, if the circumstances were well considered, that matter could not minister any cause to moue him to such agreement: for if the emperour remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treat of peace, without making the emperour priuie thereto (so that without his assent, he concluded not vpon any finall peace) which he protested that he neuer meant to doo, till he might haue his prouident aduise,

aduise, counsell, and assent therevnto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarship of the empire from him, he tooke it doone out of time; for it was promised, that no such reuocation should be made, till he had obteined the whole realme of France, or at the least, the more part thereof. ¶ These in effect were the points of the kings letters of answer vnto the emperour. Dated at London the thirteenth of Iulie, in the second yeare of his reigne ouer France, and fiftéenth ouer England.

The deceasse of the lord Geffrey de Scrope, & of the bishop of Lincolne.

This yeare, about Midsummer, or somwhat before, at Gant in Flanders, died the lord Geffrey Scrope the kings iustice, and Henrie bishop of Lincolne, two cheefe councellors to the king. The quéene after hir returne into England, was this yeare brought to bed in the tower of London of a daughter named Blanch, that diéd yoong, and was buried at Westminster. ¶ In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and England, the French king in fauour of Dauid king of Scotland, had sent men of warre into Scotland, vnder the conduct of sir Arnold Dandreghen, who was after one of the marshals of France, and the lord of Garrentiers, with other, by whose comfort and helpe, the Scots that tooke part with king Dauid, did indeuor themselues to recouer out of the Englishmens hands, such castels and fortresses as they held within Scotland, as in the Scotish historie ye shall find mentioned, and how about this time, their king the foresaid Dauid returned foorth of France into Scotland by the French kings helpe, who hauing long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendship to trouble the king of England so at home, that he should not be at great leisure to inuade him in France.

The quéene brought to bed.

The commissioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the méeting appointed at Arras. For the cõmissioners that shuld there treat of the peace, when the day assigned of their meeting was come, there arriued for the king of England the bishop of Lincolne, the bishop of Duresme, the earle of Warwike, the erle of Richmond, sir Robert Dartois, sir Iohn of Heinault, otherwise called lord Beaumont, and sir Henrie of Flanders. For the French king, there came the earle of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauuois, and the bishop of Auxerre. The pope sent thither two cardinals, Naples and Cleremont; these commissioners were in treatie fiftéene daies, during the which, manie matters were put forth and argued, but none concluded; for the Englishmen demanded largelie, and the Frenchmen would depart with nothing, sauing with the countie of Pontieu, the which was giuen with quéene Isabell in marriage to the king of England. So the treatie brake, the commissioners departed, and nothing doone, but onelie that the truce was prolonged for two yeares further.

This truce was prolonged about the feast of the decollation of S. Iohn, to indure till Midsummer next following, as the addition to *Ad. Meri-muth* hath.

Thus were the wars partlie appeased in some part of France, but yet was the truce but slenderlie kept in other parts, by reason of the duke of Britaine. For whereas contention arose betwixt one Charles de Blois, and Iohn earle of Mountfort, about the right to the duchie of Britaine, as in the historie of France maie more plainelie appeare; the earle of Mountfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French kings hands, who fauoured his aduersarie Charles de Blois, alied himselfe with the king of England. And (as some write) after he had woone diuerse cities and townes within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to king Edward, acknowledged to hold it of him, as of the souereigne lord thereof, so that he would promise to defend him and that duchie against his aduersaries: which the king promised him to doo. After this, the French king made such warres against this earle of Mountfort, that he was at length taken prisoner in the towne of Nauntz, and committed to safe kéeping within the castell of Loure at Paris. But his wife being a stout woman, and of a manlie courage, stood vp in the quarrell of hir husband, and presented a yoong sonne which she had by him, vnto such capteins and men of warre as serued hir husband, requiring them not to be dismaid with the infortunate chance of hir husbands taking; but rather like men of good stomachs, to stand in defense of his right, sith whatsoeuer happened to him, the same remained in that yoong gentleman his sonne: meaning that although the enimies should deale tyrannicallie,

The occasion of the wars of Britaine.

nicallie with him, & without regard of his nobleness practise his ouerthrow; yet there was hope in hir son, as increase of yeares should minister strength and courage, both to be reuenged on his fathers enimies, and to ad an inlargement of glorie and renowne to his present honor by practises of his prowesse: which to be singular the séemelie symmetrie or goodlie proportion of his person and his iolie countenance séemed to testifie; for

Flor. lib. car. 4. Ode 4.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis
Est in iuuencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Ia. Meir. This countesse of Mountfort was sister vnto Lewes earle of Flanders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia (as some write.) She was verie diligent in hir businesse, and spared no trauell to aduance hir cause, so that she wan not onelie the harts of the men of warre, but also of the people of Britaine, the which fauoured hir husband, and lamented the mishap of his taking. She first furnished such cities, townes, castels, and fortresses as hir husband had in possession, with men, munition and vittels, as Renes, Dinaunt, Guerand, Hanibout, and others. This doone, she sent ouer into England, sir Emerie de Clisson, a noble man of Britaine, to require the king of England of succors, with condition, that if it pleased him, hir sonne Iohn should marrie one of his daughters. ¶ The king of England glad to haue such an entrie into France, as by Britaine, thought not to refuse the offer, & therevpon granted to aid the countesse: & foorthwith raising a power, sent the same ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the lord Walter of Mannie, and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the sea, by reason of contrarie winds, arriued in Britaine; in which meane time, a great armie of Frenchmen were entred into Britaine, and had besieged the citie of Renes, and finallie woone it by surrender, & were now before the towne of Hanibout, which with streict siege, and sore brusing of the walles, they were néere at point to haue taken, and the countesse of Mountfort within it; if the succours of England had not arriued there, euen at such time as the Frenchmen were in talke with them within, about the surrender. But after that the English fleet was seene to approch, the treatie was soone broken off, for they within had no lust then to talke anie further of the matter.

Froissard.

The english succour ariued in good time.

The lord of Mannie, and the Englishmen arriued at Hanibout thus in time of imminent danger, wherein the countesse, and the other within that towne were presentlie beset, greatlie recomforted the said countesse, as she well shewed by hir cheerefull countenance in receiuing them. Shortlie after their arriuall, a certeine number of the English archers, issuing foorth, beat the Frenchmen from an engine which they had reared against the walles, and set fire vpon the same engine. To conclude, the Frenchmen liked the Englishmen so well, that shortlie after being wearie of their companie, they raised their siege to get themselues further from them: and in an other part of the countrie indeuoured themselues to win townes and castels as they did indéed, hauing their armie diuided into two parts, the lord Charles de Blois gouerning the one part, and a Spaniard called the lord Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the same that thus departed from the siege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Englishmen) and then winning the townes of Dinand and Guerand, passed into the countrie of Britaine Britonant, and there not farre from Quinpercorentine, were discomfited by the Englishmen, who followed them thither. Of six thousand Genowaies, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, which the lord Lewes of Spaine had there with him, there escaped but a few awaie. A nephue which he had there with him named Alfonse was slaine, howbeit he himselfe escaped, though not without sore hurts.

Archers.

Charles de Blois.

Lewes de Spaine.

Britaine Britonant.

Edmund of Langley that was after duke of Yorke is borne.

This yeare, the fift of Iune queene Philip was deliuered of a sonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edward, and surnamed Langley of the place where he was thus borne. Also about the same time was a great iustes kept by king Edward at the towne

towne of Dunstable, with other counterfeited feats of warre, at the request of diuerse yoong lords and gentlemen, whereat both the king and queene were present, with the more part of the lords and ladies of the land. ¶ The lord Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time woone Vannes, and other towns, brought his armie backe vnto Hanibout, and eftsoones besieged the same, and the countesse of Mountfort within it. But for so much as it was well fortified, and prouided of all things necessarie to defend a siege, the Englishmen being returned thither againe after the ouerthrow of the lord Lewes de Spaine, it could not be easilie woone. At length, by the labour of certeine lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a time, during the which, the countesse of Richmond came ouer into England, to commune with king Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appointed sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earles of Salisburie, Penbroke, and Suffolke, the lords Stafford, Spenser, and Bourchier, with others, to go with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their prouision, so that they might take the sea, to come thither against the time that the truce betwixt the countesse and the lord Charles de Blois should be expired.

Fabian. A iusts and tornie at Dunstable. Hanibout besieged. 1342. *An. Reg.* 16. The countes of Richmond commeth ouer into England. An armie sent into Britaine.

There be that write, how the lord Walter de Mannie, tooke a truce indéed with the lord Charles de Blois, to indure till Alhallontide next insuing, but with condition, that if the king of England were contented therewith, then the same to be firme and fullie ratified, otherwise not. Whervpon, when about the beginning of Iulie, the said lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the lord of Lions, and other such prisoners as he had taken, and signified to king Edward what he had concluded touching the truce, the king liked not thereof, and so sent ouer the earles of Northampton and Deuonshire, the lord Stafford, and sir William de Killesbie his chapleine, and one of his secretaries, with fiue hundred men of armes, and a thousand archers, which taking ship, on the vigill of th'Assumption of our ladie, sailed foorth towards Britaine. The Frenchmen therfore vnderstanding that this succour was comming, appointed the lord Lewes of Spaine, sir Charles Grimaldo, and sir Antonie Doria, with three thousand Genowaies, and a thousand men of armes, imbarked in two and thirtie great ships, to lie on the sea in wait to incounter with the English fleet, as the same should approch towards Britaine.

Additions to Adam Merimuth and Nic. Triuet. The earles of Northampton and Deuonshire. Genowaies reteined in the French kings wages.

About Easter, the countesse of Mountford with the English armie, appointed to attend hir, tooke the sea at Southampton, and at length met with the lord Lewes of Spaine, and his fléet, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell. Of the Englishmen there were six and fortie vessels, but the lord Lewes of Spaine had nine great ships, and of more force than anie of those which the Englishmen had, and also he had three gallies. They began to fight about euensong time, and continued till that night parted them, and had gone togither againe in the morning, if by a tempest, that rose about midnight, the same night, they had not béene scattered in sunder. The Spaniards and Genowaies tooke awaie with them foure English ships, which being vittellers, were left behind. And bicause the same Spaniards and Genowaies were able to abide the sea better than the Englishmen, by reason of their great ships, they kept the maine sea; but the Englishmen were aduised by their mariners to drawe vnto the land, and so they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Vannes, where comming on land, they streightwaie made towards that citie, and besieged it, not ceassing to assault it both day and night, till at length they wan it, by giuing the assault in two places at once, whilest an other number of them set vpon it in a third place, where was no suspicion, and so entred.

The English men and Genowaies méet and fight on the Seas. Vannes won.

After this, the most part of the Englishmen departed from Vannes, as some with the countesse, to bring hir vnto Hanibout, and some with the earls of Salisburie, Suffolke, and Cornewall, who went and laid siege to Rennes, so that the earle of Richmond remained in Vannes, with the lords Spenser and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certeine number of archers and other men of warre with them. The lord Clisson, and sir Henrie de Leon, which were within Vannes, when it was taken by the Englishmen, and found means to escape, were abashed at the matter, that they had so lost the citie, whereupon they secret-

lie

lie assembled a great power of men thereabouts, and came againe vnto Vannes, and so fiercelie assailed the gates and wals, that in the end they entred by more force. The earle of Richmond was sore hurt, but yet he escaped out at a posterne gate, and the lord Stafford with him, but the lord Spenser was taken by sir Henrie de Leon.

Additions to *Nic. Triuet.*

Other write otherwise, both of the landing, and also concerning the misfortune of the lord Spenser, alledging letters sent from the earle of Northampton (whome the same authors repute as generall of that armie into Britaine) directed to the king, in which was signified, how that within the octaues of the Assumption of our ladie, they ariued on the coast of Britaine, néere to the towne and castell of Brest, in the which the dutchesse of Britaine with hir children were of the enimies besieged, both by sea and land, by sea with thirtéene great gallies, by land by the lord Charles de Blois, the earls of Sauoie and Foiz. But the gallies perceiuing the English fleet to be approched vpon them, yer they were aware, so that they were compassed in, to their great danger, thrée of the same gallies fled, and so escaped, the residue got vp into a riuer of the same hauen, where they that were aboord, left their vessels and fled to the land, and as well they, as the other that held siege before Brest and such as kept a castell there, not farre off, called Goule forrest, packed awaie without anie more adoo. The English mariners following the gallies (that were withdrawn vp the riuer) with their small boats and barges, set fire on the gallies, and so burnt them.

Thus all the Englishmen came on land, and leauing the lord Saie capteine in the said castell of Goule forrest, they passed forward into the countrie, and comming to a castell commonlie called Monsieur Relix, gaue an assault thereto, where manie of their men of warre were wounded, and sir Iames Louell slaine. After this, staieng a time for the comming of their confederats, which after a fortnights space came to them on the mondaie, being the morrow after Michaelmas daie, they heard that the lords Charles de Blois was comming in all hast with a power of thrée thousand men of armes, twelue hundred Genowaies, & a great multitude of commons to raise the siege. Whervpon the earle of Northampton with his armie marched softlie towards them, and choosing a plot of ground conuenient for his purpose, fought with his enimies, slue and tooke of them at the least thrée hundred men of armes. The earle of Northampton lost not any noble man in this fight, the lord Edward Spenser onelie excepted.

But now as touching the earle of Richmont, Froissard saith, that he comming to Hanibout, after he had thus lost Vannes, tooke the sea, and sailed into England: but by reason of being tossed on the seas, his wounds rankled so, that shortlie after his comming to London he died, & was buried in the church of S. Paule.

The king passeth ouer into Britaine.

The king of England was sore displeased with his death, and immediatlie after passed ouer himselfe into Britaine with a great armie: and landing there the nine and twentith of Nouember, at the same place where the earle of Richmond did land at his arriuall there, not farre from Vannes, he went straight and besieged Vannes, but perceiuing that it would not be woone but by long siege, he left the earle of Arundell, and the lord Stafford to continue the siege, whilest he went to Rennes to aid his people, which still laie at the siege thereof.

Vannes besieged.

Additions to *Triuet.*

Before the kings arriuall in Britaine, those that were there vnder the earle of Northampton, as the lord Hugh Spenser, and the lord Richard Talbot, with their retinues, fought with the Frenchmen neere to Morleis, where a few Englishmen, scarse fiue hundred, discomfited a mightie power of Frenchmen, estéemed to be aboue fiftie thousand, of whome some they slue, and some they tooke. Among other was taken the lord Geffrey de Charnie, accompted for one of the best and sagest knights in France, whome the lord Richard Talbot tooke and sent into England.

An armie of Frenchmen discomfited by a few Englishmen.

But now as touching the kings dooings, we find, that whilest he remained for this winter season in Britaine, his people forraied the countrie foure daies iournie in length and two daies iournie in bredth. After his comming to Rennes, he staied not past fiue daies, but leauing them whome he found there to continue the siege, he went himselfe to Naunts,

where he had knowledge, that the lord Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, he inuironed the citie about with a strong siege, & made manie fierce assaults to the walles and gates, but could not preuaile, then leauing certeine of his lords there to continue the siege, he raised with the residue, and went to Dinan, which towne with sore and fierce assaults he lastlie woone, and after that drew againe towards Vannes, for that he was informed, how the duke of Normandie was comming downe towards him, with an armie of fortie thousand men. Herevpon he sent for them that laie at siege before Naunts to come vnto him, and suffered them at Rennes to keepe their siege still, till they heard other word from him.

Naunts besieged.

The duke of Normandie commeth downe into Britaine.

The duke of Normandie with foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand other men of warre, comming into Britaine to aid the lord Charles of Blois, was aduertised, that the king of England was with the most part of all his power withdrawen to Vannes, and there laie at siege, sore constreining them within: wherefore he also drew thitherwards, and approching to the place, incamped with his armie ouer against the king of England, inclosing his field with a great trench. The king of England supposing he should haue battell, sent vnto those which laie at siege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence vnto him: so that by this meanes all the powers, both of the king of England, and of the duke of Normandie, generall to his father the French king in those warres of Britaine, being assembled before Vannes, had fought some great and bloudie battell, as was supposed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the cardinals of Cleremont and Prenesti, as legats from pope Clement the sixt, had not taken vp the matter, by concluding a truce betwixt them, for the tearme of three yeares.

Additions to *Triuet.*

Commissioners for the king of England.

Commissioners for the French king.

1343.

A truce for three yeares.

Commissioners appointed to treat with these cardinals, on the behalfe of the king of England were these, Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derbie, William Bohun earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Rafe lord Stafford, Bartholomew lord Burghese, Nicholas lord Cantelow, Reginald lord Cobham, Walter lord of Mannie, Maurice lord Berkeley, and maister Iohn Vfford archdeacon of Elie. For the French king, Odo duke of Burgogne, and Piers duke of Burbon were deputed commissioners. Such diligence was vsed by the parties, that finallie they agreed vpon this truce of three yeares, with certeine articles for meane to conclude some finall peace, as that there should be sent from either king some personages of their bloud and others, vnto the court of Rome, with sufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and establish vpon all controuersies and dissentions betwixt the said kings, according to the agreement of the pope, and such as should be so sent to treat thereof.

It was further agréed, that they should haue libertie to declare and pronounce their arguments and reasons before the pope, but not to haue power to decide and giue sentence, but onlie by waie of some better treatie and order of agréement to be made. And these commissioners were appointed to appeare before the pope, afore the feast of saint Iohn Baptist next insuing, and the pope to dispatch the businesse before Christmasse after, if by consent of the said nobles, the terme were not proroged. And if it so were that the pope could make no agréement, yet should the truce indure the prefixed terme, to wit, till the feast of S. Michaell the archangell, and for the space of three yeares then next insuing, betwixt the kings of France, England and Scotland, the earle of Heinault and their alies, as the dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderland, also the marques of Gullikerland, the lord Beaumont, otherwise called sir Iohn de Heinault, and the people of Flanders, in all their lands and dominions, from the date of the charter made hereof, by all the said terme aforesaid, to be obserued, holden and kept. Also, the king of Scots, and the earle of Heinault were appointed to send certeine persons, as commissioners for them, vnto the said court of Rome.

The conditions of the truce.

This truce was also accorded to be kept in Britaine, betwixt the said kings and their adherents, in which countrie, as well as in Guien, and other places, euerie man should remaine in possession of that which he held at the time of concluding this truce, saue that

the citie of Vannes should be deliuered into the hands of the cardinall, to be kept by them in the popes name, during the truce, and then to dispose thereof, as should séeme to them good. Manie other articles were comprised in the charter of this truce, too long héere to rehearse, all the which were confirmed with the oths of the said dukes of Burgoigne and Burbone, on the French kings behalfe; and of the earles of Derbie, Northampton and Salisburie, the lord Burghersts, and the lord of Mannie, for the king of England. In witnesse whereof, the said cardinals caused the charter to be made, putting therevnto their seales, the nineteenth daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1343 in presence of diuerse prelats, and of the earles of Bullongne, Ausserre, Sancerre, Iuignie, and Porcien, the lord Miles de Nohers, the lord Ingram de Coucie, and the foresaid lords, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manie other lords, barons, nobles, and gentlemen.

An. Reg. 17.

The king of England returneth by sea forth of Britaine.

When this truce was thus confirmed, manie of the English armie returned home through France, so to passe ouer by the narrow seas into England, but the king himselfe, with a few other, taking their ships to passe by long seas, were maruellouslie tormented by tempest, so that their ships were scattered and driuen to take land at diuerse hauens. The dutchesse of Britaine with hir sonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonshire. Sir Peers de Veele, and his sonne sir Henrie Véele, and sir Iohn Raine knights, were drowned, togither with the ship in which they passed. The king escaping verie hardlie, landed at Weimouth, and on the fift day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Easter, he held a parlement at Westminster, in which he created his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales. In this parlement were diuerse matters talked of, and specialllie concerning wools, and of the assessement of a certeine price of them, more and lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the realme, and of the customes to be made of them, to wit, thrée marks and an halfe, for euerie sacke to be transported foorth of the realme.

Shipwracke.

A parlement.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Also in the same parlement were ambassadors appointed foorth, such as should go to the pope to treat of peace (as in the charter of the truce among other articles it was conteined) whose names follow, Iohn bishop of Excester, Henrie de Lancaster earle of Derbie, Hugh le Dispenser lord of Glamorgan, cousins to the king; Rafe lord Stafford, William de Norwich deane of Lincolne, William Trussell knight, and master Andrew de Vfford a ciuillian. These persons were sent with commission to the pope, to treat with him, not as pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuat person and a common frend to both parts, to be a meane or mediator, to find out some indifferent end of all controuersie betwixt the parties. The date of their commission was at Westminster, the foure and twentith of Maie, in this seauenteenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Ambassadors appointed to go to the pope.

Moreouer, in this parlement a grieuous complaint was exhibited, by the earles, barons, knights, burgesses, and other of the commons, for that strangers, by vertue of reseruations and prouisions apostolike, got the best benefices of this land into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the same, but diminishing the treasure of the realme, and conueieng it foorth, sore indamaged the whole state. The bishops durst not, or would not giue their consents in exhibiting this complaint, but rather seemed to stand against it, till the king compelled them to giue ouer.

Herevpon, a letter was framed by the lords of the temporaltie and commons, which they directed vnto the pope in all humble manner, beseeching him to consider of the derogation doone to the realme of England, by such reseruations, prouisions, and collations of benefices, as had béen practised here in England. And therefore sith the churches of England had béene founded and endowed by noble and worthie men in times past, to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their owne language, and that he being so farre off, and not vnderstanding the default, had (like as some of his predecessors more than in times past had beene accustomed) granted by diuerse reseruations, prouisions, and collations, the churches and spirituall promotions of this land vnto diuerse persons, some strangers, yea, and enimies to the realme, whereby the monie and profits were carried foorth, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawne, hospitalitie decaied;

the temples and other buildings belonging to the churches ruinated and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people sore diminished, and diuerse other gréeuous enormities thereby growne cleane contrarie to the founders minds: wherefore, vpon due consideration thereof had, they signified to him, that they could not suffer such enormities any longer, & therefore besought him wholie to reuoke such réseruations, prouisions, collations, to auoid such slanders, mischeefes, and harmes as might insue, and that the cures might therewith be committed to persons méet for the exercise of the same: further also, beseeching him without delaie, to signifie his intention, sith they meant to imploie their diligence to remedie the matter, and to see that redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these letters was in full parlement at Westminster, the eight and twentith of Maie, in the yeare of Grace 1343.

Sir Iohn Shordich sent to the pope.

Beside these letters, were other written, and sent from the king, conteining in summe, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one sir Iohn Shordich, knight a graue personage and well seene in the law, was appointed to go with the same, who comming to Auignion, and there presenting his letters in the popes priuie chamber, where the pope sat, with all his cardinals about him, receiued no great courteous welcome, after his letters were once read. And whie? Euen bicause the cõtents of the same misliked his mind, tending to the impairing of his vsurped profits & cõmodities from time to time in this land,

Ambitiosus enim sibi totum vendicat orbem,
Seq; (scelus) Christo clamitat esse parem.

The Popes words to sir Iohn Shordich.

Now when the knight made answer to such words as he heard the pope vtter, and charged him with giuing the deanrie of Yorke vnto one that was reputed the kings enimie, the pope said; "Well, it is not vnknowne to vs who made and indited these letters, and we know that thou madest them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and we shall punish him well inough: we know all." Herevnto he added thus much more, that "there was a knight that spake defamous words of him, and the church of Rome, wherewith he séemed highlie offended." To conclude, he said, "that he would answer the letters of the king and commons, as touching the points conteined in the same." The cardinals, after they had heard these things, departed as if they had béene sore offended and troubled therewith: and the knight taking his leaue of the pope, departed also foorth of the chamber, and without anie longer abode, got him awaie toward Burdeaux, about other of the kings businesse, doubting least if he had staied longer, he might haue béene kept there against his will. The pope sent answer indéed, but neuerthelesse, the king procéeded in prohibiting such prouisions, and collations within his realme, on paine of imprisonment and death to the intrudors thereby, as after ye shall perceiue.

Of benefices inhibited by the king.

This yeare about Midsummer, there were solemne iusts proclaimed by the lord Robet Morley, which were holden in Smithfield, where for challengers came foorth one apparelled like to the pope, bringing with him twelue other in garments like to cardinals, which tooke vpon them to answer all commers, for three courses. On the defendants side, ran the prince of Wales, with manie earls, barons, knights and esquires innumerable, so that those iusts continued three daies togither, to the great pleasure of the beholders. ¶ This yeare, king Edward ordeined a certeine new coine of gold, which he named the floren, that is, the penie of six shillings eight pence, the halfe penie of the value of three shillings foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence. This coine was ordeined for his wars in France, the gold whereof was not so fine as the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne he had caused for to be coined. This yeare, the king caused a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, whome he set in hand to build a chamber in the castell of Windsore, which was called the round table, the floore whereof, from the center or middle point, vnto the compasse throughout, the one halfe was (as Walsingham writeth) an hundred foot, and so the diameter or compasse round about, was two hundred foot. The expenses of this worke amounted by the weeke, first vnto an hundred pounds,

Iusts in Smithfield.

1344.

An. Reg. 18.

Th. Walsing.

A chamber built within the castell of Windsore, called the round table.

pounds, but afterward by reason of the wars that followed, the charges was diminished vnto two and twentie pounds the weeke (as Thomas Walsingham writeth in his larger booke, intituled, the historie of England) or (as some copies haue) vnto 9 pounds. This yéere also, W. Montacute earle of Salisburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the said earle, and caused him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man. ¶ This Ile (as Robert Southwell noteth) was woone by the Scots, about the second yeare of Edward the second his reigne, who in the yeare before, to wit, anno Christi 1307, had giuen the same Ile vnto Péers de Gaueston, whom he had also made earle of Cornewall.

I. Stow out of Henrie de Leicester.

The Ile of Man.

Moreouer, about the beginning of this eightéenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a solemne feast at his castell of Windsore, where betwixt Candlemasse and Lent, were atchiued manie martiall feasts, and iusts, tornaments, and diuerse other the like warlike pastimes, at the which were present manie strangers of other lands, and in the end thereof, he deuised the order of the garter, and after established it, as it is at this daie. There are six and twentie companions or confrers of this felowship of that order, being called knights of the blew garter, & as one dieth or is depriued, an other is admitted into his place. The K. of England is euer chéefe of this order. They weare a blew robe or mantell, & a garter about their left leg, richlie wrought with gold and pretious stones, hauing this inscription in French vpon it, Honi soit qui mal y pense, Shame come to him that euill thinketh. This order is dedicated to S. George, as chéefe patrone of men of warre, and therefore euerie yeare doo the knights of this order kéepe solemne his feast, with manie noble ceremonies at the castell of Windsore, where king Edward founded a colledge of canons, or rather augmenting the same, ordeined therein a deane with twelue canons secular, eight peticanons, and thirtéene vicars, thirteene clearks, and thirteene choristers.

Iusts & tornies holden at Windsore.

The order of the garter founded.

The knights haue certeine lawes and rules apperteining to their order, amongst the which this is chéeflie to be obserued (as Polydor also noteth) that they shall aid and defend one another, and neuer turne their backes or runne awaie out of the field in time of battell, where he is present with his souereigne lord, his lieutenant or deputie, or other capteine, hauing the kings power roiall and authoritie, and whereas his banners, standards, or pennons are spred. The residue of the lawes and rules apperteining vnto this noble order, I doo here purposelie omit, for that the same in * an other place more conuenient is expressed, so far as may be thought expedient. But now touching these six and twentie noble men & knights, which were first chosen and admitted into the same order, by the first founder thereof, this king Edward the third, their names are as followeth.

* Looke in the description of Britaine.

First the said noble prince king Edward the third, the prince of Wales duke of Cornewall and earle of Chester his eldest sonne, Henrie duke of Lancaster, the earle of Warwike, the capitall de Beuch alias Buz or Beufe, Rafe earle of Stafford, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Roger lord Mortimer, Iohn lord Lisle, Bartholomew lord Burwasch or Berghesech, the lord Iohn Beauchampe, the lord de Mahun, Hugh lord Courthie, Thomas lord Holand, Iohn lord Graie, Richard lord Fitz Simon, sir Miles Stapleton, sir Thomas Walle, sir Hugh Wrottesley, sir Néele Loring, sir Iohn Chandos, Iames lord Audelie, sir Otes Holand, sir Henrie Eme, sir Sanchet Dabrichcourt, sir Walter Panell.

In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.

¶ Christopher Okland speaking of the first institution of this honorable order, dooth saie, that after foure daies were expired in the said exercises of chiualrie, the king besides the rich garter which he bestowed vpon them that tried maisteries, did also giue them a pretious collar of S S. but whether this collar had his first institution then with the garter he saith nothing, belike it was an ornament of greater antiquitie. Oklands words are these as followeth;

——— concertatoribus ampla
Præmia dat princeps, baccatas induit illis

Crura

Crura periscelides, quas vnio mistus Eous
Commendat, flammis interlucente pyropo.
Præterea ex auro puro, quod odorifer Indus
Miserat, inserta donabat iaspide gemma,
Si formam spectes duplicato ex sygmate torques.

¶ The cause and first originall of instituting this order is vncerteine. But there goeth a tale amongst the people, that it rose by this means. It chanced that K. Edward finding either the garter of the quéene, or of some * ladie with whom he was in loue, being fallen from hir leg, stooped downe and tooke it vp, whereat diuerse of his nobles found matter to iest, and to talke their fansies merilie, touching the kings affection towards the woman, vnto whome he said, that if he liued, it should come so passe, that most high honor should be giuen vnto them for the garters sake: and there vpon shortlie after, he deuised and ordeined this order of the garter, with such a posie, wherby he signified, that his nobles iudged otherwise of him than the truth was. Though some may thinke, that so noble an order had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet manie honorable degrees of estates haue had their beginnings of more base and meane things, than of loue, which being orderlie vsed, is most noble and commendable, sith nobilitie it selfe is couered vnder loue, as the poet Ouid aptlie saith,

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

The occasion that mooued K. Edward to institute the order of the garter.

* The countes of Salisburie.

William de Montacute earle of Salisburie king of Man, and marshall of England, was so brused at the iusts holden here at Windsore (as before ye haue heard) that he departed this life, the more was the pitie, within eight daies after. ¶ The king about the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Candlemasse, held a councell at London, in the which with good aduise and sound deliberation had vpon the complaint of the commons to him before time made, he gaue out streict commandement, that no man on paine of imprisonment and death, should in time to come, present or induct anie such person or persons, that were so by the pope promoted, without the kings agreement, in preiudice of his roiall prerogatiue. Hérevpon, he directed also writs to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, officials and other ecclesiasticall persons, to whome it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt anie thing in preiudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of anie bulles, or other writings, for such manner of prouisions to come from the court of Rome. Other writs were also directed to his sonne the prince of Wales, and to all the shiriffes within the realme, for to arrest all such as brought into the land any such buls or writings, and to bring them before the kings councell or his iustices, where they might be punished according to the trespasse by them committed.

Additions to *Adam Merimuth*, and *Triuet*.

About the same time, the king ordeined a certeine coine of fine gold, and named it the floren, which coine was deuised for his warres in France, for the gold thereof was not so fine as was the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare he had caused to be coined: but this coine continued not long. ¶ After the feast of the holie Trinitie, the king held a parlement at London, in the which he asked a tenth of the cleargie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie, about which demand there was no small altercation, but at length he had it granted for one yeare. ¶ At the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie held a conuocation of all the cleargie at London, in the which manie things were in talke about the honest demeanor of churchmen, which sildome is obserued, as the addition to Nicholas Triuet saith. About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, the king disanulled the florens, to the great commoditie of his kingdome, ordeining a greater floren of halfe a marke, and a lesser of three shillings foure pence, and the least of all of twentie pence, and these were called nobles, and not without cause, for they were a noble coine, of faire & fine gold.

Coine changed.

This yeare, on the seauentéenth daie of Nouember, the pope in Auinion created the lord Lewes de Spaine, ambassador for the French king, prince of the Iles called Fortunatæ, for what purpose it was not knowne, but it was doubted, not to be for anie good meaning towards the kingdome of England, the prosperitie whereof, the same pope was suspected

1345. An. Reg. 19.

not greatlie to wish. ¶ About the beginning of Lent the same yeare, the said pope had sent an archbishop and a bishop, ambassadors to the king, who met them at Ospring in Kent, and to the end they should not linger long within the realme, he quicklie dispatched them without effect of their message. ¶ This yeare, shortlie after Easter, the duke of Britaine, that had beene deteined prisoner by the French king, and escaped out of prison, came ouer into England. ¶ And about the same time, the king ordeined the exchange of monies at London, Canturburie, and Yorke, to the great commoditie of his people.

Auesburie. Ad. Merimuth. Polychron. Fiue hundred men of armes and two thousand archers saith *Froissard.*

About Midsummer, or (as other haue) Michaelmas, the earle of Derbie, with the earle of Penbroke, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord Iohn Graie of Codnore, and diuerse other lords, knights, and esquires, to the number of fiue or six hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, sailed ouer into Gascoine, to assist the kings subiects there against the Frenchmen. This earle of Derbie, being generall of the armie, after his arriuall in Gascoine, about the beginning of December, wan the towne of Bergerat by force, hauing put to flight the earle of Lisle, as then the French kings lieutenant in Gascoine, who laie there with a great power, to defend the passage: but being driuen into the towne, and hauing lost the suburbes to the Englishmen, he fled out in the night, and so left the towne, without anie souldiers to defend it, so that the townesmen yeelded it vnto the earle of Derbie, and sware themselues to be true liege men vnto the king of England. After this, the earle of Derbie passed further into the countrie, and wan diuerse castels and townes, as Lango, le Lake, Moundurant, Monguise, Punach, Laliew, Forsath, Pondair, Beaumont in Laillois, Bounall, Auberoch and Liborne, part of them by assault, and the residue by surrender. This doone, he returned to Burdeaux, hauing left capteins and souldiers in such places as he had woone.

Bergerat woone.

Froissard.

This yeare, the king sent foorth a commission vnto certeine persons in euerie countie within the realme, to inquire what lands and tenements euerie man, aboue fiue pounds of yeerelie reuenues, being of the laie fée, might dispend; bicause he had giuen order, that euerie man which might dispend fiue pounds and aboue, vnto ten pounds of such yeerelie reuenues in land of the laie fee, should furnish himselfe, or find an archer on horssebacke, furnished with armour and weapon accordinglie. He that might dispend ten pounds, should furnish himselfe, or find a demilance or light horsseman (if I shall so terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance. And he that might dispend fiue and twentie pounds, should furnish himselfe or find a man at armes. And he that might dispend fiftie pounds, should furnish two men at arms. And he that might dispend an hundred pounds should find three men at armes, that is, himselfe, or one in his steed, with two other. And such as might dispend aboue an hundred pounds, were appointed to find more in number of men at armes, accordinglie as they should be assessed, after the rate of their lands, which they might yearelie dispend, being of the laie fée, and not belonging to the church.

Additions to Nic. Triuet. About this season, the duke of Britaine, hauing with him the earles of Northampton and Oxenford, sir William de Killesbie one of the kings secretaries, and manie other barons and knights, with a great number of men of armes, passed ouer into Britaine, against the lord Charles de Blois, where they tarried a long time, and did little good to make anie accompt of, by reason that the duke, in whose quarrell they came into those parts, shortlie after his arriuall there, departed this life, and so they returned home into England. But after their comming from thence, sir Thomas Dagworth knight, that had beene before, and now after the departure of those lords and nobles, still remained the kings lieutenant there, so behaued himselfe against both Frenchmen and Britains, that the memorie of his worthie doings deserueth perpetuall commendation. Sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, about the same time, changed his cote, and leauing the king of Englands seruice, was reteined by the French king.

The duke of Britaine departed this life.

The lord Beaumont of einault forsaketh the K. of England his seruice.

In

In this nineteenth yeare of king Edward I find, that about the feast of the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, he sailed ouer into Flanders, leauing his sonne the lord Lionell, warden of the realme in his absence. He tooke with him a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Sluse. The cause of his going ouer was, to further a practise which he had in hand with them of Flanders, the which by the labour of Iaques Arteueld, meant to cause their earle Lewes, either to doo homage vnto king Edward; or else if he refused, then to disherit him, and to receiue Edward prince of Wales for their lord, the eldest sonne of king Edward. *Ia. Mair.*

The king goeth ouer into Flanders.

King Edward promising to make a dukedome of the countie of Flanders, for an augmentation of honour to the countrie, there came vnto Sluse to the king, Iaques van Arteueld, and a great number of other, appointed as councellors for their cheefest townes. The king with all his nauie lay in the hauen of Sluse, where, in his great ship called the Catharine, a councell was holden vpon this foresaid purpose: but at length, those of the councellors of the cheefest townes misliked the matter so much, that they would conclude nothing, but required respit for a moneth, to consult with all the cōmunaltie of the countries and townes, and as the more part should be inclined, so should the king receiue answer. The king and Iaques Arteueld would faine haue had a shorter daie, and a more towardlie answer, but none other could be gotten. *Froissard.*

A councell holden in the king of Englands ship.

Herevpon the councell brake vp, and Iaques Arteueld tarieng with the king a certeine space, after the other were departed, promised him to persuade the countrie well inough to his purpose, and suerlie, he had a great gift of eloquence, and had thereby induced the countrie wonderfullie, to consent to manie things, as well in fauour of king Edward, as to his owne aduancement: but this suit which he went now about to bring to passe, was so odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wise they thought it reason to consent vnto the disheriting of the earle. At length, when Iaques Arteueld should returne vnto Gant, king Edward appointed fiue hundred Welshmen to attend him as a gard, for the preseruation of his person, bicause he said, that one Gerard Denise deane of the weauers, an vnquiet man, maliciouslie purposed his destruction. *Ia. Meir.*

Welshmen appointed to Iaques Arteueld for a gard against Gerard Denise.

Capteins of these Welshmen were Iohn Matreuers, and William Sturine or Sturrie, and so with this crue of souldiers Arteueld returned vnto Gant, and earnestlie went in hand with his suit in king Edwards behalfe, that either the earle should doo his homage to the king of England to whome it was due; or else to forfeit his earledome. Then the foresaid Gerard, as well of his owne mind, as procured thereto by the authoritie of earle Lewes, stirred the whole citie against the said Arteueld, and gathering a great power vnto him, came and beset Arteuelds house round about vpon each side, the furie of the people being wonderfullie bent against him, crieng; "Kill him, Kill him that hath robbed the tresurie of the countrie, and now goeth about to disherit our noble earle."

Iacob Arteuelds house beset.

Iaques van Arteueld perceiuing in what danger he was, came vnto a window, and spake to that inraged multitude, in hope with faire and courteous words to appease them, but it could not be: wherupon he sought to haue fled out of his house, but the same was broken vp, and so manie entred vpon him, that he was found out, and slaine by one Thomas Denise (as some write.) But other affirme, that on a sundaie in the after noone, being the 17 of Iulie, a cobler, whose father this Iaques van Arteueld had sometime slaine, followed him, as he was fleeing into a stable where his horsses stood, & there with an ax cloue his head asunder, so that he fell downe starke dead on the ground. And this was the end of the foresaid Iaques van Arteueld, who by his wisdome and policie had obteined the whole gouernment of all Flanders. This wofull end was allotted vnto him by destinie, whose decrée nothing is able by any shift to auoid, as is notablie said of the poet in this distichon; *Froissard. I. Meir.*

Iacob van Arteueld slaine.

Nil extra fatum est, metitúrque omnia summi
Mens regis, cuius sine numine fit nihil vsquam. *M. Pal. in Abry.*

There

Ambassadors from the good townes in Flanders vnto king Edward.

There were slaine also ten other persons that were of his councell, and diuerse of the Welshmen in like manner; but the other escaped, and got awaie vnto king Edward, as yet remaining at Sluse, vnto whome those of Bruges, Cassell, Curtrike, Ypres, Aldenard, and other townes, did afterwards sent their orators to excuse themselues, as nothing guiltie nor priuie to the death of his frèend, and their worthie gouernor Iaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the fault vnto the whole countrie, which the rash and vnaduised Gantiners had committed, sith the countrie of Flanders was as readie now to doo him seruice and pleasure as before, sauing that to the disheriting of their earle they could not be agréeable, but they doubted not to persuade him to doo his homage vnto the king of England, and till then they promised not to receiue him. They put the king also in hope of a mariage to be had, betwixt the sonne of their earle, and some one of the kings daughters. Herewith the king of England (who was departed from Sluse, in great displeasure with the Flemings) became somewhat pacified in his mood, and so renewed the league eftsoons with the countrie of Flanders: but the earle would neuer consent to doo homage vnto the king of England, but still sticked to the French kings part, which purchased him much trouble, and in the end cost him his life, as after shall appeare.

Froissard.

But now to returne vnto the earle of Derbie, whome we left in Gascoigne. Ye shall vnderstand, that shortlie after he was come backe to Burdeaux, from the conquest which he had made of Bergerat, and other townes thereabouts; the earle of Lisle, who (as ye haue heard) was the French kings lieutenant in that countrie, assembled an armie of twelue thousand men, & comming before Auberoch, (a towne in Gascoigne) besieged it, sore pressing them within, in somuch that they were in great danger to haue béene taken, if the earle of Derbie, hauing knowlege in what case they stood, had not come to their rescue, who with three hundred speares or men of armes, as we maie call them, and six hundred archers, approching néere to the siege, laid himselfe closelie within a wood, till the Frenchmen in the euening were at supper, & then suddenlie set vpon them in their campe, and discomfited them, so that the earle of Lisle was taken in his owne tent, and sore hurt. There were also taken the earle of Valentinois, and other earles, vicounts, and lords of great accompt, to the number of nine, besides those that were slaine. The residue were put to flight and chased, so that the Englishmen had a faire iournie, and wan great riches by prisoners and spoile of the enimies campe.

Auberoch besieged.

The French armie distressed, and the earle of Lisle taken.

Towns woon by the earle of Derbie.

After this, the earle of Derbie, being returned to Burdeaux, and hauing put the captiues in safe kéeping, assembled his power, and marching foorth into the countrie, towards the Rioll (a towne in those parts which he meant to besiege) he wan diuerse towns and castels by the way, as saint Basill, Roch, Million, Montsegure, Aguillon, & Segart. At length he came to the towne of the Rioll, which he besieged, and laie about it nine wéekes yer he could win it, and then was the same towne surrendered into his hands, but the castell was still defended against him for the space of eleuen weekes, at which time being sore oppressed & vndermined, it was yéelded by them within conditionallie, that they should depart onelie with their armour. After this, the earle of Derbie wan Montpesance, Mauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Miremont, Thomines, the castell of Damassen, and at length came before the citie of Angolesme the which made appointment with the earle, that if no succors came from the French king within the space of a moneth, that then the citie should be surrendered to the king of Englands vse: and to assure this appointment, they deliuered to the earle foure and twentie of their chéefe citizens as hostages.

Angolesme.

Blaues.

In the meane time, the earle laid siege to Blaues, but could not win it. His men rode abroad into the countrie, to Mortaigne, Mirabeau, and Aunay, but wan little, and so returned againe to the siege of Blaues. Now when the month was expired, that they of Angolesme should yéeld, the earle sent his two marshals thither, who receiued the homage and fealtie of the citizens, in the king of Englands name, and so they were in peace, and receiued againe their hostages. At length when the earle of Derbie saw that he did but lose his time in the besieging of Blaues, which sir Guischart Dangle, and sir Guillaume de Rochfort,

Rochfort, being capteins within, did so valiantlie defend, that he could obteine no aduantage of them, he raised his siege, and returned vnto Burdeaux, hauing furnished such townes as he had woone in that iournie with conuenient garisons of men to defend them against the enimies, and to kéepe frontier warre, as they should sée cause.

The French king being sore moued at the conquests thus atchiued by the earle of Derbie, raised a mightie armie, and sent the same foorth, vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Normandie, into Gascoigne, to resist the said earle, and to recouer againe those townes which he had woone in those parts. The duke of Normandie being come to Tholouz, where generall assemblie was appointed, set forward with his armie, and winning by the waie Miremount, and Ville Franche in Agenois; at length came to the citie of Angolesme, which he inuironed about with a strong siege, continuing the same, till finallie, the capiteine named Iohn Normell, required a truce to indure for one daie, which was granted, and the same was the daie of the Purification of our ladie, on the which, the same capiteine, with the souldiers of the garrison departed, and left the citie in the citizens hands. The Frenchmen, bicause they had granted the truce to indure for that daie without exception, permitted them to go their waies without let or vexation. The citizens in the morning yéelded the citie to the duke. After this, he wan the castell of Damassen, Thonins, and Port S. Marie; Thonins by surrender, and the other two by force of assaults. Then he came to the strong castell of Aiguillon, which he besieged, and laie thereat a long season. Within was the earle of Penbroke, the lord Walter de Mannie, sir Franke de Halle, and diuerse knights and capteins, which defended themselues, and the place so stoutlie, that the Frenchmen could win little aduantage at their hands.

Froissard saith they were an hundred thousand. *Gio. Villani* writeth that they were a six thousand horsmen and fiftie thousand footemen, of Frenchmen, Gascoignes & Lombardes. *Annales de Burgoigne.*

1346.

An. Reg. 20.

Angolisme recouered by the Frenchmen.

Damassen.

Thonins.

Aiguillon besieged.

Whilest the siege continued before this fortresse, the seneshall of Guien departed from the campe, with eight hundred horssemen, and foure thousand footmen, purposing to win a castell, belonging to a nephue of the cardinall Della Motte, a twelue leagues distant from Aiguillon. The archdeacon of Vnfort, owner of that castell, went to the Rioll, where the earle of Derbie with his armie as then was lodged, to whome he made suit, to haue some power of men to rescue his castell. The earle appointed to him a sufficient number, both of horssemen, and also of English archers, with whome the said archdeacon rode all the night, and the next morning betimes, being the one and thirtith of Iulie, they came to the castell where the Frenchmen were arriued the daie before, and had fiercelie assailed the castell, dooing their best to win it by force. But the Englishmen without anie delaie, immediatlie vpon their comming, set vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them so sharpe and fierce battell, that in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited: the seneshall with manie other gentlemen were taken prisoners, beside those that were slaine. To conclude, the number of them that were slaine, and taken prisoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horssemen, and two thousand footmen. Sir Godfrey de Harcourt being constreined to flée out of France, to auoid the French kings displeasure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who receiued him verie ioifullie, for he was knowne to be a right valiant and a wise personage. He was brother to the earle of Harecourt, lord of saint Sauiour le Vicount, and of diuerse other townes in Normandie. A little before that he fell into the French kings displeasure, he might haue doone with the king of France, more than anie other lord within that realme.

Gio. Villani.

The archdecon of Vnfort.

Frenchmen discomfited.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made against purueiours of vittels for his houshold (the which vnder colour of their commissions, abused the same, in taking vp among the commons all manner of things that liked them, without making paiment for the same, further than the said commissions did allow them) he caused inquirie to be made of their misdemeanors, and such as were found to haue offended, of whome there was no small number, some of them were put to death on the gallowes, and other were fined, so to teach the rest to deale more warilie in their businesse from thenceforth. ¶ About the same time, he caused all the iustices within his

Additions to *Adam Meriemuth.*

Purueiors punished.

Iustices.

dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their pensions, fées, and other bribing benefits and rewards, which they vsed to receiue of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelats, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, iustice might more fréelie haue course, and be of them dulie and vprightlie ministred.

A parlement. Also this yeare in the Lent season, the king held a parlement at Westminster, and tooke

Cardinals. into his hands all the profits, reuenues, and emoluments, which the cardinals held within this land: for he thought it not reason, that they which fauoured the pope and the French king, being his aduersaries, should inioy such commodities within his realme.

Froissard. The king paseth ouer into Normandie. After this, in the moneth of Iulie following, he tooke shipping, and sailed into Normandie, hauing established the lord Percie, and the lord Neuill, to be wardens of his realme in his absence, with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and the bishop of Duresme. The armie which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen, & Welshmen, that folowed the host on foot. The chéefest capteins that went ouer with him were these. First his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales, being as then about the age of thirteene yeares, the earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundell, Cornewall, Huntington, Warwike, Suffolke, and Oxford; of barons the lord Mortimer, who was after erle of March, the lords, Iohn, Lewes, and Roger Beauchampe; also the lords Cobham, Mowbraie, Lucie, Basset, Barkeley, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other lords, besides a great number of knights and other worthie capteins. They landed by the aduise of the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Constantine, at the port of Hague saint Wast, néere to saint Sauiour le Vicount. The earle of Huntington was appointed to be gouernour of the fléet by sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

John Villani saith there were 2500 horsemen, and 30000 footmen and archers, that passed ouer with the K. but when he commeth to speake of the battell, he séemeth to increase the number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appointed two marshals, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Arundell was made constable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the

The ordering of the kings armie. coast of the sea; and another to march on his left hand, vnder the conduct of the marshals; so that he himselfe went in the middest with the maine armie, and in this order forward they passed towards Caen, lodging euerie night togither in one field. They that went by the sea, tooke all the ships they found in their waie, and as they marched foorth

Harflew. thus, what by water & land, at length they came to a towne called Harflew, which was giuen vp, but yet neuerthelesse it was robbed, and much goods found in it. After this

Chierburge. they came to Chierburge, which towne they wan by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it,

Mountburge. but the castell they could not win. Then came they to Mountburge and tooke it, robbed it & burnt it cleane. In this manner they passed foorth, and burnt manie towns and

Carentine. villages in all the countrie as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them against the will of the soldiers that were within it. The soldiers defended the castell two daies, and then yéelded it vp into the Englishmens hands, who burnt the same, and caused the burgesses to enter into their ships. All this was doone by the battell that went by the sea side, and by them on the sea togither.

On the other side, the lord Godfrie of Harecourt, with the battell on the right hand of the king, road foorth six or seuen leagues from the kings battell, in burning and exiling the countries. The king had with him (beside those that were with the marshals) 3000 men of armes, six thousand archers, and ten thousand men on foot. They left the citie

Saint Lo. of Constance, and came to a great towne called saint Lo, a rich towne of draperie, hauing manie wealthie burgesses within it: it was soone taken and robbed by the Englishmen vpon their first approch. From thence the king marched streight to Caen, wherein were capteins Rafe earle of Ewe and Guines constable of France, & the earle of Tankeruile. These noble men meant to haue kept their defenses on the walles, gate, bridge, and riuer, and to haue left the suburbes void, bicause they were not closed, but onelie with the riuer: but they of the towne said they would issue forth, for they were strong inough to fight with the king of England.

When

When the constable saw their good willes, he was contented to follow their desire, and so foorth they went in good order, and made good face to put their liues in hazard: but when they saw the Englishmen approch in good order, diuided into three battels, & the archers readie to shoot, which they of Caen had not seene before, they were sore afraid, and fled awaie toward the towne without any order or arraie, for all that the constable could doo to staie them. The Englishmen followed, and in the chase slue manie, and entered the towne with their enimies. The constable, and the earle of Tankeruile tooke a tower at the bridge foot, thinking there to saue themselues, but perceiuing the place to be of no force, nor able long to hold out, they submitted themselues vnto sir Thomas Holland. ¶ But here whatsoeuer Froissard dooth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yéelding of these two noble men, it is to be proued that the said earle of Tankeruile was taken by one surnamed Legh, ancestor to sir Peter Legh now liuing, whether in the fight or within the tower, I haue not to saie: but for the taking of the said earle, and for his other manlike prowes shewed here and elsewhere in this iournie, king Edward in recompense of his agréeable seruice, gaue to him a lordship in the countie of Chester called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh now liuing dooth inioy and possesse, as successor and heire to his ancestor the foresaid Legh, to whom it was so first giuen.

There were slaine in all without and within the towne 5000 men, as *Gio. Villani* writeth.

Peter Legh.

But to returne now to the matter where we left. The Frenchmen being entred into their houses, cast downe vpon the Englishmen below in the stréets, stones, timber, hot water, and barres of iron, so that they hurt and slue more than fiue hundred persons. The king was so mooued therewith, that if the lord Godfrie of Harecourt had not asswaged his mood, the towne had béene burnt, and the people put to the edge of the sword: but by the treatie of the said lord Godfrie, proclamation was made, that no man should put fire into any house, nor slea any person, nor force any woman, and then did the townesmen and souldiers submit themselues, and receiued the Englishmen into their houses. There was great store of riches gotten in this towne, and the most part thereof sent into England, with the fléet which the king sent home with the prisoners, vnder the guiding of the earle of Huntington, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

Caen taken.

40000 clothes, as *Gio. Villani* writeth, were got by the Englishmen in one place and other in this iournie.

When all things were ordred in Caen as the king could desire, he marched from thence in the same order as he had kept before, burning and exiling the countrie. He passed by Eureux & came to Louiers, which the Englishmen soone entred and sacked without mercie. Then went they foorth, and left Roan, and came to Gisors, the towne they burnt, but the castell they could not get: they burnt also Vernon, and at Poissie they repared the bridge which was broken, and so there they passed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Englishmen increased dailie, by such numbers as came ouer foorth of England in hope to win by pillage. Also manie gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the French nation, which loued not nor owght any good will vnto the French king, came to the king of England, offering to serue him, so that there were in his armie foure thousand horssemen and fiftie thousand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were thirtie thousand English archers, as Giouan Villani writeth. The English marshals ran abroad iust to Paris, and burnt S. Germans in Laie: also Mountioy, and S. Clowd, and petie Bullongne by Paris, & the queenes Burge. In the meane time had the French king assembled a mightie armie vpon purpose to fight with the Englishmen. ¶ The lord Godfrey of Harecourt, as he rode foorth with fiue hundred men of armes, and 13 hundred archers, by aduenture incountered with a great number of the burgesses of Amiens on horssebacke, who were riding by the kings commandement to Paris. They were quickelie assailed, and though they defended themselues manfullie for a while, yet at length they were ouercome, and eleuen hundred of them slaine in the field, beside those that were taken. The Englishmen had all their cariage and armour. Thus passed foorth the king of England, and came into Beauuoisin, and lodged neere vnto the citie of Beauuois one night in an abbeie called Messene, and for that after he was dislodged there

Louiers.

Gisors.

Vernon.

Gio. Villani.

S. Germans in Laie.

S. Clowd.

Beauuois.

Burners executed.

there were that set fire in the same abbeie, without any commandement giuen by him; he caused twentie of them to be hanged that were the first procurers of that fire.

So long the king of England passed forward, that finallie he approched neere to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and all the bridges broken and the passages well kept, wherevpon he caused his two marshals with a thousand men of armes, & two thousand archers, to go along the riuer, to the end to find some passage. The marshals assaied diuerse places, as at Piqueney, and other where, but they could not find any passage vnclosed, capteins with men of warre being set to defend the same, in somuch that the marshalls returned to the king, and declared what they had seene and found.

Piqueney.

The French kings armie.

At the same instant time was the French king come to Amiens, with more than a hundred thousand men, and thought to inclose the king of England, that he should no waie escape, but be constreined to receiue battell in some place greatlie to his disaduantage.

The king of England well perceiuing himselfe in danger, remooued from the place where he was incamped, and marched forward through the countries of Pontiew and Vimew, approching vnto the good towne of Abuile, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a foord in the same riuer, being hard in the bottome, and verie shallow at an eb water. The French king vnderstanding that the K. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Foy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and six thousand on foot with the Genowaies. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of Mutterell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchetake (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approched, he arranged all his companie to defend the passage.

Sir Godmare du Foy.

Gobin Agace.

And suerlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entred the foord to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen incountred the Englishmen on horssebacke in the water, and the Genowaies did them much hurt, and troubled them sore with their crosbowes: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie togither, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselues in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, some to Abuile, some to saint Riquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horssebacke, insomuch that a great number of them of Abuile, Mutterell, Arras, and S. Riquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the K. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his companie of their ransomes, and gaue to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horsse, and so the king rode foorth as he did before. His marshals road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and tooke all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which laie there in the hauen.

The English men wan the passage ouer the water of Some.

Caxton. The number slaine. *Froissard.*

Crotay burnt.

One of the marshals road to the gates of Abuile, and from thence to S. Riquier, and after to the towne of Rue saint Esperit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marshals returned to the kings host about noone, and so lodged all togither about Cressie in Pontiew, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marshalls to choose a plot of ground, somewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduersaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puissance vnto Abuile, and hearing how the king of England was passed ouer the riuer of Some, and discomfited sir Godmare du Foy, was sore displeased in his mind: but when he vnderstood that his enimies were lodged at Cressie, and meant there to abide him, he caused all his people to issue out of Abuile, and earlie on the saturdaie in the in the morning, anon after sunne rising he departed out of the towne himselfe, and marched

marched towards his enimies. The king of England vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip still followed him, to giue him battell, & supposing that the same saturdaie he would come to offer it, rose betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man first to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to draw with speed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be set in order of battell. Beginning his enterprise at inuocation or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and sped the better in the progresse of his actions, as the issue of the warre shewed. A notable example to euerie priuat man, to remember to call vpon God when he purposeth anie thing, for as the poet saith, and that verie christianlie,

——— nihil est mortalibus ægris — *Mar. Pal. in sag.*
Vtilius, quàm cœlestem, sanctéq; piéq;
Orando sibi quærere opem.

Beside this, he caused a parke to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages should be set, with all the horsses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined thrée battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwike, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Stafford, the lord de la Ware, the lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir Iohn Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Browash, sir Robert Neuill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welsh men. In the second battell was the earle of Northhampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Ros and Willowbie, Basset, S. Albine, Multon, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteouslie, and with so good a countenance, that euen they which before were discomforted, tooke courage in hearing him speake such swéet and louing words amongst them. It was nine of the clocke yer euer he had thus visited all his battels, & therevpon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

Giouā Villani saith, that when they should ioine in battell, the Englishmen were 30000 archers English & Welsh, beside other footmen with axes & iauelins, and not full e 4000 horssemen. *Froissard* The kings demeanor before ye battell.

The French king before he approched neere to his enimies, sent foorth foure skilful knights to view the demeanor of his enimies, the which returning againe, made report as they had séene, and that forsomuch as they could gesse, the Englishmen ment to abide him, being diuided into thrée battels, readie to receiue him and his puissance, if he went forward, in purpose to assaile them. Here was the French king counselled to stay and not to giue battell that day, but to aduise all things with good deliberation and regard, to consider well how and what way he might best assaile them. Then by the marshals were all men commanded to staie, and not to go anie further, they that were formost and next to the enimies taried, but they that were behind would not abide but rode foorth, and said they would not staie till they were as far as the formost: and when they before saw them behind come forward, then they marched on also againe, so that neither the K. nor his marshals could rule them, but that they passed forward still without order, or anie good arraie, till they came in sight of their enimies: and as soone as the formost saw their enimies, then they reculed backe, whereof they behind had maruell, and were abashed, supposing that the formost companie had béene fighting. Then they might haue had roome to haue gone forward, if they had béene minded. The commons, of whome all the waies betwixt Abuile and Cressie were full, when they saw that they were néere their enimies, they tooke their swords and cried; "Downe with them, Let vs slea them all." There was no man, though he were present at the iornie, that could imagine or shew the truth

The disorder among the Frenchmen.

truth of the euill order that was among the French partie, and yet they were a maruellous great number.

The Englishmen which beheld their enimies thus approching them, prepared themselues at leisure for the battell, which they saw to be at hand. The first battell, whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers standing in maner of an herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the battell. The earle of Northampton and the earle of Arundell with the second battell were on a wing in good order, readie to comfort the princes battell if néed were. The lords and knights of France came not to the assemblie togither, for some came after, in such hast and euill order, that one of them troubled another.

Charles Grimaldi & Anthonie or Othone Doria were captains of these Genowaies, which were not past six thousand, as *Gio. Villani* saith. *Polydor. Froissard.*

There were of Genowaies crosbowes to the number of twelue or fifteene thousand, the which were commanded to go on before, and with their shot to begin the battell; but they were so werie with going on foot that morning six leagues armed with their crosbowes, that they said to their constables; "We be not well vsed, in that we are commanded to fight this daie, for we be not in case to doo any great feat of armes, we haue more néed of rest." These words came to the hearing of the earle of Alanson, who said; "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, that faint and faile now at most néed."

The earle of Alanson.

Raine and thunder with an eclipse.

Also at the same instant there fell a great raine, and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came flieng ouer both armies a great number of crowes, for feare of the tempest comming: then anon the aire began to wax cleare, and the sunne to shine faire and bright, which was right in the French mens eies, and on the Englishmens backs. ¶ When the Genowaies were assembled togither, and began to approch, they made a great leape and crie, to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not at all for that noise. Then the Genowaies the second time made an other leape and huge crie, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen remooued not a foot. The third time againe the Genowaies leapt, and yelled, and went foorth till they came within shot, and fiercelie therwith discharged their crossbowes. Then the English archers stept foorth one pase, and let flie their arrowes so wholie and so thicke togither, that it séemed to snowe. When the Genowaies felt the arrowes persing their heads, armes and breasts, manie of them cast downe their crosbowes, and cut the strings, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flee awaie, he said, "Slea these rascals, for they will let and trouble vs without reason."

The Genowaies.

The battell is begun.

Then ye might haue seene the men of armes haue dasht in amongst them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease: the sharpe arrowes ran into the men of armes, and into their horsses, and manie fell horsse and man amongst the Genowaies, and still the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease, and when they were once downe they could not recouer againe. The throng was such that one ouerthrew another; & also among the Englishmen, there were certeine of the footmen with great kniues, that went in among the men of armes, and killed manie of them as they laie on the ground, both earles, barons, knights, and esquires. The valiant king of Bohem being almost blind, caused his men to fasten all the reines of the bridels of their horsses ech to other, and so he being himselfe amongst them in the formost ranke, they ran on their enimies.

The king of Boheme.

The lord Charles of Boheme sonne to the same king and late elected emperour, came in good order to the battell, but when he saw how the matter went awrie on their part, he departed and saued himselfe. His father by the meanes aforesaid went so far forward, that ioining with his enimies he fought right valiantlie, and so did all his companie: but finallie being entred within the prease of their enimies, they were of them inclosed and slaine, togither with the king their master, and the next daie found dead lieng about him, and their horsses all tied ech to other. The earle of Alanson came right orderlie to the battell, and fought with the Englishmen, and so did the earle of Flanders also on his

The earle of Alanson.

part. These two lords coasted the English archers, and came to the princes battell, and there fought right valiantlie a long time. The French king perceiuing where their banners stood, would faine haue come to them, but could not, by reason of a great hedge of archers that stood betwixt them and him. This was a perillous battell and sore foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Englishmen had so determined in the morning.

Certeine Frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the princes battell, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the second battell of the Englishmen came to succor the princes battell, and not before it was time, for they of that battell had as then inough to doo, in somuch that some which were about him, as the earle of Northampton, and others sent to the king, where he stood aloft on a windmill hill, requiring him to aduance forward, and come to their aid, they being as then sore laid to of their enimies. The king herevpon demanded if his sonne were slaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? "No (said the knight that brought the message) but he is sore matched." "Well"(said the king) "returne to him and them that sent you, and saie to them that they send no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, so long as my son is aliue, for I will that this iournie be his, with the honor thereof." With this answer the knight returned, which greatlie incouraged them to doo their best to win the spurs, being half abashed in that they had so sent to the king for aid. At length when it drew toward euening, and that the Frenchmen were beaten downe and slaine on eech hand, king Philip as it were by constreint departed out of the field, not hauing as then past three score persons about him, of whome the lord Iohn of Heinault was one, by whose persuasion he cheefelie consented to ride his waie for his owne safegard, when he saw the losse was such as on that daie it could not be recouered.

The princes battell pearsed.

The earle of Northampto sendeth to the king.

The kings answer.

The French king departeth out of the field.

The slaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namelie for the losse of so manie noble men, as were slaine at the same battell, fought betweene Cressie and Broy on the saturdaie next following the feast of saint Bartholomew being (as that yeare fell) the 26 of August. Among other which died that daie, these I find registred by name as cheefest, Iohn king of Boheme, Rafe duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alanso brother germane to king Philip, Charles earle of Blois, Lewes earle of Flanders, also the earle of Harecourt, brother to the lord Geffrie of Harecourt, with the earles of Ausserre, Aumerle, and saint Poule, beside diuerse other of the nobilitie. The Englishmen neuer brake out of their battels to chase any man, but kept themselues togither in their wards and ranks, and defended themselues euer against such as came to assaile them. This battell ended about euening.

Great slaughter of Frenchmen. *Caxton. Iac. Meir. Polydor. Froissard.*

Noble men slaine.

When the Frenchmen were clearelie ouercome, and those that were left aliue fled and gone, so that the Englishmen heard no more noise of them, king Edward came downe from the hill (on the which he stood all that day with his helmet still on his head) and going to the prince, imbraced him in his armes, and kissed him, saieng; "Faire sonne, God send you good perseuerence in this your prosperous beginning, you haue noblie acquit your selfe, you are well worthie to haue the gouernance of a realme committed to your hands for your valiant doings." The prince inclined himselfe to the earth in honouring his father, as he best could. This done, they thanked God togither with their souldiers for their good aduenture. For so the king commanded, and willed no man to make anie boast of his owne power, but to ascribe all the praise to almightie God for such a noble victorie; seeming heerein to be affected as Dauid was in the foure and fortith psalme; for he also referreth the happie successe of warre, and all victorie, vnto Almightie God, and not to the strength of a multitude of men, saieng:

The king of England commeth downe from the hill.

Tu nos ab hoste subtrahis, sternis solo
Infensa nobis agmina:
Non ergo semper iure te cantabimus
Nostræ salutis vindicem?

Georg. Buch. paraph. in psal.

¶ On

¶ On the sundaie in the morning, there was such a mist, that a man could not see an acres bredth before him. Then by the kings commandement there departed from the host fiue hundred speares, and two thousand archers, to trie if they might heare of anie Frenchmen gathered togither in anie place neere vnto them.

On the same morning there were departed out of Abuile and S. Requier in Pontiew, the commons of Roan and Beauuais, with other that knew nothing of the discomfiture the daie before. These met with the Englishmen, supposing they had beene Frenchmen, and being fiercelie assailed of them, after sore fight, and great slaughter, the Frenchmen were discomfited and fled, of whome were slaine in the hedges and bushes, more than seuen thousand men. The archbishop of Roan, and the grand prior of France, ignorant also of the discomfiture the day before, & supposing (as they were informed) the French should not haue foughten till that sundaie, were likewise incountred (as they came thitherward) by the Englishmen, with whome they fought a sore battell, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to susteine the puissant force of the Englishmen, and so the most part of them were slaine, with the said archbishop and grand prior, and few there were that escaped.

Frenchmen slaine the day after the battell.

The archb. of Rouen and the lord grand prior of France slaine.

On that sundaie morning, the Englishmen met with diuerse Frenchmen, that had lost their waie on the saturdaie, and wist not where the king nor their capteins were become. They were all slaine in maner, so manie as the Englishmen could meet with, insomuch that of the commons and footmen of the cities and good townes of France (as was thought) there were slaine this sundaie foure times as manie as were slaine on the saturdaie in the great battell. When those Englishmen that were sent abroad thus to view the countrie, were returned againe, and signified to the king what they had seene and doone, and how there was no more appearance of the enimies, the king to search what the number was of them that were slaine, and vpon the view taken, it was reported vnto him, that there were found dead eleuen princes, foure score baronets, 12 hundred knights, and more than thirtie thousand other of the meaner sort. Thus was the whole puissance of France vanquished, and that chéeflie by force of such as were of no reputation amongst them, that is to say, the English archers, by whose sharpe and violent shot the victorie was atchiued, to the great confusion of the French nation. ¶ Of such price were the English bowes in that season, that nothing was able to withstand them; whereas now our archers couet not to drawe long and strong bowes, but rather to shoot compasse, which are not meet for the warres, nor greatlie to be feared, though they come into the field.

The king of England with his armie kept still his field, vntill mondaie in the morning, and then dislodged, and came before Motureell by the sea, and his marshals ran towards Hedin. The next daie they road toward Bullongne, & at Wisam the king and the prince incamped, and tarried a whole daie to refresh their people, and on the wednesdaie being the thirtith day of August, he came before the strong towne of Calis, and there planted his siege, and erected bastides betwéene the towne and the riuer, and caused carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, which were couered with réed & broome, so manie and in such order, that it séemed a new towne, and in it was a market place appointed of purpose, in the which the market was dailie kept of vittels, & all other necessarie things euerie tuesdaie and saturdaie, so that a man might haue bought what he would of things brought thither out of England & Flanders. ¶ But now, forsomuch as we haue spoken of this iournie and inuasion made by king Edward into France, in this nineteenth yéere of his reigne, accordinglie as we haue gathered out of Froissard, and diuerse other authors, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contents of a letter written by a chapleine of the said king, and attendant about him in the same iornie, conteining the succésse of his procéedings after his departure from Poissie, which letter is inserted with others in the historie of Robert de Auesburie, and Englished by maister Iohn Fox as followeth.

Calis besieged.

A letter of W. Northbourgh the kings confessor describing the kings voiage into France.

SALUTATIONS premised. We giue you to vnderstand, that our souereigne lord the king came to the towne of Poissie the daie before the Assumption of our ladie, where was a certeine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king tarried there so long, till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing, there came a great number of men at armes, and other souldiers well armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northampton issued out against them, and slue of them more than a thousand, the rest fled awaie: thankes be to God. And at another time, our men passed the water (although with much trauell) and slue a great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioining, being part of the French kings armie, and throughlie well appointed: so that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enimies, God be thanked, without anie losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Assumption of our ladie, the king passed the water of Saine, and marched toward Poissie, which is a towne of great defense, and stronglie walled, and a maruellous strong castell within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our vauntgard was passed the towne, our rergard gaue an assault therevnto, and tooke the same, where were slaine more than three hundred men at arms of our enimies part. And the next daie following, the earle of Suffolke, and sir Hugh Spenser, marched foorth vpon the commons of the countrie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more than two hundred, & tooke three score gentlemen prisoners, beside others. In the acts and monuments.

And after that, the king marched toward grand Villiers, and while he was there incamped, the kings vantgard was descried by the men at armes of the K. of Boheme: whervpon our men issued out in great hast and ioined battell with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton issued out, and rescued the horssemen with the other soldiers: so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onlie Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enimie in chase within two leagues of Amiens: of whome we tooke eight, and slue twelue of their best men at armes: the rest being well horssed, tooke the towne of Amiens. After this the king of England marched toward Pountife, vpon Bartholomew day, and came to the water of Some, where the French king had laid fiue hundred men at armes, and three thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thanks be to God, the K. of England and his host entered the same water of Some, where neuer man passed before, without losse of any of our men; and after that incountered with the enimie, and slue of them more than 2000, the rest fled to Abuile, in which chase were taken manie knights, esquiers, & men at armes. The same day sir Hugh Spenser tooke the towne of Crotaie, where he & his soldiers slue 400 men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great store of vittels.

The same night incamped the king of England in the forrest of Cressie vpon the same water, for that the French kings host came on the other side of the towne, neere vnto our passage: but he would not take the water of vs, & so marched toward Abuile. And vpon the fridaie next following, the king being still incamped in the said forrest, our scuriers descried the French K. which marched toward vs in foure great battels; and hauing then vnderstanding of our enimies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide, we drew to the plaine field, and set our battels in arraie: and immediatlie the fight began, which was sore and cruel, & indured long, for our enimies behaued themselues right noblie. But thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our side, & the king our aduersarie was discomfited with all his host & put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Boheme, the duke of Loraine, the earle of Alanson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois,

Blois, the earle of Harecourt, with his two sons, the earle Daumarle, the earle de Neuers, and his brother the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Nismes, the archbishop of Sens, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoie, the lord of Morles, the lord de Guies, le seigneur de Saint Nouant, le seigneur de Rosinburgh, with six earles of Almaine, and diuerse other earles, barons, knights, and esquiers, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with an other marques, which was called lord elector among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men of armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common soldiers and footmen, were a thousand, fiue hundred, fortie and two: and all that night the king of England with his host aboad armed in the field, where the battel was fought.

On the next morrow before the sunne rose, there marched towards vs another great host mightie & strong, of the Frenchmen: but the earle of Northampton, and the earle of Norffolke issued out against them in three battels, & after long and terrible fight, them likewise they discomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue beene) where they tooke of knights and esquiers a great number, and slue aboue two thousand, pursuing the chase three leages from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king incamped himselfe againe in the forrest of Cressie, and on the morrow marched toward Bullongne, and by the way he tooke the towne of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege, and laie his batterie to the same. And therfore our souereigne lord the king willeth and commandeth you, in all that euer you may, to send to the said siege vittels conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Caen, we haue trauelled through the countrie with great perill & danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of vittels plentie, thanks be to God therefore. But now (as the case standeth) we partlie need your helpe to be refreshed with vittels. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis, the fourteenth daie of September.

But now touching the siege of Calis, and to returne where we left, ye shall vnderstand, that (as ye haue heard) the English campe was furnished with sufficient prouision of meat, drinke, apparell, munition, and all other things necessarie: and oftentimes also the soldiers made roads and forrais into the borders of France next adioining, as towards Guines, and saint Omer, ye euen to the gates of that towne, and sometime to Bullongne.

Iac. Meir. Also the earle of Northampton fetched a bootie out of Arthois, and as he returned toward Terrouan. the host, he came to Terrouan, which towne the bishop had fortified and manned, deliuering the custodie therof vnto sir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he heard the Englishmen approched, he durst not tarrie within the citie himselfe, but got him to saint Omers. Sir Arnold stood valiantlie to his defense, and would not yéeld, till by verie force the English-

Terrouan woon by force. men entered the citie, slue the soldiers, and tooke their capteine the said sir Arnold prisoner. The citie was put to sacke, and after set on fire. And when the Englishmen were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the siege, which they had laid before S. Omers, and began a new spoile, and fired such houses belonging to the canons and other, which the Englishmen had spared. Thus were those confines in most miserable case, for no house nor other thing was in safegard, but such as were conteined within closure of strong townes and fortresses.

Froissard. The king of England would not assaile the towne of Calis by giuing anie assault to it, for he knew he should but lose his labour, and waste his people, it was so strong of it selfe, and so well furnished with men of warre. Capteine thereof also was one sir Iohn de

Sir Iohn de Vienne capteine of Calis. Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, hauing with him diuerse other right hardie and expert capteins, knights, and esquiers. When the said sir Iohn de Vienne saw the manner of the English host, and what the kings intention was, he constreined all the poore and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceiuing that this was doone of purpose to spare vittels, would not driue them backe againe to helpe to consume

consume the same, but rather pitied them; and therefore did not onelie shew them so much grace to suffer them to passe through his host, but also gaue them meat and drinke to dinner, and moreouer two pence sterling to euerie person: which charitable déed wan him much praise, and caused manie of his enimies to praie right hartilie for his good successe and prosperitie. A most notable example of pitie and compassion, teaching other to be in like sort affected, and also to know, that

The king of Englands pitie towards the poore.

Spernit cœlorum regem spretor miserorum.

The French king meaning to raise the siege from Calis, which the king of England kept there, sent for his sonne the duke of Normandie, which had line long at the siege of Aiguillon, and now by commandement of his father left it sore against his will. In this mean while, the earle of Derbie remained in the citie of Burdeaux, and there had held him during all the time that the siege laie before Aiguillon. When he once vnderstood that the siege was raised, and that the duke of Normandie had broken vp his campe, he sent into Gascoigne for all knights and esquires that held of the English part. Then came to Burdeaux the lord Dalbret, the lord de Lespare, the lord de Rosam, the lord of Musident, the lord of Pumiers, and a great sort more of the lords and nobles of Gascoigne, so that the earle had twelue hundred men of armes, two thousand archers, and three thousand other footmen. They passed the riuer of Garon, betwixt Burdeaux and Blaie, and tooke their waie to Zanctonge, so to go vnto Poictiers, and tooke by the waie the towne of Mirabell by assault: they wan also the towne and castell of Aunaie, Surgieres, and Benon. Also they took Maraunt in Poictow by force, they burnt also the towne of Lusignen, but the castell they could not win. Moreouer, they did win the bridge, towne, and castell of Tailburge, and slue all that were found within it, bicause a knight of the English part was slaine in the assaulting. From thence the earle of Derbie went and laid siege to saint Iohn Dangelie, which was yéelded to him by composition.

The duke of Normandie sent for.

The earle of Derbie assembleth an armie.

Towns won by the earle of Derbie.

At Niort he made thrée assaults, but could not win it, and so from thence he came to Bourge saint Mariment, the which was woone by force, and all that were within it slaine; and in like manner the towne of Montreuill Bonin was woone, and the most part of them within slaine, that tooke vpon them to defend it, which were 200 coiners of monie that wrought in the mint, which the French king kept there. From thence he passed forward with his host, and finallie came before the citie of Poictiers, which was great and large, so that he could not besiege it but on the one side. The third daie after his comming thither, he caused the citie to be assaulted in thrée places, and the greatest number were appointed to assaile the weakest part of the citie. As then there were no expert men of warre within Poictiers, but a great multitude of people vnskilfull and not vsed to any feats of warre, by reason whereof the Englishmen entered in at the weakest place. When they within sawe the citie woone, they fled out at other gates, but yet there were slaine to the number of seauen hundred persons, for all that came in the Englishmens waie, were put to the sword, men, women, and children. The citie was sacked and rifled, so that great store of riches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitants as other that had brought their goods thither for safegard of the same. The earle of Derbie laie there ten or twelue daies, and longer might haue laine, if his pleasure had so béene, for there was none that durst go about to disquiet him, all the countrie trembled so at his presence.

The citie of Poictiers woon by force.

At his departure from Poictiers he left the citie void, for it was too great to be kept: his souldiers and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that they wist not what to doo therewith: they estéemed nothing but gold and siluer, and feathers for men of warre. The earle visited by the waie as he returned homewards to Burdeaux the towne of saint Iohn Dangelie, and other fortresses which he had woone in going towards Poictiers, and hauing furnished them with men, munition, and vittels necessarie, at his comming to Burdeaux he brake vp his host, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for their paines and good seruice. All this while the siege continued still before Calis, and the French king amongst other deuises which he imagined how to raise the K. of England from

Saint Iohn Dangelie.

it,

it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, insomuch that Dauid king of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce which yet indured betwixt him and the king of England, vpon hope now to doo some great exploit, by reason of the absence of king Edward, intangled thus with the besieging of Calis, he assembled the whole puissance of his realme, to the number of fortie or threescore thousand fighting men (as some write) and with them entered into England, burning, spoiling, and wasting the countrie, till he came as far as Durham.

The king of Scots inuadeth England. *Polydor.*

The lords of England that were left at home with the queene for the sure keeping and defense of the realme, perceiuing the king of Scots thus boldlie to inuade the land, and in hope of spoile to send foorth his light horssemen to harrie the countrie on ech side him, assembled an host of all such people as were able to beare armour, both preests and other. Their generall assemblie was appointed at Newcastell, and when they were all togither, they were to the number of 1200 men of armes, three thousand archers, and seauen thousand other, with the Welshmen, and issuing out of the towne, they found the Scots readie to come forward to incounter them. Then euerie man was set in order of battell, and there were foure battels ordeined, one to aid another. The first was led by the bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Vinfreuile earle of Anegos, Henrie lord Percie, and the lord Henrie Scroope: the second by the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord Rafe Neuill: the third by the bishop of Lincolne, Iohn lord Mowbraie, and the lord Thomas de Rokebie: the fourth was gouerned by the lord Edward Balioll capteine of Berwike, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Ros: beside these were W. lord d' Eincourt, Robert de Ogle, and other. The queene was there in person, and went from ranke to ranke, and incouraged hir people in the best manner she could, and that doone she departed, committing them and their cause to God the giuer of all victorie.

The English lords assemble a power to fight with the Scots. *Froissard.*

Tho. Walt. Froissard. The queenes diligence.

Shortlie herevpon the Scots set forward to begin the battell, and likewise did the Englishmen, and therewith the archers on both parts began to shoot: the shot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of England sore galled the Scots, so that there was an hard battell. They began at nine of the clocke, and continued still in fight till noone. The Scots had sharpe and heauie axes, & gaue with the same great and mightie strokes, howbeit finallie the Englishmen by the helpe of God obteined the victorie, although they lost manie of their men. There were diuerse of the nobles of Scotland slaine, to the number of seauen earles, beside lords. The king was taken in the field sore wounded, for he fought valiantlie. He was prisoner to an esquier of Northumberland, who as soone as he had taken him, rode out of the field with him, accompanied onelie with eight of his seruants, and rested not till he came to his owne castell where he dwelled, being thirtie miles distant from the place of the battell.

The Scots fight with axes. The English men obteine the victorie. The king of Scots taken.

Hect. Boetius. Ri. Southwell. Fabian. Froissard.

There was taken also beside him, the earles of Fife, Sutherland, Wighton, and Menteth, the lord William Douglas, the lord Vescie, the archbishop of S. Andrewes, and another bishop, with sir Thomelin Foukes, and diuerse other men of name. There were slaine of one and other to the number of 15 thousand. This battell was fought beside the citie of Durham at a place called Neuils crosse, vpon a saturdaie next after the feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1346. Of this ouerthrow Christopher Okland hath verie commendablie written, saieng,

Neuils crosse.

In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.

——————— haud omine dextro
Iam Scotus intulerat vim Dunelmensibus agris,
Cùm formidandum sæuus bellum instruit Anglus,
Aggreditúrque hostem violantem fœdera sacra.
Nominis incerti Scoticæ plebs obuia gentis
Sternitur, & tristi gladio cadit impia turba,
Frustrà obluctantur Scotiæ comitésque ducésque,
Quorum pars iacet occumbens; pars cætera capta

Captiuum corpus dedit vincentibus, auro
Et pacto pretio redimendum, bellicus vt mos
Postulat. At Dauid Scotiæ rex captus ad vrbem
Londinum fidei pendens dignissima fractæ
Supplicia, adductus celebri concluditur arce.
Exiguus numerus volucri pede fisus equorum
Effugit in patriam, testis certissimus Anglos
Deuicisse suos, & tristia funera narrant.

¶ He that will sée more of this battell, may find the same also set foorth in the Scotish historie, as their writers haue written thereof. And for somuch as by the circumstances of their writings, it should séeme they kept the remembrance of the same battell perfectlie registred, we haue in this place onelie shewed what other writers haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scotish chronicles write, to be seene in the life of king Dauid, without much abridging therof. The Englishmen after this victorie thus obteined, tooke the castels of Roxburgh and Hermitage, and also without any resistance subdued the countries of Anandale, Galloway, Mers, Tiuidale, and Ethrike forrest, extending their marches foorth at that time vnto Cokburnes Peth, and Sowtray hedge, and after vnto Trarlinlips, and crosse Caue.

See in Scotland.

Hector Boet. Countries of Scotland subdued by the Englishmen. *Froissard.*

The queene of England being certeinelie informed that the king of Scots was taken, & that Iohn Copland had conueied him out of the field, no man vnderstood to what place, she incontinentlie wrote to him, commanding him foorthwith to bring his prisoner king Dauid vnto hir presence: but Iohn Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate answer, that he would not deliuer his prisoner the said king Dauid vnto any person liuing, man or woman, except onelie to the king of England, his souereigne lord and master. Herevpon the quéene wrote letters to the king, signifieng to him both of the happie victorie chanced to his people against the Scots, and also of the demeanour of Iohn Copland, in deteining the Scotish king. King Edward immediatlie by letters commanded Iohn Copland to repaire vnto him where he laie at siege before Calis, which with all conuenient spéed he did, and there so excused himselfe of that which the queene had found hirselfe greeued with him, for deteining the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onelie pardon him, but also gaue to him fiue hundred pounds sterling of yearelie rent, to him & to his heires for euer, in reward of his good seruice and valiant prowes, and made him esquire for his bodie, commanding him yet vpon his returne into England to deliuer king Dauid vnto the queene, which he did, and so excused himselfe also vnto hir, that she was therewith satisfied and contented. Then the quéene, after she had taken order for the safe kéeping of the king of Scots, and good gouernement of the realme, tooke the sea and sailed ouer to the king hir husband still lieng before Calis.

Iohn Copland refuseth to deliuer the K. of Scots.

Iohn Copland rewarded.

Whilest Calis was thus besieged by the king of England, the Flemings which had latelie before besieged Betwine, and had raised from thence about the same time that the battell was fought at Cressie, now assemble togither againe, and dooing what damage they might against the Frenchmen on the borders, they laie siege vnto the towne of Aire. Moreouer, they wrought so for the king of England (earnestlie requiring their fréendship in that behalfe) that their souereigne lord Lewes earle of Flanders being as then about fifteene yeares of age, fianced the ladie Isabell daughter to the king of England, more by constraint indeed of his subiects, than for any good will he bare to the king of England: for he would often saie, and openlie protest, that he would neuer marrie hir whose father had slaine his: but there was no remedie, for the Flemings kept him in maner as a prisoner, till he granted to follow their aduise. But the same weeke that the mariage was appointed to be solemnized, the earle as he was abroad in hawking at the hearon, stale awaie and fled into France, not staieng to ride his horsse vpon the spurs till he came into Arthois, and so dishonorablie disappointed both the king of England, and his owne naturall subiects the Flemings, to their high displeasure.

Ia. Meir. The Flemings. *Froissard.* 1347.

An. Reg. 21. The earle of Flanders cõstreined to promise mariage to the king of Englands daughter.

While

While the king laie thus before Calis, diuerse lords and knights came to sée him out of Flanders, Brabant, Heinault, and Almaigne. Amongst other came the lord Robert of Namur, and was reteined with the king as his seruant, the king giuing him thrée hundred pounds sterling of yearelie pension out of his coffers to be paid at Bruges. During the time that the siege thus continued before Calis, the lord Charles de Blois, that named himselfe duke of Britaine, was taken before a castell in Britaine, called la Roch Darien, and his armie discomfited, chéeflie by the aid of that valiant English knight sir Thomas Dagworth, who had beene sent from the siege of Calis by king Edward to assist the countesse of Montfort and other his freends against the said Charles de Blois, that with a gret armie of Frenchmen and Britains, had the same time besieged the said castell of Roch Darien, cõstreining them within in such forceable maner, that they stood in great néed of present succors. The said sir Thomas Dagworth aduertised hereof, with three hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers of his owne retinues, beside certeine Britaines, approched to the siege, and on the 20 of Iune earlie in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, suddenlie set vpon the enimies, who hauing knowledge of his comming, were readie to receiue him as the day before, but being now surprised thus on the sudden, they were greatlie amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as soone as the appearance of daie had discouered the matter vnto them, so that they might know their freends from their enimies, they issued foorth, and holpe not a litle to the atchiuing of the victorie, which was cléerelie obteined before sunne-rising, and the French armie quite discomfited, greatlie to the praise of the said sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, considering their small number, in comparison of their aduersaries, who were reckoned to be twelue hundred good men of armes, knights, and esquires, beside six hundred other armed men, two thousand crossebowes, six hundred archers of the countrie of Britaine, and footmen of commons innumerable.

The lord Charles de Blois taken prisoner.

Sir Thomas Dagworth. *Froissard.*

Sir Iohn Hartille an English knight was also there with him.

There were taken, besides the lord Charles de Blois naming himself duke of Britaine, diuerse other lords and men of name, as monsieur Guie de la Vaall, sonne and heire to the lord la Vaall, which died in the battell, the lord of Rocheford, the lord de Beaumanour, the lord of Loiacke, with other lords, knights, and esquiers, in great numbers. There were slaine the said lord de la Vaall, the Vicount of Rohan, the lord of Chasteau Brian, the lord de Mailestreit, the lord de Quintin, the lord de Rouge, the lord of Dereuall and his sonne, sir Rafe de Montfort, and manie other worthie men of armes, knights and esquiers, to the number of betwixt six and seuen hundred, as by a letter written by the said sir Thomas Dagworth, and registred in the historie of Robert de Auesburie dooth appeare.

In this meane while, king Philip hauing dailie word how the power of his enimie king Edward did increase by aid of the Easterlings and other nations, which were to him alied, and that his men within Calis were brought to such an extreme point, that without spéedie rescue they could not long keepe the towne, but must of force render it ouer into the hands of his said enimie, to the great preiudice of all the realme of France, after great deliberation taken vpon this so weightie a matter, he commanded euerie man to meet him in their best arraie for the warre, at the feast of Pentecost in the citie of Amiens, or in those marches. At the daie and place thus appointed, there came to him Odes duke of Burgoigne, and the duke of Normandie eldest sonne to the king, the duke of Orleance his yoongest sonne, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Fois, the lord Lois de Sauoie, the lord Iohn of Heinalt, the earle of Arminacke, the earle of Forrest, and the earle Valentinois, with manie others.

Fabian.

The French king assembleth an armie. *Froissard.*

These noble men being thus assembled, they tooke councell which waie they might passe to giue battell to the Englishmen: it was thought the best waie had beene through Flanders, but the Flemings in fauour of the king of England denied, not onelie to open their passages to the Frenchmen, but also had leuied an armie of an hundred thousand men of one and other, and laid siege to Aire, and burnt the countrie all about. Whereupon there were manie sharpe bickerings and sore incounters betwixt the Flemings and

The Flemings besiege Aire.

Ia. Meir.

such Frenchmen as king Philip sent foorth against them both, now, whilest the French armie laie about Amiens, and also before, during all the time that the siege lay at Calis. For all the French towns vpon the frontiers were stuffed with strong garrisons of souldiers, as Lisle, saint Omers, Arras, Bullongne, Aire and Monttreuill, and those men of war were euer readie vpon occasion to attempt sundrie exploits. After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken vp, and returned home, or rather diuided into parts, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thousand men one and other came forward, taking his way through the countrie called la Belme, and so by the countrie of Frankeberge, came streight to the hill of Sangate, betwixt Calis and Wisant. The French K. cõmeth towards Calis.

The king of England had caused a strong castell to be made betweene the towne of Calis and the sea, to close vp that passage, and had placed therein three score men of armes, and two hundred archers which kept the hauen in such sort that nothing could come in nor out. Also considering that his enimies could come neither to succour the towne, nor to annoie his host, except either by the downes alongst the sea side, or else aboue by the high waie, he caused all his nauie to drawe alongst by the coast of the downes, to stop vp that the Frenchmen should not approch that waie. Also the erle of Derbie being come thither out of Guien, was appointed to kéepe Newland bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchmen could not approch anie waie, vnlesse they would haue come through the marishes, which to doo was not possible. The earle of Derbie.

Fiftéene hundred of the commons of Tournie wan a tower, which the Englishmen had made and kept for the impeachment of the Frenchmens passage by the downes, but that notwithstanding, when the marshals of France had well viewed all the passages and streicts through the which their armie must passe, if they meant to fight with the Englishmen, they well perceiued that they could not come to the Englishmen to giue them battell, without the king would lose his people, wherevpon (as Froissard saith) the French king sent the lord Geffrey de Charnie, the lord Eustace de Ribaumont, Guie de Néele, and the lord de Beauiew vnto the king of England, which required him on their maisters behalfe to appoint certeine of his councell, as he would likewise appoint certeine of his, which by common consent might aduise betweene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battell vpon: wherevnto the king of England answered, "That there he was and had béene almost a whole yeare, which could not be vnknowne to his aduersarie their maister, so that he might haue come sooner if he would: but now, sith he had suffered him there to remaine so long, without offer of battell, he meant not to accomplish his desire, nor to depart from that, which to his great cost he had brought now at length to that point, that he might easilie win it. Wherefore if the French K. nor his host could not passe those waies which were closed by the English power, let them séeke some other passage (said he) if they thinke to come hither." The request of the French lords to the king of England. His answer.

In this meane while came two cardinals frō pope Clement, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings, wherevpon commissioners were appointed, as the dukes of Burgoigne and Burbone, the lord Lewes de Sauoie, and the lord Iohn de Heinault, otherwise called lord Beaumont, on the French part: and the earles of Derbie and Northampton, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the lord Walter de Mannie, on the English part. These commissioners and the legates (as intreators betweéne the parties) met and communed three daies togither, but agréed not vpon anie conclusion, and so the cardinals departed; and the French king perceiuing he could not haue his purpose, brake vp his host and returned to France, bidding Calis farewell. After that the French king with his host was once departed from Sangate, without ministring anie succour to them within the towne, they began to sue for a parlée, which being granted, in the end they were contented to yéeld, and the king granted to receiue them and the towne on these conditions; that six of the cheefe burgesses of the towne should come foorth bareheaded, barefooted, and bareleg- Cardinals sét to intreat of peace. They depart. The French K. returneth into France. The conditions of the surrender of Calis.

ged,

ged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keies of the towne and castell in their hands, to submit themselues simplie to the kings will, and the residue he was contented to take to mercie.

This determinate resolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne, assembled in the market place by the sound of the common bell before the capteine, caused manie a wéeping eie amongst them: but in the end, when it was perceiued that no other grace would be obteined, six of the most wealthie burgesses of all the towne agreed to hazard their liues for the safegard of the residue, and so according to the prescript order deuised by the K. they went foorth of the gates, and were presented by the lord Walter de Mannie to the king, before whom they knéeled downe, offered to him the keies of the towne, and besought him to haue mercie vpon them. But the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commanded streight that their heads should be striken off. And although manie of the noble men did make great intreatance for them, yet would no grace be shewed, vntill the quéene being great with child, came and knéeled downe before the king hir husband, and with lamentable cheere & wéeping eies intreated so much for them, that finallie the kings anger was aswaged & his rigor turned to mercie (for

Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus)

so that he gaue the prisoners vnto hir to doo hir pleasure with them. Then the quéene commanded them to be brought into hir chamber, and caused the halters to be taken from their necks, clothed them anew, gaue them their dinner, and bestowing vpon ech of them six nobles, appointed them to be conueied out of the host in safegard, and set at libertie.

Six burgesses of Calis presented to the king.

The queene obteined their pardon.

Thus was the strong towne of Calis yéelded vp into the hands of king Edward, the third of August, in the yeare 1347. The capteine the lord Iohn de Vienne, and all the other capteins and men of name were staied as prisoners, and the common soldiers and other meane people of the towne were licenced to depart and void their houses, leauing all their armor and riches behind them. The king would not haue any of the old inhabitants to remaine in the towne, saue onlie a priest, and two other ancient personages, such as best knew the customes, lawes and ordinances of the towne. He appointed to send ouer thither amongst other Englishmen, there to inhabit, 36 burgesses of London, and those of the wealthiest sort, for he meant to people the towne onelie with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defense thereof. The king and quéene were lodged in the castell, and continued there, till the queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

Calis yéelded to the king of England.

Calis made a colonie of Englishmen.

The quéene brought to bed in the castell of Calis.

Polydor. The cardinals, of whome ye heard before, being come as legats from pope Clement to mooue communication of peace, did so much in the matter, that a truce was granted betwixt the realme of England & France, for the terme of twelue moneths, or two yeares (as Froissard saith.) But the English chronicle and Iacobus Meir seeme to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine moneths, though afterwards the same was proroged. To the which truce all parties agreed, Britaine excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but still pursued the war the one against the other. After that this truce was accorded, the king with the quéene his wife returned into England, and left as capteine within Calis one sir Amerie of Pauie an Italian knight, of (as other bookes haue) he was but capteine of the castell, or of some one of the towers of that towne, which séemeth more like to be true, than that the king should commit the whole charge of the towne vnto his gouernement, being a stranger borne, and therefore Iacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how sir Amerie of Pauie was left but in charge with the castell onelie, and that the towne was committed to the kéeping of the lord Iohn Beauchampe, and Lewes his brother.

Caxton. *Ia. Meir.* A truce.

Women hard to agrée.

Sir Amerie de Pauie.

1348. But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it seemed to the English people that the sunne breake foorth after a long cloudie season, by reason both

Thom. Walsi.

of

of the great plentie of althings, and remembrance of the late glorious victories: for there were few women that were housekéepers within this land, but they had some furniture of houshold that had béene brought to them out of France as part of the spoile got in Caen, Calis, Carenten, or some other good towne. And beside houshold stuffe, the English maides and matrones were bedecked and trimmed vp in French womens iewels and apparell, so that as the French women lamented for the losse of those things, so our women reioised of the gaine. In this 22 yeare, from Midsummer to Christmasse for the more part it continuallie rained, so that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reason whereof great flouds insued, and the ground therewith was sore corrupted, and manie inconueniences insued, as great sickenes, and other, in somuch that in the yeare following in France the people died woonderfullie in diuerse places. In Italie also, and in manie other countries, as well in the lands of the infidels, as in christèndome, this grieuous mortalitie reigned to the great destruction of people. ¶ About the end of August, the like death began in diuerse places of England, and especiallie in London, continuing so for the space of twelue moneths following. And vpon that insued great barrennesse, as well of the sea, as the land, neither of them yéelding such plentie of things as before they had doone. Whervpon vittels and corne became scant and hard to come by.

An. Reg. 22. Great raine.

1349.

An. Reg. 23. A great mortalitie.

Dearth.

About the same time died Iohn Stretford archbishop of Canturburie, after whome succéeded Iohn Vfford, who liued not in that dignitie past ten moneths, and then followed Thomas Bredwardin, who deceassed within one yeare after his consecration, so that then Simon Islep was consecrated archbishop by pope Clement the sixt, being the 53 archbishop that had sit in that seat. Within a while after, William archbishop of Yorke died: in whose place succeeded Iohn Torsbie, being the 44 archbishop that had gouerned that church. Moreouer in this 23 yeare of king Edwards reigne, the great mortalitie in England still continuing, there was a practise in hand for recouering againe of Calis to the French kings possession. The lord Geffrie of Charnie lieng in the towne of S. Omers, did practise with sir Amerie de Pauie, to be receiued into the towne of Calis by the castell, secretlie in the night season. The Italian gaue eare to the lord Geffrie his sute; and to make few words, couenanted for the summe of twentie thousand crownes to betraie the towne vnto him, in such sort as he could best deuise.

A practise to betraie Calis.

¶ Here writers varie: for Froissard saith that king Edward had information thereof, before that sir Amerie de Pauie vttered the thing himselfe; but the French chronicles, and also other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertised the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him & the lord Geffrie of Charnie, before he went through with the bargaine. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priuie to the matter at Hauering Bower in Essex (where he kept the feast of Christmasse) & therevpon departing from thence, he came to Douer, and the daie before the night of the appointment made for the deliuerie of the castell of Calis (hauing secretlie made his prouision) he tooke shipping, and landed the same night at Calis, in so secret maner, that but few of the towne vnderstood of his arriuall, he brought with him out of England thrée hundred men of armes, and six hundred archers, whom he laid in chambers and towers within the castell, so closelie that few or none perceiued it, the maner he knew by sir Amerie de Pauie his aduertisements (accordinglie as it was agréed betwixt them) that the lord Geffrie of Charnie was appointed to come and enter the towne that night, for the king had commanded sir Amerie to proceed in merchandizing with the said lord Charnie, and onelie to make him priuie of the day & houre in the which the feat should be wrought.

Diuersitie in writers.

Fabian.

Froissard.

The king secretlie passeth ouer to Calis.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie being couenanted that he should be receiued into Calis the first night of the new yeare, departed from S. Omers, where he had assembled fiue hundred speares, the last day of December toward night, and so in secret wise he passed foorth, till about the middest of the next night after, he approched neere to Calis, and sending an hundred men of armes to take possession of the castell, and to paie the Italian his

1350.

his twentie thousand crownes, came to the posterne of the castell, where sir Amerie de Pauie hauing let downe the posterne bridge, was readie to bring them in by the same posterne, and so the hundred men of armes entered, and sir Edward de Rentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thousand crownes in a bag, who when he had cast the crownes into a coffer (for he had no leisure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the castell, as it were to possesse them of the cheefest strength of the fortresse. Within this dungeon or tower was the king of England closelie laid, with two hundred men of armes, who issued out with their swords and axes in their hands, crieng Mannie to the rescue, for the king had so ordeined, that both he and his sonne should fight vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie, as cheefe of that enterprise.

Sir Edward de Rentie.

The king crieth Mannie to the rescue.

Then were the Frenchmen greatlie abashed, in such wise, that perceiuing how no defense might aduance them, they yeelded themselues without any great shew of resistance. Herewith the Englishmen issued out of the castell into the towne, and mounted on horssebacke, for they had the French prisoners horsses, and then the archers road to Bullongne gate, where the lord Geffrie was with his banner before him of gules three scutchens siluer. He had great desire to be the first that should enter the towne: but shortlie the king of England with the prince his son was readie at the gate, vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie to assaile him. There were also other banners, as the earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Iohn Montacute brother to the earle of Salisburie, the lord Beauchampe, the lord Berkley, and the lord de la Ware. Then the great gate was set open, and they all issued foorth crieng Mannie to the rescue. The Frenchmen perceiuing that they were betraied, alighted from their horsses, and put themselues in order of battell on foot, determining to fight it out like valiant men of war. The king perceiuing this, caused his people likewise to be set in order of battell, & sent three hundred archers to Newland bridge, to distresse those Frenchmen, which he heard should be there. This was earelie in the morning but incontinentlie it was daie: the Frenchmen kept their ground a while, and manie feats of armes were doone of both parts, but the Englishmen euer increased out of Calis, and the Frenchmen diminished, so that finallie they were ouercome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

The earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lords Montacute, Berkley and la Ware.

The Frenchmen alight on foot.

It chanced that in the hotest of the fight, the king was matched with sir Eustace de Ribaumont, a right strong and hardie knight. There was a sore incounter betwixt him and the king, that maruell it was to behold them. At length they were put asunder, for a great companie of both parts came that waie, and there fought fiercelie togither. The Frenchmen did behaue themselues right valiantlie, and especiallie sir Eustace de Ribaumont: he strake the king that daie twise vpon his knées, but finallie he was taken prisoner by the king himselfe. The lord Geffrie of Charnie was also taken prisoner, and wounded right sore, but the king of his noble courtesie caused him to be dressed by surgions, and tenderlie looked vnto. There were slaine, sir Henrie de Blois, and sir Pepin de la Ware, with other, to the number of six hundred. Monsieur de Memorancie escaped with great danger. Froissard saieth, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348, vpon the last of December, towards the next morning being Newyeares daie: but (as Auesburie & Walsingham haue, who begin the yeare at our ladie day) this enterprise chanced 1349, and so consequentlie in the 23 yeare of this kings reigne. All the prisoners were brought to the castell of Calis, where the K. the next night gaue them a supper, & made them right hartie cheare, and gaue to sir Eustace de Ribaumont a rich chaplet of pearles, which he then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had best deserued it for his manfull prowes shewed in the fight; & beside that in fauour of his tried valiancie, he acquit him of his ransome, and set him at libertie. This fact of the king was roiall in deed, and his clemencie greatlie to be commended; & therfore it is well said to this purpose,

Sir Eustace de Ribaumont a right valiant knight.

He is taken prisoner by the king of England.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie is taken.

Sir Eustace de Ribaumont.

Gloria consequitur reges sic bella gerentes,
Sic certare parit decus immortale duello.

About

About the end of August the death in London ceassed, which had bin so great & vehement within that citie, that ouer & beside the bodies buried in other accustomed buriens places (which for their infinit number cannot be reduced into account) there were buried that yeare dailie, from Candlemasse till Easter, in the Charterhouse yard of London, more than two hundred dead corpses. Also this yeare, by the earnest sute of the two cardinals which were sent (as ye haue heard) from pope Clement the sixt, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met néere vnto Calis for the treatie of this peace, the foresaid two cardinals, as mediators; and for the king of England, the bishop of Norwich treasuror and high chancellor of the realme, with others came thither as commissioners; and in like maner for the French king, there appeared the bishop of Lion, and the abbat of S. Denise. ¶ This yeare in August died Philip de Valois the French king. Here is to be noted, that all those that were borne, after the beginning of that great mortalitie whereof ye haue heard, wanted foure cheeke teeth (when they came to the time of growth) of those 32 which the people before that time commonlie vsed to haue, so that they had but 28. In this 24 yeare of this kings reigne, there was a combat fought in lists within the kings' palace of Westminster, betwixt the lord Iohn, bastard sonne to Philip king of France, & a knight of the towne of Ypres in Flanders; but the bastard had the vpper hand, and vanquished his aduersarie. ¶ About the feast of the decollation of saint Iohn Baptist, king Edward aduertised of a fléet of Spaniards returning foorth of Flanders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, assembled a conuenient power of men of armes and archers, & at Sandwich tooke the sea with them, sailing foorth, till vpon the coast of Winchelsie he met with the Spaniards, and there assailed them; so that betwixt him and those Spaniards, there was a sore fight, and long continued, to the great losse of people on both parts; but in the end, the bright beame of victorie shone vpon the English sailes, so that all the Spaniards were slaine, for they were so proud and obstinat (as Walsingham affirmeth) that they would not yéeld, but rather choose to die, & so they did indéed, either on the Englishmens weapons points, or else were they drowned there in the sea, six and twentie of their ships were taken, in the which was found great store of good ware and riches. And so the king thought himselfe well reuenged of the Spaniards, which in the last yeare about Alhallontide, had entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth vp towards Burdeaux, and there finding manie ships fraught with wines, slue all the Englishmen they found aboord, and tooke awaie the ships with them: which iniurie mooued the king to enterprise this exploit now at this time against them.

An. Reg. 24.
The death ceasseth. *Auesburie.*
Commissioners méet to talke of peace.
Men borne with fewer téeth than in times past. *Caxton. The. Walsin. Polychron.*
A combat. *Auesburie. Thom. Wals.*
A Spanish fléet. Spaniards vanquisht by the K. of England by sea.
Thom. Wals. Auesburie.

About the beginning of August, sir Raoull de Cahors, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, to the number of six score men of armes, fought before a castell called Auleon, with sir Thomas Dagworth, and there slue the same sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him. There were sent solemne messengers this yeare vnto Auignion, for the establishing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the king of England and France, at the sute of the pope, so that king Edward should haue resigned his title and claime to the crowne of France, and the French king should haue giuen ouer vnto him the whole duchie of Guien, to hold the same freelie, without knowledging of resort or superioritie, or dooing any manner of homage for the same: but such delaies were made, and the sute so prolonged by the pope, that the earle of Derbie, who with others was sent to him about this matter, returned without spéed of his purpose for the which he went.

Froissard. Sir Thomas Dagworth slaine.
Ambassadors sent to the pope.

In the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Frenchmen hauing laid siege vnto the towne of saint Iohn Dangeli, the lord Dalbrets son, hauing assembled six hundred men of armes, Gascoigns and Englishmen, meant to worke some feat for reliefe of them within, whervpon, as he was marching through the countrie of Xainctonge neere vnto Xaincts the eighth of Aprill, or (as other haue) the first, he was incountered by the lord Guie de Néell, one of the marshals of France, & other French lords, where at length, the Frenchmen were discomfited, manie also slaine, and diuerse taken prisoners, of which number was the said marshall, with his brother the lord William, and sir Arnold de Dandrehen,

An. Reg. 25. 1351.
Froissard.

drehen, beside others, to the number of 300 men of armes, but yet the siege remained, till for want of vittels the towne was rendered to the Frenchmen.

The same yeare in October, an English archer of the garison of Calis, named Iohn of Dancaster, by licence of the lord deputie of Calis, tooke with him threescore persons men of armes and archers, and in the night that goeth before the feast daie of S. Vincent, in the last quarter of the same night, he comming to the castell of Guines, found as well the watch as others fast asleepe, whereupon he passed a water that adioined to the castell, wading vp to the girdle, and so came to the wall, where he & his companie rearing vp ladders, mounted by the same so secretlie, that slaieng the watch, being not past three or foure persons that were on the wals, they entred the castell, and finding the Frenchmen asleepe, slue those that vpon their wakening made any defense, and tooke the residue, whome they suffered to depart: and by this meanes they wan the castell, finding great store of vittels within, and so as they found it, they kept it to the king of Englands vse.

The castell of Guines woone.

The French histories declare, that one Guilliam de Beauconroy that was capteine of this castell, betraied the place to the Englishmen, for a summe of monie, and when the French king required restitution bicause the truce was not yet expired, he was shifted off with this forged answer, that nothing was excepted by the assurance of the truce, concerning things that should be bought and sold. The Frenchman that betraied it, was shortlie after put to execution at Amiens.

Polydor.

In this yeare were the first peeces of siluer called grotes and halfe grotes of foure pence & two pence the peece stamped, by the kings appointment, through the counsell of William de Edington bishop of Winchester lord treasuror. Before that time, there were no other coines, but the noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the péeces of siluer called sterlings. Bicause these new péeces wanted of the weight of the old sterling coine, the prices as well of vittels as of other wares, did dailie rise, and seruants and workemen waxing more craftie than before time they had beene, demanded great wages. ¶ This yeare, vpon the euen of the Assumption of our ladie, sir Iohn Bentlie knight, as then lord warden of Britaine, fought with the lord Guie de Neell, marshall of France (latelie ransomed out of captiuitie) in the parts of Britaine, néere to a place called Mouron, betwixt Rennes and Pluremell, where the said marshall was slaine, togither with the lord of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauuais, and diuerse other both Britains and Frenchmen.

Grotes and halfe grotes first coined.

1352.

An. Reg. 26.

Mouron.

In the seuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, K. Edward held a parlement at Westminster, after the feast of Easter, in which an ordinance was deuised, what wages seruants and laborers should be allowed, prohibiting them to receiue aboue the rate which they were accustomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruants and laborers were in deed growen to be more subtill than before time they had béene; but by reason of the prices of things were inhanced, it is like they demanded greater wages than they had doone before time: and one cause of the dearth was imputed to the new coine of monie, being of lesse weight in the value thereof, than before it had béene, so that the bishop of Winchester being lord treasuror, who had counselled the king to ordeine those grotes and halfe grotes, was euill spoken of amongst the people. In this parlement there were statutes also made, that clothes should in length and in breadth through the realme, beare the same assise, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Northampton. Also, that all weares, milles, and other lets, should be remooued foorth of riuers, that might be any hinderance of ships, boats, or lighters to passe vp and downe the same. But these good ordinances tooke little or none effect, by reason of bribes that walked abroad, and freendship of lords and great men, that sought rather their owne commoditie, than the common-wealths.

1353.

An. Reg. 27.

Tho. Walsi.

In the printed booke of statutes it should appeare, that this parlement was rather holden in the 25 yeare of this kings reigne.

Statutes for making of clothes.

Weares and milles.

Shortlie after the feast of Pentecost, the earle of Derbie and Lancaster was made duke of Lancaster, and Rafe lord Stafford was created earle of Stafford. Whereas there had beene a treatie betwixt the lords of Britaine, and the king of England, not onelie for the deliuerance of the lord Charles de Blois, but also for the matching of his eldest sonne in mariage with one of king Edwards daughters, and so to inioy the dukedome in peace: this matter

Creations of noble men.

The lord Charles of Blois.

matter was so far forwards, that in the yeare last passed, the said lord Charles, leauing two of his sonnes and a daughter in pledge for the paiement of fortie thousand florens, agréed vpon for his ransome; he was permitted to returne into Britaine to prouide that monie: and withall, to procure a dispensation, that his eldest sonne might marrie with one of K. Edwards daughters, notwithstanding that otherwise they were within the degrees of consanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Herevpon this yeare about Michaelmas, he returned into England with the same dispensation: but bicause about the same time the Britains had taken by stealth an Iland with a castell therein, that the Englishmen had kept, & put all those which they found therein, to the sword, the said lord Charles, otherwise duke of Britaine, lost the kings fauour, so that he would heare no more of anie such aliance, by waie of marriage, as had beene communed of before: by reason whereof the British lords, that were in great number come ouer with the lord Charles de Blois, were constreined to returne home, without atchiuing anie part of their purpose, leauing the said lord Charles and his children behind them still héere in England.

Debate betwixt the dukes of Brunswike & Lancaster.

On the fourth day of September, the duke of Brunswike and the duke of Lancaster should haue fought a combat in Paris, about words the duke of Lancaster should speake, in derogation of the duke of Brunswikes honor, for the which the said duke had appealed him in the court of France: but when they were readie to haue tried it, and were on horssebacke with their speares in hand within the lists, at point to haue runne togither, the French king caused them to staie, and taking on him the matter, made them frèends, and agréed them. This yeare the king by aduise of his councell remooued the mart or staple of wools from the townes in Flanders, and caused the same to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Lincolne, Bristowe, Canturburie and Hull. This was doone in despite of the Flemings, bicause they held not the couenants and agréements which they had made with the king, in the life time of Iacques Arteueld, by whose prouision the said mart or staple had béene kept in sundrie townes in Flanders, to their great aduantage and commoditie.

Auesburie, Tho. Walsi. affirmeth that this remouing of the staple of wols was the 28 yeare of K. Edwards reigne. *Fabian.*

Sir Walter Bentlie committed to the tower.

Sir Walter Bentlie, vpon his comming ouer foorth of Britaine, where he had béene the kings lieutenant, was committed to the tower, where he remained prisoner for the space of twelue moneths, bicause he refused to deliuer vp the castels within his gouernement, vnto sir Iohn Auenell knight, being appointed to receiue the same, to the vse of the lord Charles de Blois, at the same time when the treatie of agreement was in hand, betwixt the king, and the said lord Charles. But after, when it was perceiued what damage might haue insued by deliuerie of those castels, sir Walter was set at libertie vpon suerties yet they were bound for his foorth comming, and that he should not depart the realme: at length, he was receiued againe into the kings fauour. In the summer of this seauen and twentith yeare, was so great a drought, that from the latter end of March, fell little raine, till the latter end of Iulie, by reason whereof, manie inconueniencies insued: and one thing is speciallie to be noted, that corne the yeare following waxed scant, and the price began this yeare to be greatlie inhanced. Also beeues and muttons waxed déere for the want of grasse, and this chanced both in England and France, so that this was called the déere summer. The lord William duke of Bauiere or Bauarie, and earle of Zeland, brought manie ships into London, fraught with rie, for relèefe of the people, who otherwise had, through their present pinching penurie, if not vtterlie perished, yet pittifullie pined.

A great drought.

A dearth.

Caxton. Corn brought out of Zeland: 1354.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commissioners, appointed by the two kings of England and France, after Easter, they were in maner fullie agréed vpon a peace, so that nothing wanted, but putting vnto their seales. In the articles whereof it was conteined, that the king of England should inioy all the lands of his dutchie of Aquitaine, without holding the same of anie by homage, or resort, and in consideration thereof he should resigne all his claime to the crowne of France.

An. Reg. 28. *Thom. Wal. Auesburie.*

A truce betwixt England and France. Ambassadors to the pope.

France. Héerevpon were ambassadors sent from either king, vnto the pope, and a truce taken, to indure till the feast of saint Iohn Baptist in the yeare next following. Ambassadors for the king of England were these: Henrie duke of Lancaster, Iohn earle of Arundell, the bishops of Norwich and London, and the lord Guie de Brian. For the French king, the archbishop of Rouen lord chancellor of France, the duke of Burbon, and others: but when the matter came to be heard before the pope about Christmasse, all went to smoke that had béene talked of: for the Frenchmen denied that the articles were drawne according to the meaning of their commissioners, and the pope also winked at the matter, so that the English ambassadors (when they saw that nothing would be concluded) returned home all of them (the bishop of Norwich excepted who departed this life there) and so their iournie came to none effect.

1355. This yeare, the tenth of Februarie, there rose a sore debate betwixt the scholers and townesmen of Oxenford. The occasion rose by reason of the falling out of a scholer with one that sold wine: for the scholer perceiuing himselfe euill vsed, powred the wine on the drawers head, knocking the pot about his pate, so as the bloud ranne downe by his eares. Héerevpon began a sore fraie betwixt the scholers and townesmen, which continued for the most part of two daies togither. There were twentie townesmen slaine, beside those that were hurt: but at length, there came a great number of countrimen foorth of the villages next adioining, to aid the townesmen, entring the towne with a blacke banner, and so fiercelie assailed the scholers, that they were constreined to flee to their houses and hostels, but their enimies pursuing them, brake vp their doores, entered their chambers, slue diuerse of them, and threw them into priuies, tare their bookes, and bare awaie their goods. The sholers héerewith tooke such displeasure, that they departed the Vniuersitie: those of Merton colledge, and other the like colledges onelie excepted.

An. Reg. 29. Debate betwixt the scholers & townesmen of Oxenford.

The bishop of Lincolne inhibited préests to celebrate diuine seruice in presence of anie laie man within that towne of Oxenford; and the king sending his iustices thither, to take knowledge of this disorderlie riot, there were diuerse, both of the townesmen and scholers indited, and certeine of the burgesses committed to ward. ¶ This yeare, the first sundaie in Lent, the king held a roiall iustes at Woodstoke, for ioy of the queenes purifieng, after the birth of hir sixt sonne, the lord Thomas, whome the bishop of Durham (named Thomas) held at the fontstone: he was borne the seauenth of Ianuarie last past. In the parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, the king tooke vpon him to make an end of the quarrell betwixt the scholers and townesmen of Oxenford, and sauing to euerie man his right, pardoned the scholers of all transgressions: and this he signified into euerie shire, by writs directed to the shiriffes, they to proclame the same for more notice of the thing. And so in the summer following, the Vniuersitie began againe to flourish, students resorting thither from each side, and falling afresh to their academicall exercises, which they néeded not to haue discontinued, if either partie, I meane the townesmen or scholers, would haue tolerated and borne one with another, and not so rashlie haue vndertaken the reuenge of one anothers wrath and iniurie; but,

Thom. Wels., Anesburie. The quarrell appeased betwixt the scholers and townesmen of Oxenford.

Oderunt pacem stulti & certamina quærunt.

In this parlement, the processe of the iudgement had and made against Roger Mortimer, late earle of March, was reuoked, adnihilated, and made void, so that the lord Roger Mortimer was restored to the title and possessions of the earledome of March, as cousine and heire to his grandfather the said erle of March. Moreouer, to this parlement came the bishop of Carpentras, and the abbat of Clugnie, being sent from pope Innocent the sixt, to make sute to haue the truce proroged betwixt the two kings, of England and France, to whome the king himselfe in person, made this resolute answer, that he would not agrée to anie longer truce; for that, when diuerse times, at the Frenchmens sute, he had consented to haue truce by mediation of two cardinals, sent to him about the same matter, his aduersaries in the meane time, whilest such truces indured,

dured, had doone much harme and damage by subtill practises to persons and places beyond the sea, that were vnder his rule and gouernement, yet he said he would deliberate heereof with his councell, and after intimate his pleasure to the pope, and to them of France by messengers which he would send ouer for that purpose: and so these ambassadors within foure daies after their comming, were thus dispatched with answer. Herewith in this parlement it was ordeined, that the prince of Wales, being as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, should passe ouer into Gascoigne, and haue with him a thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers, with a great number of Welshmen.

Auesburie. About the same time the king caused fortie ships to be prouided, rigged, and made readie at Rutherhiue, furnished with vittels for one quarter of a yéere, and euerie of the said ships had principall streamers of the duke of Lancasters armes, who was appointed with a great power of chosen men of armes and archers to passe to the sea with the same ships, but few or none of his companie knew whither; horsses they had none. He had with him two of the kings sonnes, Lionell of Antwerpe, and Iohn of Gant, the elder of them being about sixtéene yeares of age. Also, there went with him the earles of Northampton, March, and Stafford, beside manie lords, barons, & knights. On the tenth of Iulie, he made saile to Greenewich, and there and at Sandwich he staied, till the Assumption of our ladie, the wind for the most part continuing all that while at west and south, contrarie to his iournie, as it might appeare. At length with much difficultie he came to Winchelsie, & after to the Wight. It was thought, that the dukes purpose was to passe into Normandie, to ioine with the king of Nauarre, who was at variance with the French king. But after it was knowen by espials that they were made frends, the duke of Lancaster doubting crooked measures, and hauing with him no horssemen, returned home without further attempt.

A nauie prepared.

The duke of Lancaster.

Record. Turr. On saint Kenelmes daie being fridaie, and the 17 of Iulie, master Humfrie Carleton professor of diuinitie, and Iohn Carleton the yoonger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and Iohn saint Frideswide maior, Iohn Bereford, and Iohn Norton, burgesses of the said towne of Oxford, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the same towne, came before the kings councell at Westminster in the councell chamber there, néere to the excheker, where the allegations on both parties being heard, and vpon request made, that it might please his maiesties councell, according to the submissions by both parties made vnto the king and to his councell, to take order in the matter in controuersie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and businesse which had chanced in the said towne, by the disorder of the communaltie of the same, in breaking downe, and burning vp of houses, in taking awaie the bookes and other goods of the said masters and scholers, & in committing other transgressions. The councell hauing consideration thereof, to auoid the decaie that might haue insued to the said towne, made this end betwixt them, that the said towne (Iohn Bereford, being in the kings prison, and Robert Lardiner onelie excepted) should be bound to paie vnto the said masters and scholers, damnified in the said tumult and businesse, for amends, and reformation of iniuries and losses susteined (death and maime excepted) two hundred and fiftie pounds, beside the goods taken and borne awaie, to be restored againe, and this monie to be paid to the said chancellor, masters and scholers, on that side the mondaie next before the feast of saint Iames, or else sufficient suerties put in for the paiment thereof, at certeine termes, as the parties should agrée vpon: and in respect thereof, the said Iohn Bereford, and Iohn Norton, shall be releassed out of prison of the Marshalsea, at the baile of the said maior, and of Robert de Menkes, and Iohn Dimmoks, till the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the said summes of monie be paid, or suerties put in for the paiment thereof, as before is said, or else the bodies of the said Iohn Bereford, & Iohn de Norton, shall be returned to the said prison, within three daies after the feast of Peter ad Vincula, there to remaine in manner as before they did.

The end and award made of the quarrell betwixt the Vniuersitie and townesmen of Oxford.

It

It was also ordeined by the councell, with the assent of the said Humfrie and Iohn Carleton, that all and euerie manner of persons of the said towne of Oxford, and the suburbes of the same, indited and arreigned of the fellonies and transgressions before mentioned, that should yeeld themselues to the kings prison to be tried by law, and also all other that were at that present in prison, which the said Humfrie and Iohn de Carleton should name (Iohn de Bereford and Robert Lardiner excepted) might be let to baile, vpon sufficient suerties, that should vndertake for them, bodies for bodies, to appeare at the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, there to be tried, according to the order of law. And further it was ordered, that all such goods and cattels as were taken and carried awaie from the said masters and scholers in the said tumult and businesse, by the men of the said towne and suburbes, in whose hands, and in what places soeuer within the said towne and suburbes, by inquisitions, informations, or other meanes, they should or might be found, should be deliuered to the said chancellor, and procurators of the said Vniuersitie, to be by them restored vnto those persons, to whome they belonged. This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the reuerend fathers, Iohn archbishop of Yorke primat and chancellor of England, William bishop of Winchester lord treasuror, Thomas de Brembre lord kéeper of the priuie seale, and Dauid de Wollore master of the rolles, Henrie de Ingelbie clearke, and other of the kings councell then and there present.

Tho. Walsi. The prince of Wales goeth ouer into Gascoigne.

The prince of Wales (as ye haue heard) being appointed to passe ouer into Gascoigne, set forward from London the last daie of Iune, and comming to Plimmouth, where his nauie was appointed to be made readie, he staied there, for want of conuenient wind and weather a long time after. Finallie, hauing with him the earles of Warwike, Suffolke, Salisburie & Oxford, also the lord Iohn Chandois, sir Robert Knols, sir Franke de Hall, the lord Iames Audelie, with diuerse other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers a great number, then in parlement to him assigned, he first set from Plimmouth on the daie of the Natiuitie of our ladie. They were in all thrée hundred saile, and finding the wind prosperous, they passed ouer into Gascoigne, where of the Gascoignes they were ioifullie receiued. In August, the Englishmen that were in Britaine, warring against the Frenchmen, that tooke part with the lord Charles de Blois, slue manie of them, & tooke the lord of Beaumanor, the vicount of Roan, and diuerse other. ¶ This yeare also, about Michaelmasse, the king hauing summoned an armie to be readie at Sandwich, passed ouer to Calis with the same. There went ouer with him his two sonnes, Lionell of Antwerp earle of Vlster, and Iohn of Gant earle of Richmond. He found at Calis a thousand men of armes that came to serue him for wages, foorth of Flanders, Brabant, and Almaigne, so that he had about thrée thousand men of armes and two thousand archers on horsebacke, beside archers on foot a great number. The citie of London had sent to him fiue hundred men of armes, and fiue hundred archers all in one sute or liuerie, at their owne costs and charges. On the second of Nouember, he set from Calis, marching foorth towards saint Omers, wasting the countrie by the waie as he passed.

The citie of London.

The king inuadeth Frãce. The lord Bousicant.

The French king being at the same time within the towne of saint Omers, sent the lord Bousicant vnto the king of England, that vnder colour of communication, he might view the kings power, who made such report thereof, vpon his returne backe to the French king, that he determined not to fight with the king of England, but rather to passe before him, and so to destroie vittels, that for want thereof, the king of England should be constreined to returne. And as he determined, so it came to passe, for the vittels were so cut off, that the Englishmen for thrée full daies togither, dranke nothing but water. When therefore king Edward had followed his enimies so far as Heiden, where he brake the parke, and burnt the houses within and about the parke, although he entred not into the towne nor castell, at length, for default of vittels, he returned backe, and came againe to Calis on saint Martins day, being the tenth after his setting foorth from thence.

Froissard. The king for want of vittels returneth.

Auesburie. The constable of France demandeth battell.

The morrow after being thursdaie, and the twelfe of Nouember, the constable of France,

France, and other Frenchmen, came to the end of the causie of Calis, with letters of credence, offering battell on tuesdaie next following vnto the king of England, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Northampton, and the lord Walter de Mannie, who in the kings behalfe declared to the constable, that the king of England, to eschew shedding of bloud, would fight with the French king bodie to bodie, so to trie their right: and if he liked not of that match, then if he would choose three or foure knights to him that were neerest to him in bloud, he should choose the like number. But when this offer would not be accepted, the English lords offered battell the next day, being fridaie, or else on saturdaie following, at the Frenchmens choice: but the constable of France and his companie, continuing in their first offer, refused both those daies. Then the English lords accepted the daie by them assigned, with condition, that if they brought not king Edward to giue battell that day, they would yeeld themselues prisoners, so that the Frenchmen would likewise vndertake for their king. The constable hauing no answer readie, staied a while, and after flatlie refused to make any such couenant. Finallie, when the English lords perceiued their aduersaries, not to meane battell, as their words at the first pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home. The king of England staied till the tuesdaie, and paid the strangers their wages, and so came backe into England. On the sixt of Nouember, whilest the king was thus abroad in Picardie, the Scots verie earlie in the morning of that daie, came priuilie to Berwike, entred by stealth into the towne, and sleaing three or foure Englishmen, tooke it, with all the goods and persons within it, those excepted, which got to the castell.

The answer made to him.

Berwike taken by Scots.

In a parlement summoned this yeare, the mondaie after the feast of saint Edmund the king, the lords and commons granted to king Edward fiftie shillings of euerie sacke of wooll, that should be caried ouer the sea, for the space of six yeares next insuing. By this grant it was thought, that the king might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day, such vent of wools had the English merchants in that season. ¶ The parlement being ended, the king about S. Andrews tide set forward towards Scotland, and held his Christmasse at Newcastell. About which time by letters sent from the prince, the king was aduertised of his proceedings after his arriuall in Gascoigne, where being ioifullie receiued of the nobles, and other the people of that countrie (as before yee haue heard) he declared to them the cause of his thither comming, and tooke aduise with them how to procéed in his businesse; and so about the tenth of October, he set forward to passe against his enimies, first entring into a countrie called Iuliake, which togither with the fortresses yeelded to him, without anie great resistance. Then he rode through the countie Armignac, wasting and spoiling the countrie, and so passed through the lands of the vicounts de la Riuiere, and after entered into the countie de l'Estrac, and passing through the same, came to the countie of Commiges, finding the towne of S. Matain void, being a good towne & one of the best in that countrie.

A parlement.

The procéedings of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine.

After this, he passed by the land of the earle of Lisle, till he came within a league of Tholouse, where the earle of Armignac, being the French kings lieutenant in those parts, and other great lords and nobles were assembled. The prince with his armie tarried there two daies, and after passed ouer the riuer of Garonne, and after ouer an other riuer thereabouts, a league aboue Tholouse, lodging that night a league on the other side of Tholouse: and so they passed thorough Tholouse, dailie taking townes & castels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrie was verie plentifull. Vpon Alhallowes éeuen, they came to castell Naudarie, and from thence they tooke the waie to Carcasson, into the which a great number of men of armes and commons were withdrawne. But vpon the approch of the Englishmen, they slipt awaie, and got them to a strong castell that stood néere at hand. The third day after, the Englishmen burnt the towne, and passing forth, trauersed all the countrie of Carcassonois, till they came to the towne of Narbonne. The people there were fled into the castell, in which the vicount of Narbonne was inclosed, with fiue hundred men of arms. The prince staied there two daies. The

Carcasson.

Narbonne.

Two bishops sent from the pope to the prince of Wales.

pope sent two bishops towards the prince, to treat with him of peace, but bicause the prince would not hearken to anie treatie without commission from his father, they could not get anie safe conduct to approch néerer.

The prince hauing aduertisments heere, that his enimies were assembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meet them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the earle of Armignac, the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the prince of Orange, with diuerse other néere to Tholouse, made some shew to impeach the prince his passage, yet in the end they withdrew, not without some losse, for the lord Bartholomew de Burwasch aliàs Burghersch, sir Iohn Chandois, the lord Iames Audeley, and sir Thomas Felton, being sent foorth to view them, skirmished with two hundred of their men of armes, and tooke of them fiue and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abide the English power, but still shranke awaie, as the prince was readie to follow them, and so he perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not giue him battell, he withdrew towards Burdeaux, after he had spent eight wéekes in that his iournie, and so comming thither, he wintered there, whilest his capteins in the meane time tooke diuerse townes and castels abroad in the countrie. ¶ And now to the end yee may haue more plaine information of the princes doings in those parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by sir Iohn Winkefield knight, attendant on the prince there in Gascoigne.

The copie of sir Iohn Winkefields letters.

MY lord, as touching the newes in these parts, may it please you to vnderstand, that all the earles, barons, baronets, knights, and esquiers, were in helth at the making hereof, and my lord hath not lost either knight or esquier in this voyage, except the lord Iohn Lisle, who was slaine after a strange manner with a quarrell, the third day after we were entered into our enimies countries, he died the fifteenth of October. And please it you to vnderstand, that my lord hath ridden through the countrie of Arminac, and hath taken many fensed townes and burnt and destroied them, except certeine which he hath fortified. After this, he marched into the vicountie of Rouergne, where he tooke a good towne named Pleasance, the chiefest towne of that countrie, which he hath burnt and destroied, with the countrie round about the same. This doone, he went into the countie d'Astrike, wherin he tooke manie townes, wasted and destroied all the countrie. After this, he entred into the countie of Cominge, and tooke manie townes there, which he caused to be destroied & burnt, togither with all the countrie abroad. He tooke also the towne of S. Matan, which is the cheefest towne of that countrie, being as large in compasse as Norwich.

Afterward, he entered into the countie of Lisle, and tooke the most part of the fensed townes therin, causing diuerse of them to be burnt and destroied as he passed. And after entring into the lordship of Tholouse, we passed the riuer of Girond, and an other a league aboue Tholouse, which is verie great: for our enimies had burnt all the bridges, as well on the one side of Tholouse, as the other, except the bridges with in Tholouse, for the riuer runneth through the towne. And the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the earle of Arminac, were with a great power within the towne the same time. And Tholouse is a great towne, strong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our host that knew the foord there: but yet by the grace and goodnesse of God we found it. So then we marched through the seigniorie of Tholouse, & tooke manie good townes inclosed, and burnt and destroied them, and all the countrie about.

Then we entred into the signiorie of Carcason, and we tooke manie good towns, before we came to Carcason, which towne we also tooke, which is greater, stronger, & fairer than Yorke. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countrie

trie were burnt and destroied. And after we had passed by manie iournies through the countrie of Carcason, we came into the seigniorie of Narbon, and we tooke manie townes, and wasted them, till we came to Narbon, which towne was holden against vs, but it was woone by force, and the said towne is little lesse than London, and is situat vpon the Greekish sea, for that the distance from the said towne vnto the Greekish sea is not past two leagues, and there is an hauen and a place to arriue at, from whence the water cõmeth vp to Narbon. And Narbon is not but eleuen leagues distant from Mountpellier, & eighteene from Eguemortz, & thirtie from Auignion. And may it please you to vnderstand, that the holie father sent his messengers to my lord, that were not past seuen leagues frõ him, and they sent a sergeant at armes, that was sergeant at armes attendant on the doore of our holie fathers chamber, with their letters to my lord, praieng him to haue a safe conduct to come to declare to his highnesse their message from the holie father, which was to treat betwixt my L. and his aduersaries of France: and the said sergeant was two daies in the host before my lord would see him, or receiue his letters. And the reason was, bicause he had vnderstanding, that the power of France was come foorth of Tholouse toward Carcason, so that my lord was driuen to turne backe towards them suddenlie, and so did. He meaneth the Merantine sea.

On the third daie when we should haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen before day, and so retiring, got them to the mounteins, hasting fast toward Tholouse; and the countrie people that were their guides to lead them that waie, were taken as they should haue passed the water. And bicause the popes sergeant at armes was in my keeping, I caused him to examine the guides that were so taken; and for that the guide which was thus examined, was the constables guide, and his countrieman, he might well see and know the countenance of the Frenchmen vpon this examining him. And I said to the same sergeant, that he might well declare to the pope, and to all them of Auignion, that which he had heard or seene. And as touching the answer which my lord made to them that were sent to treat with him, you would be well apaied if you vnderstood all the maner; for he would not suffer in any wise that they shuld come neerer vnto him. But if they came to treat of anie matter, he would that they should send to the king his father: for my lord himselfe would not doo any thing therin, except by commandement from my lord his father.

And of my lords turning backe to follow after his enimies, and of the passage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of castels and townes in this iournie, and of other things which he hath doone against his enimies in pursuit of them in this iournie, being things right worthie and honorable, as manie know verie well, in like maner as sir Richard Stafford, & sir William Burton can more plainelie declare, than I to you can write, for it were too much to put in writing. And my lord rode thus abroad in the countrie of his enimies eight whole weekes, and rested not past eleuen daies in all those places where he came. And know it for certeine, that since this warre began against the French king he had neuer such losse or destruction as he hath had in this iournie: for the countries and good townes which were wasted at this iournie, found to the king of France euerie yeare more to the maintenance of his warre than halfe his realme hath doon beside, except the exchange of his monie which he maketh euerie yeare, and the aduantage and custome which he taketh of them of Poictou, as I can shew you by good remembrances, which were found in diuerse townes in the receiuers houses: for Carcason and le Moignes, which is as great as Carcason, and two other townes in the coasts of Carcason, found to the king of France yeerelie wages for a thousand men of armes: and beside that 100000 old crowns to mainteine the war.

And know you, that by the remembrances which we found, that the townes in Tholouse which are destroied, and the townes in the countrie of Carcason, and the towne of Narbonne and Narbonnois did find euerie yeare with the sums aforesaid, in aid of his war, foure hundred thousand old crownes, as the burgesses of the great townes & other people of

of the countrie which ought to know it, haue told vs. And so by Gods assistance if my lord had wherewith to mainteine this warre, and to make the kings profit and his owne honor, he should well inlarge the English marches, and gaine manie faire places: for our enimies are greatlie astonied. And at the making heereof, my lord hath appointed to send all the earles and baronets to abide in certeine places on the marches, to make roads, and to annoie his enimies. Now my lord, at this present I know none other newes to send, but you may by your letters command me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God grant you good life, ioy, health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the tuesdaie next before Christmasse.

The tenor of an other letter written by sir Iohn Wingfield, directed to sir Richard Stafford knight, who had beene in Gascoigne, and there leauing his familie, was now returned into England.

1356. RIGHT deare sir, and right louing freend, touching newes after your departure, you may vnderstand, that there be taken and yeelded fiue townes inclosed, to wit, port saint Marie, Cleirac, Tonings, Burgh, saint Pierre, Chastiell Sacret or Satrat and Brassake. Also seauenteene castels, to wit, Coiller, Buset, Lemnake, two castels called Boloines, which ioine the one neere so the other, Mounioy, Viresch, Frechenet, Mountender, Pudeschales, Mounpoun, Montanac, Valeclare, Cenamont, Leistrake, Plassac, Cont Destablison; and Mounriuell. And will it please you to know that my lord Iohn Chandois, my lord Iames Audeley, and your men that are with them, and the other Gascoignes that are in their companie, & my lord Baldwine Butetort, & that companie, & my lord Reignald Cobham, tooke the said towne, which is called Chastiell Sacret or Satrat, by assault: and the bastard of Lisle which was capteine of the said towne was also slaine there, as they assaulted it, being stricken with an arrow thorough the head: and my lord Reignold is returned backe toward Languedocke, and my lord Baldwin towards Brassacke, with their companies: and the lords Iohn & Iames, and those of their companie remaine in Chastiell Satrat, and haue vittells plentie of all sorts to serue them between this and Midsummer, except fresh fish and cabages as they haue certified vs by letters, wherefore yee need not take care for your men.

And there be in that towne more than three hundred glaiues, and three hundred yeomen, and a hundred and fiftie archers. And they haue rid before Agen, and burnt and destroied all their milles, and haue burnt and broken downe all their bridges that lie ouer Garon, and haue taken a castell without the same towne, and haue fortified it. And monsieur Iohn Darminake, and the seneshall of Agenois, which were in the towne of Agen, would not once put foorth their head, nor anie of their people, and yet haue they beene twise before that towne. And monsieur Busgaud was come, and monsieur Ernald de Spaine, and Grimoton de Chambule, with three hundred glaiues, and three sergeants Lombards, and they are in the towne of Muschacke, which is in Cressie, and it is but a mile from Chastiell Satrat or Sacret, and a league from Bressake, and yee may well thinke that there will be good companie one with another.

Buscicault.

And further may it please yee to know, that monsieur Bartholomew is at Coniake with six score men of armes of my lords house, & six score archers, & the capitall de Buche or Beuf, the L. Monferrant, & the L. of Crotonie, which haue with them 300 glaiues, & six score archers, and two hundred sergeants, beside them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanney, and Rochford, so that when they are togither, they may be well six hundred glaiues, and at the making heereof, they were vpon a iournie towards Aniou and Poictou, and the earles of Suffolke, Oxford, and Salisburie, the lord of Museden, monsieur Ellis de Pomiers, and other Gascoignes, with the which are well more then fiue hundred glaiues, and two hundred sergeants, and three hundred archers, and they were at the making hereof toward

The capitall de Beuf.

toward the parties of Nostredame de Rochemade, and haue beene foorth aboue twelue daies, and were not returned at the sending of these presents. My lord Iohn Chandois, my lord Iames, and my lord Baldwin, and those which be in their companie are also foorth vpon a iournie toward their parties; my lord Reinold and those of the houshold, with the Gascoigns which be in their companie, are also foorth vpon a iournie towards their parties.

The earle of Warwike hath beene at Tonings & Clerake, to take those towns, and at the making hereof was gone towards Mermande to destroie their vines, and all other things which he can destroie of theirs. My lord is at Leiborne, and the lord of Pomiers at Fronsack, which is but a quarter of a leage from Leiborne: and my lords people lie as well at saint Milion, as at Leiborne, and monsieur Berard de Bret is there with him, and my lord looketh for newes which he should haue, and according to the news that he shall haue, he will behaue himselfe: for as it seemeth, he standeth much on his honor. At the making hereof, the earle of Arminac was at Auignion, and the king of Aragon is there also: & of all other parleis which haue beene in diuerse places (wherof you know) I can not certifie you at the making herof. Right deere sir, other thing I cannot send vnto you, but that you remember your selfe to send newes to my lord prince as soone as in anie wise you may, and so the Lord grant you good life and long. Written at Leiborne the 21 of Ianuarie.

¶ These letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I find them in the chronicle of Robert Auesburie, to the end ye may perceiue how other writers agrée therewith, sith the same letters may serue as a touchstone to trie the truth of the matter. And so now I will returne to speake of the kings dooings in the north part where he left him. On the fourteenth of Ianuarie K. Edward hauing his armie lodged néere the towne of Berwike, and his nauie readie in the hauen to assaile the Scots that were within the towne, he entered the castell which the Englishmen had in their hands, the lord Walter de Mannie being their capteine, who had gotten certeine miners thither from the forrest of Deane, and other parts of the realme, which were busie to make passage vnder the ground by a mine, through which the Englishmen might enter into the towne. Herevpon, when the Scots perceiued in what danger they stood, and knew that they could not long defend the towne against him, they surrendered it into his hands without further resistance.

In the Scotish histories it is recorded, that when those which were within the towne of Berwike, heard how that an armie of Englishmen came to the succours of the castell, they raced the walles and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed with all the spoile which they had gotten there. But how soeuer it was, king Edward being againe possessed of the towne, he set men aworke to repare it, and passing foorth to Roxburge, there met with him the rightfull king of Scots Edward Balioll, who transferred & resigned all the right, title and interest, which he had or might haue to the crowne and realme of Scotland into king Edwards hands: which resignatian he confirmed by his letters patents thereof made and giuen vnder his hand and seale, dated the 25 of Ianuarie 1356, requiring king Edward to perseuere in pursute of his title to the vttermost. *Hector Boet.* An. Reg. 30. The resignation of the realme of Scotland made by the Balioll.

King Edward hauing thus receiued the resignation and release of the crowne of Scotland, marched foorth with his armie, till he came to Hadington, burning and destroieng the countrie on ech side round about him, as he passed. And whilest he laie there abiding for his ships, his men of warre were not idle, but ranged abroad in the countrie, and did all the damage to their enimies that they could deuise. At length his armie which he had at the same time on the sea, arriued on that coast, and landing, spoiled a church of our ladie called the White kirke: but being returned to their ships, there arose such a tempest and vehement north wind, that manie of their vessels rushing and beating against the banks and sands, were drowned togither with the men that were within them, for displeasure

K. Edward sore afflicted the Scots.

pleasure whereof king Edward fell to the spoile of the countrie againe, not sparing one place more than another: by reason wherof, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houses both in Hadington, in Edenborough, and thorough all other the parts of Louthian, wheresoeuer he came, were defaced and put to sacke. At length when he had accomplished his will, and so set things in order, he returned backe into England with the foresaid Edward Balioll in his companie, whome he kept with him, for doubt least he should reuolt, and procure some new trouble. In the moneth of Iulie the duke of Lancaster being sent to the aid of the K. of Nauarre, came into Constantine, which is a portion of Normandie, & there ioined with the lord Philip of Nauarre, brother to the king of Nauarre, and with the lord Godfrie de Harecourt, the which being returned into France, and restored to the French kings fauour, was latelie againe reuolted, vpon displeasure taken for the death of his nephue the lord Iohn de Harecourt, as in the French histories ye may read more at large. They were in all about the number of foure thousand fighting men, and being assembled togither, they went to Liseux, to Orbec, to Ponteau, & rescued the castell there, which had beene besieged by the lord Robert de Hotetot master of the crossebowes in France, more than two moneths: but now hearing that the Englishmen and Nauarrois approched, he departed from thence, leauing behind him for hast his engins and artillerie.

The duke of Lancaster passed forward vnto Bretueill, which he caused to be relieued and furnished with necessarie things as was conuenient. And then leauing the citie of Eureux, which was as then in the Frenchmens hands, latelie yéelded to them after a long siege, he went forward with the lord Philip de Nauarre in companie till they came to Vernueill in Perch, and there tooke both the towne and castell, and robbed the towne and burnt a great part therof. The French king, who had assembled a mightie armie, being aduertised of these matters, hasted forward towards the duke of Lancaster, fullie purposing to giue him battell. The duke and the lord Philip de Nauarre, hauing knowledge that the French king followed them, withdrew towards the towne of the Eagle, and the king still went after them, till he came to Tuebeuf two leages from the towne of the Egle, and there it was shewed to him that he could not follow his enimies any further, by reason of the thicke forrests, which he could not passe without great danger of his person and losse of his people. Then returned he with all his host, and tooke from the Nauarrois the castell of Thilliers, and also the castell of Bretueill, which was yeelded to him after two moneths siege.

Froissard.

The duke of Lancaster sent to aid the king of Nauarre. *Paulus Aemilius.*

Froissard.

The castell of Orbec rescued.

The citie of Eureux yéelded to the Frenchmen.

Vernueil.

The French K. commeth to giue the duke of Lancaster battell.

About the same time, that is to saie, in Iulie, the prince of Wales, hauing assembled an armie of men of warre, to the number of eight thousand, entred into the French dominions, and first passing through Auuergne, at length he came into the countrie of Berrie, wasting and burning the townes and villages as he went, taking easie iournies for the better releefe of his people, and destruction of his enimies: for when he was entered into anie towne that was sufficientlie stored of things necessarie, he would tarie there two or three daies to refresh his soldiers and men of warre, and when they dislodged, they would strike out the heads of the wine vessels, and burne the wheat, oates and barlie, and all other things which they could not take with them, to the intent their enimies should not therewith be susteined and nourished.

Froissard.

The prince of Wales inuadeth ye French dominions.

After this, they came before the citie of Burges, and there made a great skirmish at one of the gates, and there were manie feats of armes doone. The host departed from thence, without dooing anie more, and comming to a strong castell called Issoldune, they fiercelie assailed it, but could not win it: the gentlemen within defended the walles and gates so manfullie. Then passed they forward, and came to Vierzon, a great towne and a good castell, but it was nothing stronglie fortified; and therefore was it woone perforce, the people within it being not sufficient to resist the valiant puissance of the Englishmen. Here they found wine and other vittels in great plentie, and herevpon they taried there three daies to refresh themselues at ease. But before they departed, the prince had aduer-

The citie of Burgos.

Issoldune assaulted.

Vierzon woone.

tisement giuen him that the French king was come to Chartres, with an huge assemblie of men of warre, and that all the townes and passages aboue the riuer of Loire were closed and kept. Then was the prince counselled to returne and passe by Touraine and Poictow, and so that waie to Burdeaux. The passages stopped.

The prince following their aduise that thus counselled him, set forward toward Remorentine. The French king had sent into that countrie to kéepe the frontiers there, the lord of Craon, the lord Bouciquault, and the heremit of Chaumount, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Englishmen six daies togither, and could neuer find anie conuenient occasion to set vpon them: for the Englishmen gouerned themselues so sagelie, that their enimies could not lightlie assaile them, but to their owne disaduantage. One day the Frenchmen laid themselues closelie in an ambush néere to the towne of Remorentine, at a maruellous streict passage, by which the Englishmen must néeds passe. The prince returneth.

On the same daie there were departed from the princes battell, by licence of the marshals, certeine capteins, Englishmen and Gascoignes, as the lord Bartholomew de Burgherce or Burwasche (as some write him) the lord of Mucident Gascongne, monsieur Petiton de Courton, the lord de la Ware, the lord Basset, sir Daniell Passelew, sir Richard Ponchardon, sir Noell Loring, the yoong lord Spenser, and two of the Danbreticourts, sir Edward, and an other, who hauing with them two hundred men of armes, went foorth to run before Remorentine, that they might view the place. They passed foorth alongst by the Frenchmen which laie in ambush, as yée haue heard, and they were not aduised of them, and they were no sooner passed, but that the Frenchmen brake out, and gallopped after the Englishmen with great random, hauing their speares in their rests. Remorentine.

The Englishmen and the Gascoignes hearing horsses to come galloping after them, turned, and perceiuing them to be their enimies, stood still to abide them. The Frenchmen couragiouslie gaue the charge, and the Englishmen as valiantlie defended them, so that there insued a great skirmish, which continued a long while, so that it could not be easilie iudged who had the better, nor on which side the fortunate issue of the present conflict would then fall (for A skirmish.

——— mutabilis alea Martis)

till that the battell of the English marshals approched, the which when the Frenchmen saw comming by a wood side, they fled streightwaies towards Remorentine, and the Englishmen followed in chase so fast as their horsses might beare them, and entered the towne with the Frenchmen: but the French lords and the one halfe of their companie got into the castell, and so saued themselues. The prince hearing what had happened, came into the towne, and there lodged that night, sending sir Iohn Chandois to talke with the capiteines of the castell, to know if they would yéeld: and bicause they refused so to doo, on the next morrow he caused his people to giue an assault to the place, which continued the most part of the day, but yet missing their purpose, he commanded that they should draw to their lodgings, and rest them for that night. The Frenchmen fled. The prince lodgeth in the towne of Remorentine.

In the morning as soone as the sunne was vp, the marshals caused the trumpets to sound, and those that were appointed to giue the assault againe, prepared themselues to it. The prince himselfe was present personallie at this assault, so that the same was inforced to the vttermost: but when they saw that by assaults they could not win the castell, they deuised engines, wherewith they cast wild fire into the base court, and so set it on fire, which increased in such vehement sort, that it tooke into the couering of a great tower, which was couered with reed: and then they within perceiuing they must either yeeld or perish with fire, came downe and submitted themselues to the prince, who as prisoners receiued them. The castell of Remorentine being thus woone and defaced with fire, the prince left it void, and marched foorth with his armie as before, destroieng the countrie, and approched to Aniou and Touraine. The French king came forwards toward the prince, and at Ambois heard how the prince was in Touraine, meaning to returne through Poictow. The castell of Remorentine assaulted. It is set on fier. They within submitted themselues. The French king foloweth the prince of Wales.

Poictow. He was dailie aduertised of the princes dooings by such as were appointed to coast him euer in his iournie.

Froissard. seue housand nosen men saith *Tho. Walsi.*

Then came the king to Haie in Touraine, and his people were passed the riuer of Loire at sundrie passages, where most conuenientlie they might. They were in number twentie thousand men of armes; of noble men there were six and twentie, dukes and earles, beside a great number of other lords and barons: the foure sonnes of the king were there, as the lord Charles duke of Normandie, the lord Lewes after duke of Aniou, the lord Iohn after duke of Berrie, and the lord Philip which was after duke of Burgongne. The French king doubting least the prince should escape by spéedie iournies out of his countrie, before he could come to giue him battell, remooued to Chauuignie, and there passed the riuer of Creuse by the bridge, supposing that the Englishmen had beene before him, but they were not. Some of the Frenchmen taried behind at Chauuignie for one night, and in the morning followed the king. They were about two hundred men of armes vnder the leading of the lord Craon, the lord Raoull de Coucie, and the earle of Ioignie. They chanced to incounter with certeine of the auaunt currours of the English armie, which remooued that day from a little village fast by. Those Englishmen were not past three score men of armes, but well horssed, and therefore perceiuing the great number of the Frenchmen, they fled towards the princes battell, which they knew was not farre off. Capteins of the Englishmen were two knights of Heinault, the lord Eustace Dambreticourt, and the lord Iohn of Guistelles.

Chauuignie.

The Frenchmen beholding them in this wise to flée, rode after amaine, and as they followed in chase, they came on the princes battell before they were aware. The lord Raoull of Coucie went so far forward with his banner, that he entred vnder the princes banner, and fought right valiantlie, but yet he was there taken, and the earle of Ioignie, also the vicount of Bruce, the lord Chauuignie, and diuerse other, so that the most part of those Frenchmen were either taken or slaine, and verie few escaped. The prince vnderstood by the prisoners, that the French king was so farre aduanced forward in pursute of him, that he could not auoid the battell. Then he assembled his men togither, and commanded them to kéepe order, and so rode that day being saturdaie from morning till it was toward night, & then came within two leagues of Poictiers: and herewith sending foorth certeine capteins, to search if they could heare where the king was, he incamped himselfe that night in a strong place amongst hedges, vines, and bushes. They that were sent to discouer the countrie, rode so far, that they saw where the French king with his great battell was marching, and setting vpon the taile of the Frenchmen, caused all the host to stir: whereof knowledge being giuen to the king, the which as then was entring into Poictiers, he returned againe, and made all his host to doo the like, so that it was verie late yer he and his people were bestowed in their lodgings that night. The English currours returning to the prince, declared what they had séene and doone. So, that night, the two armies being lodged within a small distance either of other, kept strong and sure watch about their campes.

The lord Raoull de Coucie taken.

Frenchmen distressed.

On the morrow after being sundaie, and the eightéenth daie of September, the French king caused his host to be diuided into three battels or wards, and in each of them were sixteene thousand armed men, all mustered and passed for armed men. The first battell was gouerned by the duke of Orleance, wherein were six and thirtie banners, and twise as manie penons. The second was led by the duke of Normandie and his brethren, the lord Lewes & the lord Iohn. The third the French king himselfe conducted. And while these battels were setting in arraie, the king caused the lord Eustace de Ribaumount, and two other noble men to ride on before, to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and to aduise of what number they were. Those that were thus sent, rode foorth and beheld the order of the Englishmen at good leisure: and returning, infourmed the king, that as they could iudge, the enimies were about two thousand men of armes, foure thousand archers, and fiftéene

The ordering of the French battell.

fiftéene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in such a strong place, and so well fensed with ditches and hedges, that it would be hard assaulting them therein.

The cardinall of Piergort the popes legat, as then lieng in the citie of Poictiers, came that morning to the king, and required him to absteine from battell, till he might vnderstand whether the prince would condescend vnto such conditions of peace as he himselfe should think reasonable, which if it might be brought to passe, the same should be more honorable for him, than to aduenture so manie noble men as were there with him at that present in hazard of battell. The king was contented that the cardinall should go to the prince, and sée what he could doo with him. The cardinall rode to the prince, and talked with him till he was contented to come to a treatie. The cardinall returned to the French king, and required of him that a truce might be granted till the next daies sun-rising: which truce obteined, he spent that daie in riding to and fro betwixt them. The cardinall of Piergort. The prince of Wales contented to come to a treatie.

The prince offered to render into the kings hands all that he had woone in that voiage, as well townes as castels, and also to release all the prisoners, which he or any of his men had taken in that iournie: and further he was contented to haue béene sworne not to beare armour against the French king within the terme of seuen yeares next following. But the French king would not agree therevnto: the vttermost that he would agree vnto, was this, that the prince and an hundred of his knights should yéeld themselues as prisoners vnto him, otherwise he would not haue the matter taken vp. But it was the French kings hap after (notwithstanding his hautines) to be taken captiue, as Okland noteth, saieng, The offer of the prince of Wales. The French kings presumptuous demand.

——— seruilia sub iuga missus
Disceret vt domino regi parêre Britanno.

But the prince in no wise cold be brought to any such vnreasonable conditions, and so the cardinall could not make them frends, although he trauelled earnestlie betwixt them all that daie. When it drew towards night, he returned toward Poictiers.

The Englishmen were not idle, whilest the cardinall was thus in hand to bring the parties to some good agreement, but cast great ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications about the place where their archers stood; and on the next morning, being mondaie, the prince and his people prepared themselues to receiue battell, as they had doone before, hauing passed the day before and that night in great defect of necessarie things, for they could not stir abroad to fetch forrage or other prouisions without danger to be surprised of their enimies. The cardinall came againe earlie in the morning vnto the French king, and found the French armie readie in order of battell by that time the sunne was vp, and though he eftsoones fell in hand to exhort the king to an agréement, yet it would not be. So he went to the prince, and declared to him how he could doo no good in the matter, and therefore he must abide the hazard of battell for ought that he could sée: wherewith the prince was content, and so the cardinall returned vnto Poictiers. The English men fortifie their campe. The cardinall trauelled in vaine.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) this cardinall of Piergort was sent from the pope to trauell betwixt the parties for a peace to be had, and that the pope exhorted him verie earnestlie to shew his vttermost diligence and indeuour therein: at his setting foorth to go on that message, the said cardinall (as was said) made this answer: Most blessed father (said he) either we will persuade them to peace and quietnesse, either else shall the verie flintstones crie out of it. But this he spake not of himselfe, as it was supposed, but being a prelate in that time, he prophesied what should follow; for when the English archers had bestowed all their arrowes vpon their enimies, they tooke vp pebles from the place where they stood, being full of those kind of stones, and approching to their enimies, they threw the same with such violence on them, that lighting against their helmets, armor, and targets, they made a great ringing noise, so that the cardinals prophesie was fulfilled, that he would either persuade a peace, or else the stones should crie out thereof. *The Wals.* A prophesie of a prelate.

The exhortation of the prince.

The worthie prince like a couragious chiefteine, when he saw that he must needs fight, required his people not to be abashed at the great number of their enimies, sith the victorie did not consist in the multitude of men, but where God would send it: and if it fortuned that the iournie might be theirs and his, they should be the most honored people of the world: and if they should die in that righteous quarrell, he had the king his father and also his brethren, in like case as they had freends and kinsmen, that would seeke their reuenge. And therefore he desired them that daie to shew themselues like valiant men of warre: and for his part he trusted in God and saint George, they should see in his person no default. These or the like words did this most gentle prince speake, which greatlie comforted all his people.

Noble men with the prince of Wales.

There were with him of earles, Warwike, Suffolke, Salisburie, Stafford; of lords, Cobham, Spenser, Audeley, Berkley, Basset, Warren, de la Ware, Bradeston, Burwasch, Felton, Mallow, and diuerse other: also sir Iohn Chandois, by whome he was much counselled, sir Richard Stafford, sir Richard of Penbruche, and manie other knights and

The capitall de Beuf.

valiant esquires of England. Moreouer, there was of Gascoigne, the capitall of Buz or Beuf, the lords of Prumes, Burguenrie, Chaumount, de Lespare, Rosen, Monferant, Landuras, the Souldich of Lestrad or Lescard, and other; and of Heinault, sir Eustace

The number of the prince his armie.

Daubreticourt, sir Iohn de Guistelles, and other strangers. All the princes companie passed not the number of eight thousand men one and other, of the which (as Iacobus Meire saith) three thousand were archers: though Froissard (as I haue rehearsed before) reporteth the number of archers to be more, as in one place six thousand, and in an other place foure thousand.

The number of the French.

The French king hauing in his armie three score thousand fighting men, wherof there were more than three thousand knights, made so sure account of victorie, as anie man might of a thing not yet had, considering his great puissance, in regard to the small number of his aduersaries: and therefore immediatlie after that the cardinall was departed, he caused his

The battell is begun.

battels to march forward, and approching to the place where the Englishmen stood readie to receiue their enimies, caused the onset to be giuen. There were certeine French horssemen, to the number of three hundred, with the Almains also on horssebacke appointed to breake the arraie of the English archers, but the archers were so defended and compassed about with hedges and ditches, that the horssemen of the French part could

The force of the English archer.

not enter to doo their feat, and being galled with the sharpe shot of the English bowes, they were ouerthrowne horsse and man, so that the vaward of the Frenchmen, wherein was the duke of Athens, with the marshals of France, the lord Iohn de Cleremont, and the lord Arnold Dandrehen or Odenhen, began to disorder within a while, by reason of the shot of the archers, togither with the helpe of the men of armes, amongst whome in

The lord Iames Audeley.

the forefront was the lord Iames Audeley, to performe a vow which he had made, to be one of the first setters on.

There was the lord Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner, and the lord Iohn de Cleremont slaine, so that the noble prowesse of the said lord Iames Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battell with the slaughter of manie enimies, was that day most apparant.

Tho. Walsi. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke.

The loiall constancie of the noble earles of Warwike and Suffolke, that fought so stoutlie, so earnestlie, and so fiercelie, was right manifest. And the prince himselfe did not onelie fulfill the office of a noble chéefteine, but also of a right valiant and expert souldiour, attempting what soeuer any other hardie warriour would in such cases haue done. Neither was this battell quicklie dispatched, nor easilie brought to end; but it was fought out with such obstinate earnestnesse, that three times that daie were the Englishmen driuen to renew the fight, through the multitude of enimies that increased and came still vpon them.

Finallie, the marshals battell was quite discomfited: for the Frenchmen and Almains fell one vpon an other, and could not passe foorth; and those that were behind, & could not get forward, reculed backe: and while the marshals battell being on horssebacke thus

thus assailed the English armie with great disaduantage, and was in the end beaten backe, the two battels of the dukes of Normandie and Orleance came forward, and likewise assailed the Englishmen, but could not preuaile. The archers shot so fiercelie, that to conclude, the Frenchmen behind, vnderstanding the discomfiture of the marshals battell, and how their fellowes before could not enter vpon their enimies, they opened and ran to their horsses, in whome they did put more trust for their safegard by galloping on them awaie, than in their manlike hands, for all their late brauerie and great boasts. One thing sore discouraged the Frenchmen, and that was this: beside those Englishmen that were within the closure of their campe, there were certeine men of armes on horssebacke, with a number of archers also on horssebacke, appointed to coast vnder the couert of a mounteine, adioining to the place, where they thought to strike into a side of the duke of Normandies battell, so that with the terrour hereof, and with the continuall shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen not knowing where to turne themselues, sought to saue their liues by flight.

The marshals battell put to ye worst.

The Frenchmen séeke to saue themselues by flight. *Polydor.*

The prince of Wales, perceiuing how his enimies (for the more part of them) were fleeing awaie as men discomfited, sent out his horssemen as well on the one hand as on the other, and he himselfe with his whole power of footmen rushed foorth, and manfullie assailed the maine battell of the Frenchmen, where the king himselfe was, who like a valiant prince would not flee, but fought right manfullie: so that if the fourth part of his men had doone halfe their parts as he did his, the victorie by likelihood had rested (as Froissard saith) on his side: but he was forsaken of his three sonnes, and of his brother the duke of Orleance, which fled out of the battell with cleare hands. Finallie, after huge slaughter made of those noblemen, and other which abode with him euen to the end, he was taken, and so likewise was his yongest sonne Philip, and both put in great danger to haue bécne murthered after they were taken, by the Englishmen and Gascoignes, striuing who should haue the king to his prisoner; where indéed a knight of Flanders or rather Artois, borne in saint Omers, called sir Denise Morbecke, tooke him, but he was streightwaies taken from the same sir Denise by other that came in the meane season, better prouided (béelike) of strength, and lead him awaie vnresisted.

Froissard. The valiancie of the French king.

The French king taken. *Ia. Meir.* Sir Denise Morbecke. *Froissard.*

There were slaine in this battell, of noblemen, the dukes of Burbon and Athens, the marshall Cleremont, sir Geffrey Charnie that bare the chéefe standert of France, the bishop of Chaalons, sir Eustace de Ribaumont, with diuerse other to the number of eight hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of name. In all there died on the French part six thousand of one and other. The chase was continued euen to the gates of Poictiers, and manie slaine and beaten downe in the stréet before the gates, which the citizens had closed, for doubt least the Englishmen should enter with them that fled, thither for safegard. There were taken beside the king and his sonne, the lord Iaques de Burbon earle of Ponthieu, brother to the duke of Burbon that was slaine there, the earle of Ew, the lord Charles his brother earle of Longuile, the archbishop of Sens, the earle of Vandosme, Salesbruch, Ventadore, Tankeruille, Estampes, and Dampmartine: also Archembald Douglas a noble man of Scotland, sonne to the honorable lord William Dowglas that was killed in Spaine, the marshall Dandrehen or Odenhen (as Iacobus Meir saith) with others to the number of seuenteene hundred earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, beside those of the meaner sort; so that the Englishmen had twise as manie prisoners as they themselues were in number: and therefore it was deuised amongst them, to put the most part of their prisoners to ransome there in the field, and so they did for doubt of further danger, the multitude being so great as it was.

Noblemen slaine. *Ia. Mair. Polydor.* The chase. *Froissard. Annales de France.* Archembold Douglas take. *Jacob Meir.* Prisoners taken.

Thus was the prince of Wales victor in that notable battell fought in the fields of Beauuoir and Malpertuse, two leagues from Poictiers, the nineteenth day of September being monday, in the yéere a thousand, thrée hundred, fiftie and six, which began in the morning and ended at noone. But bicause the Englishmen were scattered abroad in chase of their enimies, the princes banner was set vp in a bush, to draw all his men togither. It

The battell of Poictiers when it was.

was

The prince supperth the prisoners.

was almost night yer they were all returned from the chase. The prince made a great supper in his lodging that night to the French king, and to the most part of his nobles that were taken prisoners, and did all the honour that he could deuise to the king. And where he perceiued by his chéere and countenance, that his heart was full of pensiue greefe, carefull thought and heauinesse, he comforted him in the best maner that he might, and said to him: as followeth.

The meeke and comfortable oration of the English prince to the French king being taken prisoner.

MOST noble king, there is no cause wherefore your grace should be pensiue, though God this day did not consent to follow your will. For your noble prowes and dignitie roiall, with the supreme type of your kinglie maiestie, remaineth whole and inuiolate, and what soeuer may rightlie be called yours; so that no violent force of time shall blot out or diminish the same. The almightie God hath determined that the chance of war shall rest in his disposition and will, as all other things. Your elders haue atchiued both by land & sea manie noble enterprises. The whole compasse of Europe, all the east parts of the world, all places and countries, both far & neere, are full of monuments, witnessing the noble victories atteined by the French people.

The cause of godlie liuing and religion, the dignitie and preheminence of christianitie hath beene defended and augmented by you, against the most mightie and puissant capteins of the infidels, enimies to the said christian religion. All ages shall make mention of your worthie praises, no nation there is but shall confesse it selfe bounden at one time or other for benefits receiued at your hands; neither is there any people but such as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for reliefe and benefits, to proceed from you in time to come. One or two battels happilie haue chanced among so manie triumphs otherwise than you would haue wished; chance would it should be so, which may infeeble and make weake the power of horsses, armor, and weapon: your inuincible courage and roiall magnanimitie lieth in your power to reteine: neither shall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of France which hath procreat and brought foorth and norished so many of my noble progenitors, shall perceiue my good meaning towards hir, as not forgetfull of mine elders, and toward your maiestie (if you will vouchsafe that I should glorie of that name) a most humble kinsman. There are manie occasions of loue and freendship betwixt you and my father, which I trust shall take place, for I know all his thoughts and inward meanings: you shall agree and come to an attonement right easilie togither, & I praie God he neuer take me for his sonne, except I haue you in the same degree of honor, reuerence, and faithfull loue, which I owe towards him.

The French king thanketh the prince.

The king (as reason would) acknowledged this to procéed of great courtesie shewed toward him in the prince, and thanked him accordinglie. And the prince performing in déed that which he spake with word, ceassed from further vsing of fire, or other indamaging of the French dominions, and taking his waie through the countries of Poictou and Xainctonge, by easie iournies, he and his people came to Blaie, and so passed ouer the water to Burdeaux in good safetie with all their riches and prisoners. The prince gaue to the lord Iames Audelie (who had receiued in the battell manie sore wounds) fiue hundred marks of yearelie reuenues assigned foorth of his lands in England. The which gift the knight granted as frélie as he had receiued it vnto foure of his esquiers, which in the battell had béene euer attendant about his person, without whose aid & valiant support, he knew well that he had béene slaine sundrie times in the same battell by his enimies, and therefore thought it a dutie of humanitie and gratitude to make them amends with some temporall

The prince returneth to Burdeaux. *Froissard.*

The lord Audelie rewarded.

temporall recompense, that had saued his life, than the which nothing is more déere, nor of greater price in the world, as the poet saith,

——nihil est vita pretiosius ipsa.

When the prince heard that he had so doone, he meruelled what his meaning was therby, and caused him to be brought before his presence, and demanded of him wherefore he had so lightlie giuen awaie that reward which he had bestowed vpon him, and whether he thought that gift too meane for him or not. The lord Audelie so excused himselfe in extolling the good seruice doone to him by his esquiers, through whome he had so manie times escaped the dangers of death, that the prince did not onelie confirme the resignation of the fiue hundred marks giuen to the esquiers, but also rewarded the lord Audelie with six hundred marks more of like yearelie reuenues, in maner and forme as he had receiued the other.

When the newes of this great victorie came into England of the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, and taking of the French king, ye may be sure there was great ioy shewed by outward tokens, as bonfiers made, feasts and bankets kept, through the whole realme. Likewise the Gascoignes and Englishmen being come to Burdeaux, made great reuell and pastime there, spending freelie that gold and siluer which they had woone in the battell of Poictiers, and elsewhere in that iournie. ¶ This yeare in Aprill the prince of Wales tooke shipping with his prisoners at Burdeaux, and on the fift of Maie arriued at Plimmouth. On the foure and twentith day of Maie he was with great honour ioifullie receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and so conueied to the palace of Westminster, where the king sitting in Westminster hall, receiued the French king, and after conueied him to a lodging appointed for him, where he laie a season; but after he was remoued to the Sauoie, which was at that time a goodlie house, perteining to the duke of Lancaster, though afterwards it was burnt and destroied by Wat Tiler, Iacke Straw, and their companie. In this place the French king laie, and kept house a long time after.

Bonfiers.

1357.

An. Reg. 31. Additions to *Adam Meri-muth.*

The prince bringeth the French king ouer into England.

In the winter following were roiall iustes holden in Smithfield, at the which were present the kings of England, France, and Scotland, with manie great estates of all their thrée kingdoms, of the which the more part of the strangers were as then prisoners. It was reported, that the French king could not so dissemble nor cloake his inward thought, but that there appeared some tokens of gréefe in his countenance, whilest he beheld these warlike pastimes. And when the king of England, & his sonne prince Edward with comfortable words required him after supper to put all pensiue cares out of his fantasie, and to be merrie and sing as other did, he should make this answer with a smiling countenance, alluding to the complaint of the Israelits in time of their captiuitie vnder the gentiles, & saieng,

A iusts holden in Smithfeld.

The French K. sorowfull.

Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena? *Psalm.* 137.

About the same time there came ouer into England two cardinals, the one called Talirand being bishop of Alba (commonlie named the cardinall of Pierregort) and the other named Nicholas intituled cardinall of S. Vitale or (as Froissard saith) of Dargell, they were sent from pope Innocent the sixt, to intreat for a peace betwixt the kings of England and France: but they could not bring their purpose to anie perfect conclusion, although they remained here for the space of two yeares: but yet onelie by good means they procured a truce betwéene the said kings, and all their assistants, to indure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which should be in the yeare 1359: out of the which truce was excepted the L. Philip of Nauarre, and his alies, the countesse of Montfort, and the whole duchie of Britaine.

Thom. Wals. *Froissard.* Cardinals sent into England.

A truce for two yeares.

Anon after, the French king was remooued from the Sauoie vnto the castell of Windsor with all his houshold, and then he went on hunting and hawking there about at his pleasure, and the lord Philip his sonne with him, all the residue of the prisoners abode still at London, but were suffered to go vp and downe, and to come to the court when they would. In the same yeare the duke of Lancaster besieged the citie of Rennes in Britaine,

The French king remoued to Windsor.

Rennes besieged.

taine, in the title of the countesse of Richmond, & hir yoong sonne Iohn of Montfort, that claimed to be duke of Britaine. Those that were within the citie, as the vicount of Rohan, and Berthram de Claiquin (who as then was a lustie yoong bacheler) and others defended themselues manfullie for a time, but yet at length they were compelled to render the citie into their enimies hands.

The Walsi. About the same time two Franciscane friers were burnt at London, for matters of religion. ¶ Moreouer queene Isabell, mother vnto king Edward the third, departed this life the seauen and twentith daie of August, and was buried the seauen and twentith daie of Nouember, in the church of the friers minors at London, not yet dedicated. ¶ Dauid king of Scotland, shortlie after the truce was concluded betwixt England and France, was set at libertie, paieng for his ransome the summe of one hundred thousand marks (as Fourdon saith) but whether he meaneth Scotish or sterling monie, I cannot saie. He also was bound by couenant now vpon his deliuerance, to cause the castels in Nidesdale to be raised, which were knowne to be euill neighbors to the English borderers, as Dunfrise, Dalswinton, Morton, Dunsdere, and nine other.

Fourdon. The king of Scots ransomed *Polydor.*

His wife quéene Ione made such earnest sute to hir brother king Edward for hir husbands deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to release him vpon the paiment of so small a portion of monie, and performance of the couenants, for the raising of those castels; although Froissard saith, that he was couenanted to paie for his deliuerance within the tearme of ten yeares, fiue hundred thousand nobles, and for suertie of that paiment to send into England sufficient hostages, as the earles of Dowglas, Murrey, Mar, Sutherland, and Fiffe, the baron of Vescie, and sir William Camoise. Also he couenanted neuer to weare armour against king Edward, within his realme of England, nor to consent that his subiects should so doo: and further should vpon his returne home, doo the best he could to cause the Scots to agree that their countrie should hold of him in fée, and that he and his successours, kings of Scotland, should doo homage to the king of England, and his successors for the realme of Scotland.

Froissard.

1358. In this two and thirtith yeare, as witnesseth the French chronicles, sir Robert Knolles, Iames Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capiteins and men of warre as souldiours to the king of Nauarre vpon the tenth day of March earlie in the morning scaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and behaued them so manfullie, that they were maisters of the towne before the sunne was vp. They got exceeding much by the spoile of that citie, and by ransoming the prisoners which they tooke there. At length after they had remained eight daies in that citie, and taken their pleasures of all things within it, they wrought so with the citizens, that to haue possession of their citie againe, and to haue it saued from fire, they agréed to giue to sir Robert Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thousand motons of gold, which amounted to the summe of twelue thousand and fiue hundred pounds sterling or there about; and yet was it agreed, that the Englishmen should burne the gates, and throw downe the walles in diuers places. In Aprill next insuing, the towne of Daubignie sir le Metre was likewise woone by the Englishmen; and the second daie of Maie Chastelon sir Loigne was taken by the said sir Robert Knolles, and put to sacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcastell vpon Loire. Thus did the Englishmen and other, in title of the K. of Nauarre, greatlie indamage the realme of France, dailie winning townes and castels, ransoming the people, and wasting the countries in most miserable wise, as in the historie of France you may read more at large.

An. Reg. 32. *Annales de France.* The citie of Auxerre taken by sir Robert Knolles.

Daubignie sir le Metre. Chastelon. Newcastell vpon Loire.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixt the king of England, and the king of France, and articles thereof drawne in this forme, that the whole countries of Gascoine, Guien, Poictou, Touraine, Xainctonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limosin, Angolismois, Calis, Guines, Bullogne, and Ponthieu, should remaine to the king of England wholie without dooing homage or paieng anie reléefe for the same: but on the other part, he should renounce all his right, which he might by anie manner of meane claime

Talke of a peace, and articles thereof drawne. *Caxton.*

to

to the countries of Normandie, Aniou, or Maine. And further, that the French king should paie a certeine summe of monie for his ransome, and deliuer sufficient pledges for the same, and so depart into France. These articles were sent ouer into France, that the thrée states there might confirme them, which they refused to doo. Wherevpon when the truce ended, the warres were againe renived. ¶ The king held this yéere the feast of S. George at Windsor, in more sumptuous manner than euer it had béene kept before.

Thom. Wals. The bishop of Elie.

In the same yeare also, frier Iohn Lisle bishop of Elie, being (as he tooke it) somewhat wronged by the ladie Blanch de Wake, and other that were of hir counsell, when the last yeare against the kings will vnto the popes court, where exhibiting his complaint, he caused the pope to excommunicate all his aduersaries, sending to the bishop of Lincolne and other of the cleargie; that if they knew any of them so excommunicated to be dead and buried, they should draw them out of their graues: which was doone. And bicause some of those that were excommunicated were of the kings councell, the king tooke such displeasure therewith, that he gréeuouslie disquieted the prelats. Wherevpon there were sent from the court of Rome on the behalfe of the bishop of Elie, certeine persons, which being armed, met the bishop of Rochester lord treasuror, deliuering to him letters from the pope, the contents of the which were not knowen, and foorthwith they shranke awaie: but the kings seruants made such pursute after them, that some of them they tooke, and bringing them before the kings iustices, vpon their arreignement they were condemned, and suffered death on the gallowes.

Excommunication.

Such as deliuered the popes letters hanged.

Great discord rose also about this time, or rather afore, betwixt the cleargie, and the foure orders of friers, as in the booke of acts & monuments set foorth by master Iohn Fox ye may read more at large. In this yeare Iohn of Gant earle of Richmond, sonne to the king, the ninetéenth day of Maie married the ladie Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster at Reading; and bicause they were cousins within the degrées of consanguinitie, forbidden by the church lawes to marrie, a dispensation was procured of the pope to remoue that obstacle and let. In this yeare the king set workemen in hand to take downe much old bildings belonging to the castell of Windsore, and caused diuerse other faire and sumptuous works to be erected and set vp, in and about the same castell, so that almost all the masons and carpenters that were of any accompt within this land, were sent for and imploied about the same works, the ouerseer whereof was William Wickham the kings chaplein, by whose aduise the king tooke in hand to repare that place, the rather in déed bicause he was borne there, and therefore he tooke great pleasure to bestow cost in beautifieng it with such buildings, as may appeare euen vnto this daie. Moreouer, this yeare in the Rogation wéeke was solemne iusts enterprised at London, for the maior and his foure and twentie brethren as challengers did appoint to answer all commers, in whose name and stéed the king with his foure sonnes, Edward, Lionell, Iohn, and Edmund, and ninetéene other great lords, in secret manner came and held the field with honor, to the great pleasure of the citizens that beheld the same. ¶ Ye haue heard how the Frenchmen refused the peace, which was accorded betwixt K. Edward & their king, as then prisoner here in England. Wherupō K. Edward determined to make such warre against the realme of France, that the Frenchmen with all their harts should be glad to condescend and agrée to reason: and first he commanded all manner of Frenchmen (other than such as were prisoners) to auoid out of England. He also appointed the French king to be remoued from the castell of Hertford, where he then remained, vnto the castell of Somerton in Lincolneshire, vnder the gard and conduct of the lord William Deincourt, being allowed fourtie shillings the day for the wages of two and twentie men at armes, twentie archers, & two watchmen: as thus, for himselfe and sir Iohn Kirketon baronets, either of them foure shillings the daie; for thrée knights, sir William Colleuill (in place of the lord Robert Colleuill, that could not trauell himselfe by reason of sicknesse) sir Iohn Deincourt, and sir Saer de Rochfort, eeh of them two shillings

Discord betwixt priests and friers.

Th. Walsing. Iohn of Gant married. 1359.

An. Reg. 33.

Windsore castell reparéd. Additions to *Trinet.*

A solemne iusts at London. *Caxton.*

The K. with his foure sons are of the chalengers part.

The French K. remoued. He departed frō Hertford the 29 of Julie. *Polydor.*

shillings the daie; seuentéene esquiers ech of them twelue pence the day, eight archers on horsse backe euerie of them six pence the day, and twelue archers on foot three pence, and the two watchmen either of them six pence the day, which amounteth in the whole vnto nine and thirtie shillings the day; and the od twelue pence was allowed to the said lord Deincourt to make vp the summe of 40 shillings. ¶ This haue I noted the rather, to giue a light to the reader to consider how chargeable the reteining of men of war in these daies is, in respect of the former times. But now to our purpose.

The king prepareth to make a iournie into France. *Froissard.* The duke of Lancaster.

The king meaning to passe ouer himselfe in person into France, caused a mightie armie to be mustered and put in a readinesse, and sent before him the duke of Lancaster ouer to Calis with foure hundred speares, and two thousand archers, where the said duke ioined with such strangers as were alreadie come to Calis in great numbers, and togither with them entered into the French dominions, and passing by saint Omers & Bethune, came to Mount saint Eloie, a goodlie abbeie and a rich, two leagues distant from Arras, and there the host tarried foure daies, and when they had robbed and wasted all the countrie thereabout, they rode to Braie, and there made a great assault, at the which a baronet of England was slaine with diuerse other. When the Englishmen saw they could win nothing there, they departed, and following the water of Some, came to a towne called Chersie, where they passed the riuer, and there tarried Alhallowen daie, & the night following.

Braie assaulted.

The kings arriuall at Calis. *Froissard.*

On the same daie the duke of Lancaster was aduertised, that the king was arriued at Calis the seuentéenth daie of October, commanding him by letters to draw towards him with all his companie. The duke according to the kings commandement obeied, and so returned toward Calis. The king being there arriued with all his power, tooke counsell which way he should take. Some aduised him first to inuade Flanders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the earle and the Flemings: but he would not agrée to that motion, for he purposed fullie either by plaine force to make a conquest of France, or else vtterlie to destroie and wast the countrie throughout with fier and sword. Herevpon he set forwards the fourth of Nouember, and passing through the countries of Arthois, and Vermendois, he came before the citie of Reims. There went ouer with him in this iournie, & with the duke of Lancaster, his foure sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, Lionell earle of Vlster, Iohn earle of Richmond, and the lord Edmund his yoongest sonne. Also there was Henrie the said duke of Lancaster, with the earles of March, Warwike, Suffolke, Hereford (who also was earle of Northampton) Salisburie, Stafford, and Oxford, the bishops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the lords Percie, Neuill, Spenser, Kirdiston, Rosse, Mannie, Cobham, Mowbray, de la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Basset, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audelie, Burwasch, and others, beside knights and esquiers, as sir Iohn Chandois, sir Stephan Goussanton, sir Nowell Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Iohn Lisle, sir Richard Pembruge, and others.

Polydor.

Froissard.

Reimes besieged.

The siege was laid before Reimes about saint Andrewes tide, and continued more than seuen weekes: but the citie was so well defended by the bishop and the earle of Porcien, and other capiteins within it, that the Englishmen could not obteine their purpose, and so at length, when they could not haue forrage nor other necessarie things abroad in the countrie for to serue their turne, the king raised his field, and departed with his armie in good order of battell, taking the way through Champaigne, and so passed by Chaalons, and after to Merie on the riuer of Seine. From Merie he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtith yeare of his reigne was woone by assault, but the castell could not be woone, for there was within it the lord Fiennes constable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

1360.

An. Reg. 34. Tonnere woone.

After the king had rested there fiue daies, and that his men were well refreshed with the wines and other such things, which they found in that towne in good plentie, he remooued and drew towards Burgognie, comming to a towne called Guillon or Aguillon, where

Guillon.

where he lay from Ashwednesday vnto Midlent, hauing good prouision of all maner of vittels by the means of an esquier of his called Iohn Alanson, which had taken the towne of Flauignie not farre thence, wherein was great store of bread and wine and other vittels: and still the marshals rode foorth, and oftentimes refreshed the host with new prouision. The Englishmen had with them in their carriages, tents, pauillions, milles, ouens, and forges; also boates of leather cunninglie made and deuised, able to receiue three men a péece, and to passe them ouer waters and riuers. They had at the least six thousand carts with them, and for euerie cart foure horsses which they had out of England.

Flauignie.

The number of carriages.

In this meane while, the Frenchmen made certeine vessels foorth to the sea, vnder the gouernance of the earle of S. Paule, the which vpon the fiftéenth daie of March landed earlie in the morning at Winchelsie, and before sunne rising entred the towne, and finding the inhabitants vnprouided to make anie great resistance, fell to and sacked the houses, slue manie men, women, and also children, and after set fier on the towne; and vpon knowledge had that the people of the countrie next adioining were assembled, and comming to the rescue, he caused his men to draw to their ships, and so they taking their pillage and spoile with them, got them aboord, not without some losse of their companie, which were slaine in the towne by such as resisted their violence. Whilest the king laie at Aguillon, there came to him Anscaume de Salilans chancellor of Burgognie, Iaques de Vienne, and other lords of the countrie, being sent from their duke, to agrée with the king for the sparing of the lands and seigniories apperteining to the duchie of Burgognie.

Caxton. Additions to *Ad. Merimuth.*

Winchelsie burnt by the French.

A compositiō made to spare the countrie of Burgognie.

The chancellor, and the other Burgognian lords found the king so agréeable to their request, that a composition was made betwixt him and the countrie of Burgognie, so that he should make to them an assurance for him, and all his people, not to ouerrun or indamage that countrie, during the space of three yeares, and he to haue in readie monie the summe of two hundred thousand florens of gold, which of sterling monie amounted to the summe of fiue and thirtie thousand pounds. When this agreement was ingrossed vp in writing, and sealed, the king dislodged, and all his host, taking the right waie to Paris, and passing the riuer of Yonne, entered into Gastinois, and at length by easie iournies, vpon a tuesdaie being the last of March in the wéeke before Easter, he came and lodged betwéene Mont le Herie, and Chartres, with his people in the countrie there abouts.

Franks hath Paradine, in Les Annales de Burgognie. *Froissard.*

The king of England draweth towards Paris.

Here the duke of Normandie made meanes for a treatie of peace, which was laboured by a frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the friers Iacobins and the popes legat: he did so much, that a treatie was appointed to be holden on good fridaie in the Malederie of Longegimew, where appeared for the king of England the duke of Lancaster, the erls of Warwike and Northampton, with sir Iohn Chandois, sir Walter de Mannie, and sir William Cheinie knights: and for the French king thither came the earle of Eu constable of France, and the marshall Bouciquaut, with other; but their treatie came to none effect: wherfore the king vpon the tuesdaie in the Easter wéeke remooued neerer vnto Paris, and vpon the fridaie following, being the tenth of Aprill, by procurement of the abbat of Clugnie newlie come from pope Innocent the sixt, the foresaid commissioners eftsoones did meet to treat of an agréement, but nothing they could conclude, the parties in their offers and demands were so farre at ods.

A treatie.

Vpon the sundaie next following, a part of the kings hoste came before the citie of Paris, and imbattelled themselues in a field fast by saint Marcilles, abiding there frō morning till three of the clocke in the after noone, to sée if the Frenchmen would come foorth to giue battell: but the French would not taste of that vessel. For the duke of Normandie (well considering what losse had insued within few yeares past vnto the realme of France, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and taught by late triall and féeling of smart to dread imminent danger, for

The Englishmen before Paris.

Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum)

would not suffer anie of his people to issue foorth of the gates, but commanded them to be readie onelie to defend the walles and gates, although he had a great power of men of warre within the citie, beside the huge multitude of the inhabitants. The Englishmen to prouoke their enimies the sooner to saile forth, burnt diuerse parts of the suburbs, and rode euen to the gates of the citie. When they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not come foorth, about three of the clocke in the afternoone they departed out of the field and withdrew to their campe, and then the king and all the English host remooued towards Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to him the bishop of Beauuois then chancellor of Normandie, with other, and so handled the matter with him, that a new daie of treatie was appointed to be holden at Bretignie, which is little more then a mile distant from Chartres, vpon the first day of Maie next insuing.

Polydor. The suburbs of Paris burnt.

Froissard. The bishop of Beauuois.

In which daie and place appointed, the foresaid duke of Lancaster, and the said earles and other commissioners met with the said bishop, and other French lords and spirituall men to him associate, on the behalfe of the duke of Normandie then regent of France, to renew the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good conclusion; bicause king Edward began to frame his imagination more to accord with his aduersaries, than he had doone of late, chéefelie for that the duke of Lancaster with courteous words and sage persuasions, aduised him not to forsake such reasonable conditions as the Frenchmen were contented now to agrée vnto, sith that by making such manner of warre as he had attempted, his souldiers onelie gained, and he himselfe lost but time, and consumed his treasure: and further he might warre in this sort all the daies of his life, before he could atteine to his intent, and loose perhaps in one daie more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

A new treatie.

The duke of Lancaster persuadeth the king to agrée.

Such words spoken for the wealth of the king and his subiects, conuerted the kings mind to fansie peace, namelie by the grace of the Holie-ghost chéefe worker in this case. For it chanced on a daie, as he was marching not farre from Chartres, there came such a storme and tempest of thunder, lightening, haile and raine, as the like had neuer béene séene by anie of the English people. This storme fell so hideous in the kings host, that it seemed the world should haue ended: for such vnreasonable great stones of haile fell from the skie, that men and horsses were slaine therewith, so that the most hardie were abashed. There perished thousands thereby, as some haue written. Then the king remembring what reasonable offers of agréement he had refused, vpon remorse of conscience (as by some writers should appeare) asked forgiuenesse of the damage doone by sword and fire in those parts, and fullie determined to grant vnto indifferent articles of peace, for reléefe of the christian inhabitants of that land: and so shortlie after, by the good diligence of the commissioners on both parts, an vnitie and finall peace was accorded, the conditions whereof were comprised in fortie and one articles, the chiefe whereof in effect were these.

An hideous storme & tempest of wether.

A peace concluded.

The articles. Fabian. Froissard.

1 First that the king of England should haue and enioy (ouer and beside that which he held alreadie in Gascoigne and Guien) the castell, citie, and countie of Poictiers, and all the lands and countrie of Poictou, with the fée of Touars, and the lands of Belleuille; the citie and castell of Xainctes, and all the lands and countrie of Xanonctonge on both sides the riuer of Charent, with the towne and fortresse of Rochell, with their appurtenances; the citie and castell of Agent, and the countrie of Agenois; the citie and castell of Piergort, and all the land and countrie of Perigueux; the citie and castell of Limoges, and all the lands and countrie of Limosin; the citie and castell of Cahors, and the lordship of Cahorsin; the castell and countrie of Tarbe; the lands countrie and countie of Bigorre; the countie, countrie, and lands of Gaure; the citie and castell of Angolesme; and the countie, land, and countrie of Angolesmois; the citie, towne and castell of Rodaix; and all the countie, and countrie of Rouergne; and if there were in the duchie of Guien any lords, as the earles of Foiz, Arminacke, Lisle, and Perigueux, the vicounts of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any

any lands within the foresaid bounds, it was accorded that they should doo homage and other customarie seruices due for the same vnto the king of England. Homages and seruices.

2 It was also agreed, that Calis and Guines with the appurtenances, the lands of Montreuill on the sea with the countie of Ponthieu, wholie and entirelie should remaine vnto the king of England. All the which countries, cities, townes, and castels, with the other lands and seigniories, the same king should haue and hold to him and his heires for euer, euen as they were in demaine or fee, immediatlie of God, and frée without recognizing any maner souereingtie to any earthlie man. In consideration whereof, king Edward renounced all such claimes, titles and interest as he pretended vnto any part of France, other than such as were comprised within the charter of couenants of this peace first agréed vpon at Bretignie aforesaid, and after confirmed at Calis, as appeareth, by the same charter dated there the foure & twentith daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1360. The date of the charter of the peace.

3 It was also couenanted, that the French king should paie vnto the king of England thirtie hundred thousand crownes in name of his ransome: for assurance of which paiment, & performance of all the couenants afore mentioned, and other agreed vpon by this peace, the dukes of Orleance, Aniou, Berrie, and Burbon, with diuerse other honorable personages, as earles, lords, and burgesses of euerie good towne, some were appointed to be sent ouer hither into England to remaine as hostages. The French kings ransome. Hostages.

4 It was further agréed, that neither the French king nor his successors should aid the Scots against the king of England or his successors; nor that king Edward nor his heirs kings of England should aid the Flemings against the crowne of France. The French not to aid the Scots.

5 And as for the title or right of the duchie of Britaine, which was in question betweene the earles of Blois and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both kings being at Calis, the parties should be called before them, and if the two kings could not make them frends, then should they assigne certeine indifferent persons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeeres respit to end the matter: and if within that terme those that should be so appointed to agrée them, could not take vp the matter betwixt the said earles, then either of them might make the best purchase for himselfe that he could, by helpe of freends, or otherwise: but alwaies prouided, that neither of the kings nor their sonnes should so aid the said earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixt England and France, might by any meanes be broken or infringed. Also, to whether of the said earles the duchie of Britaine in the end chanced to fall by sentence of iudges, or otherwise, the homage should be doone for the same vnto the French king. Britaine.

All these ordinances, articles and agréements, with manie mo (which here would be too long to rehearse) were accorded and ratified by the instruments and seales of the prince of Wales on the one part, and of the duke of Normandie regent of France on the other part, as by their letters patents then sealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Lources in Normandie the sixteenth daie of Maie in the yeare of Grace 1360, and the other at Paris the tenth day of the same moneth, and in the yeare aforesaid. Ouer & beside this, both the said princes tooke on them a solemne oth, to see all the same articles and couenants of agreement throughlie kept, mainteined and performed. This doone, king Edward imbarked himselfe with his four sonnes and the most part of his nobles at Hunfleu the twentith daie of Maie, and so sailed into England, leauing behind him the earle of Warwike to haue the gouernement of all the men of warre which he left behind him, either in Guien or in any other place on that side the sea. The king of England returneth home. The earle of Warwike.

There died in this iournie diuerse noble men of this land, as the earles of March and Oxford, the lord Iohn Graie then steward of England, and the lord Geffrie de Saie, with diuerse other. The eight of Iulie next insuing, the French king hauing licence to depart, landed at Calis, and was lodged in the castell there, abiding till the king of England came thither, which was not till the ninth day of October next after. On the foure and twentith daie of October, both the kings being in two trauerses and one chappell at Calis, a masse *Tho. Walsin.* The French king goeth ouer to Calis.

was

The kings receiue a solemne oth to sée the peace performed.

was said before them, and when they should haue kissed the pax, either of them in signe of greater frendship kissed the other, & there they were solemnlie sworne to mainteine the articles of the same peace; and for more assurance thereof, manie lords of both parts were likewise sworne to mainteine the same articles to the vttermost of their powers. Whilest these kings laie thus at Calis, there was great banketting and chéere made betwixt them.

The duke of Normandie.

Also the duke of Normandie came from Bullongne to Calis, to visit his father, and to sée the king of England, in which meane time two of king Edwards sonnes were at Bullongne. Finallie, when these two kings had finished all matters in so good order and forme that the same could not be amended nor corrected, and that the French king had

The number of the French hostages.

deliuered his hostages to the king of England, that is to saie, six dukes, beside earles, lords, and other honorable personages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: on the morrow after the taking of their oths, that is to saie on the fiue and twentith daie of October, being sundaie, the French king was freelie deliuered, and the same daie before noone he departed from Calis, and rode to Bullongne. The king of England brought him a mile foreward on his waie, and then tooke leaue of him in most louing maner. The prince attended him to Bullongne, where both he and the duke of Normandie with other were eftsoons sworne to hold and mainteine the foresaid peace without all fraud or colourable

The French king set at libertie.

deceit: and this doone, the prince returned to Calis. Thus was the French king set at libertie, after he had beene prisoner here in England the space of foure yeares, and as much as from the nineteenth daie of September, vnto the fiue and twentith of October. When the king of England had finished his businesse at Calis, according to his mind, he returned into England, and came to London the ninth daie of Nouember.

¶ Thus haue yée hard the originall begining, the processe, and issue of sundrie conflicts and battels, and speciallie of two, one of Iohn the French king vnluckilie attempted against England; the other of Dauid the Scotish king as vnfortunatlie ended. For both kings were subdued in fight, vanquished, and taken prisoners; with a great number of their noblemen, whereas they were in hope to haue gone awaie with the conquest, and to haue had renowme for their reward. Of which ouerthrow giuen to both these kings, with the clemencie of king Edward (in whose hands though their liues laie to be disposed as he list, yet he was so far from violating the same, that he shewed himselfe a woonderfull fauourer of their estates, and in fine not onelie put them to their reasonable ransoms, but restored them to their roialties, from the which their sinister lot had deposed them) Christopher Okland hath left this remembred:

In Angl. præl. sub Edwardo. 3.

Plantageneta duos reges iam illustris habebat:
Captiuos, tenuit comites custodia mitis
Multos ambabus claro regionibus ortos
Sanguine, quos sæuo bello cepere Britanni.
Attamen Eduardi viguit clementia regis
Tanta, & tanta animo virtus innata sedebat,
Vt pretio & pacto dimitteret ære redemptos
In patriam ad propriæ consanguinitatis amicos.

Strange woonders.

In this foure and thirtith yeare of king Edward, men and cattell were destroied in diuerse places of this realme, by lightening and tempest; also houses were set on fire and burnt, and manie strange and woonderfull sights seene. ¶ The same yeare Edward prince of Wales married the countesse of Kent, which before was wife vnto the lord Thomas Holland: and before that, she was also wife vnto the erle of Salisburie, and diuorsed from him, and wedded to the same lord Holland. She was daughter vnto Edmund earle of Kent, brother to king Edward the second, that was beheaded in the beginning of this kings reigne, as before yée haue heard. And bicause the prince and shee were within degrees of consanguinitie forbidden to marrie, a dispensation was gotten

A great death.

from the pope to remooue that let. In this yeare also was a great death of people (namelie

(namelie of men, for women were not so much subiect thereto.) This was called the second mortalitie, bicause it was the second that fell in this kings daies.

This yeare also by the death of Richard fitz Rafe primat of Ardmach, that departed this life in the court of Rome; and also of Richard Kilminton deceassed here in England, the discord that had continued for the space of three or foure yeares betwixt them of the cleargie on the one part, and the foure orders of friers on the other part, was now quieted and brought to end. Moreouer, this yeare appeared two castels in the aire, of the which the one appeared in the southeast, and the other in the southwest, out of which castels about the houre of noone sundrie times were séene hosts of armed men (as appeared to mans sight) issuing foorth, and that host which sailed out of the castell in the southeast seemed white, and the other blacke. They appeared as they should haue fought either against other, and first the white had the vpper hand, and after was ouercome, and so vanished out of sight.

Hen. Marl. The primat of Ardmach departed this life.

1361.

Additions to Trivet, and Adam Merimuth. A strãge sight in the aire.

About the same time the souldiors which were discharged in France and out of wages, by the breaking vp of the warres, assembled togither, and did much hurt in that realme, as in the French histories yée may read. Their cheefe leaders were Englishmen and Gascoignes subiects to the king of England. The king assembled the states of his realme in parlement at Westminster in the feast of the Conuersion of S. Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor and whole effect of the peace concluded betwixt England and France, wherewith they were greatlie pleased, and herevpon the nobles of the realme, and such Frenchmen as were hostages, came togither at Westminster church on the first sundaie of Lent next following: and there such as were not alreadie sworne, receiued the oth for performance of the same peace, in a right solemne manner, hauing the tenour of their oths written in certeine scrols; and after they had taken their oths vpon the sacrament and masse booke, they deliuered the same scrols vnto certeine notaries appointed to receiue and register the same.

Froissard. *An. Reg. 35.* A parlement. *Caxton.*

The mortalitie yet during, that noble duke Henrie of Lancaster departed this life on the éeuen of the Annunciation of our ladie, and was buried at Leicester. ¶ Iohn of Gant the fourth son to the king, who had married his daughter the ladie Blanch, as before yee haue heard, succéeded him in that dutchie as his heire in right of the said ladie. The same yeere also died the lord Reginold Cobham, the lord Walter fits Warren, and thrée bishops, Worcester, London, and Elie. This yeare vpon the fiftéenth day of Ianuarie there rose such a passing wind, that the like had not béene heard of in manie yéeres before. It began about euensong time in the south, and that with such force, that it ouerthrew and blew downe strong and mightie buildings, as towers, steeples, houses and chimnies. This outragious wind continued thus for the space of six or seauen daies, whereby euen those buildings that were not ouerthrowne and broken downe, were yet so shaken, that they without reparing were not able long to stand. After this followed a verie wet season, namelie in the summer time and haruest, so that much corne and haie was lost and spoiled, for want of seasonable weather to gather in the same.

Tho. Walsi. Adam Merimuth.

1362.

Caxton. A mightie wind.

An. Reg. 36.

The lord Lionell the kings sonne went ouer into Ireland, to be deputie to his father there, and was created duke of Clarence, and his brother Edmund was created earle of Cambridge; also Edward prince of Wales was by his father king Edward inuested duke of Guien, and did homage vnto his father for the same, in like manner and forme as his father and other kings of England were accustomed to do for the said dutchie to the kings of France. And afterwards about the feast of Candlemasse next insuing, the said prince sailed into Gascoigne, and arriued at Burdeaux, taking vpon him the gouernement and rule of the countrie. Moreouer this yeare, the fiue first daies of Maie, were kept roiall iusts in Smithfield by London, the king and queene being present, with a great multitude of the nobles and gentlemen of both the realms of England and France; at which time came hither Spaniards, Cipriots, and Armenians, requiring aid of the king against

Creations of the kings sonnes to degrées of honor. *Hen. Marle.*

The prince of Wales passeth ouer into Guien. *Thom. Wals.*

Additions to Ad. Merim. A iusts in Smithfield.

The staple of wools remoued to Calis.

against the infidels, that sore molested their confines. ¶ The staple of wols was this yeare remooued to Calis.

A parlement.

Also the sixteenth of October, a parlement began, that was called at Westminster, which continued till the feast daie of S. Brice, on which daie, the king at that time fiftie yeares then past, was borne; wherevpon, as it were in the yeare of his iubile, he shewed himselfe more gratious to his people, granting pardon to offendors, and reuoking outlawes. Moreouer, it was ordeined in this parlement, that no maner of person, of what estate or degree soeuer he was, the king, the queene, and dukes onelie excepted, should haue any purueiers of vittels, nor should take vp any thing without readie paiment, and those that from thencefoorth did contrarie to this ordinance, should be extremelie punished. There was granted to the king in this parlement six and twentie shillings eight pence of euerie sacke of wooll that was to be transported ouer the sea, for three yeares next insuing.

A pardon.

A statute against purueiers.

A subsidie.

Furthermore, at the suite of the commons it was ordeined and established by an act in this parlement deuised, that men of law should plead their causes, and write their actions and plaints in the English toong, and not in the French, as they had beene accustomed to doo, euer since the Conquerors time. It was ordeined also, that schoolemasters should teach their scholers to construe their lessons in English, & not in French, as before they had beene vsed. The K. shewed so much curtesie to the French hostages, that he permitted them to go ouer to Calis, and there being neere home, to purchase friendship, by oft calling on their freends for their deliuerance. They were suffered to ride to and fro about the marches of Calis, for the space of foure daies togither, so that on the fourth daie before sunne setting, they returned into Calis againe. The duke of Anjou turning this libertie to serue his owne turne, departed from thence, and went home into France, without making his fellowes priuie to his purpose.

Lawiers to plead their cases in English. *Caxton.*

Schoolemasters to teach scholers to construe their lessons in English.

1363.

This yeare a parlement was called by the king, which began the ninth of October, from the which none of the noble men could obteine licence to be absent. In this parlement all rich ornaments of gold and siluer vsed to be worne in kniues, girdels, ouches, rings, or otherwise, to the setting foorth of the bodie, were prohibited, except to such as might dispend ten pounds by yeare. Moreouer that none should weare any rich clothes or furres, except they might dispend an hundred pounds by yeare. ¶ Moreouer it was enacted, that labourers and husbandmen should not vse any deintie dishes, or costlie drinks at their tables. But these, and such other acts as were deuised and established at this parlement, tooke none effect, as after it appeared. In this yeare, there came into England to speake with king Edward concerning their weightie affaires, three kings, to wit, the king of France, the king of Scotland, & the king of Cypres: they were honorablie receiued, and highlie feasted.

An. Reg. 37. *Thom. Hals.* Additions to *Adam Merimuth.*

A statute of araie against costlie apparell.

Three kings come into England about businesse with K. Edward.

The king of Scotland, and the king of Cypres after they had dispatched their businesse for the which they came, turned backe againe; but the French king fell sicke, and remained here till he died, as in the next yeare ye shall heare. He arriued here in England, about the latter end of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where king Edward as then laie) on the foure and twentith day of Ianuarie, and there dined. After diner, he tooke his horsse and rode toward London, and vpon Blacke heath, the citizens of London clad in one kind of liuerie, and verie well horssed, met him, and conueied him from thence through to London, to the Sauoy, where his lodging was prepared. About the beginning of March, in this eight and thirtith yeare, the forenamed French king fell into a greeuous sickenesse, of the which he died the eight day of Aprill following. His corps was conueied into France, and there buried at S. Denise: his exequies were kept here in England, in diuerse places right solemnelie, by king Edwards appointment.

1364.

An. Reg. 38.

The death of the French king.

Fabian.

This yeare, by reason of an extreme sore frost, continuing from the seuen and twentith day of September last passed, vnto the beginning of Aprill, in this eight and thirtith yeare

(or

(or rather from the seuenth day of December till the nineteenth day of March, as Walsingham and other old writers doo report) the ground laie vntild, to the great hinderance and losse of all growing things on the earth. This yeare on Michaelmasse day, before the castell of Aulroy, not far distant from the citie of Vannes in Britaine, a sore battell was fought betwixt the lord Charles de Blois, and the lord Iohn of Mountford. For when there could be no end made betwixt these two lords, touching their title vnto the duchie of Britaine, they renewed the wars verie hotlie in that countrie, and procured all the aid they might from each side. The king of France sent to the aid of his cousine Charls de Blois a thousand speares; and the earle of Mountford sent into Gascoigne, requiring sir Iohn Chandois, and other Englishmen there to come to his succour. Sir Iohn Chandois gladlie consented to this request, and therevpon got licence of the prince, and came into Britaine, where he found the earle of Mountford at the siege of the foresaid castell of Aulroy. In the meane time the lord Charles de Blois, being prouided of men, and all things necessarie to giue battell, came and lodged fast by his enimies.

The battell of Aulroy.

Froissard.

The earle of Mountford aduertised of his approch, by the aduise of sir Iohn Chandois and other of his capteins, had chosen out a plot of ground to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enimies. With the lord Charles of Blois was that valiant knight sir Berthram de Cleaquin or Guesclin (as some write him) by whose aduice there were ordeined three battels, and a reregard, and in each battell were appointed a thousand of good fighting men. On the other part, the earle of Mountford diuided his men likewise into three battels and a reregard. The first was led by sir Robert Knouls, sir Walter Hewet, and sir Richard Brulle or Burlie. The second by sir Oliuer de Clisson, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and sir Matthew Gournie. The third the earle of Mountford himselfe guided, and with him was sir Iohn Chandois associat, by whom he was much ruled: for the king of England, whose daughter the earle of Mountford should marie, had written to sir Iohn Chandois, that he should take good héed to the businesse of the said earle, and order the same as sagelie as he might deuise or imagine.

Three thousand and six hundred fighting men, as *Walsing.* saith.

In ech of these three armies were fiue hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers. In the reregard were appointed fiue hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernance of sir Hugh Caluerlie. Beside sir Iohn Chandois, & other Englishmen recited by Froissard, there was the lord William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the earle of Mountfords side. There were not past sixtéene hundred good fighting men on that side, as Thomas Walsingham plainelie writeth. Now when the hosts were ordred on both sides (as before we haue said) they approched togither, the Frenchmen came close in their order of battell, and were to the number of fiue and twentie hundred men of armes, after the manner of that age, beside others. Euerie man had cut his speare (as then they vsed, at what time they should ioine in battell) to the length of fiue foot, and a short ax hanging at his side. At the first incounter there was a sore battell, and trulie the archers shot right fiercelie, howbeit their shot did little hurt to the Frenchmen, they were so well armed and furnished: the archers perceiuing that (being big-men and light) cast awaie their bowes, and entered in amongst the Frenchmen that bare the axes, and plucked them out of their hands, wherwith they fought after right hardlie. There was doone manie a noble feat of armes, manie taken, and rescued againe.

The worthie actiuitie of the English archers.

Against the earle of Montfords battell, fought the battell which the lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the first, the earle of Montfords part was sore oppressed, and brought out of order in such sort, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie had not in time releeued them, the losse had runne on that side, but finallie so long they fought, that all the battels assembled and ioined each to other, except the reregard of the Englishmen, whereof (as is said) sir Hugh Caluerlie was cheefe. He kept alwaies his battell on a wing, and euer succoured where he saw néed. At length, the Frenchmen not able to indure the valiant dooings of their aduersaries, began to breake. First the earle of Auxerres batell was discomfited, and put to flight, and the said earle sore wounded, and taken prisoner, but the battell of

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

The earle of Auxerre taken prisoner.

Sir Berthrā de Cleaquin.

sir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet stood manfullie at defense, howbeit at length the Englishmen perforce opened it, and then was the said sir Berthram taken prisoner, vnder the banner of sir Iohn Chandois.

Herewith also, all the other battels of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the lord Charles de Blois, were cleane discomfited, and put out of arraie, so that such as resisted, and stood at defense, were slaine and beaten downe, and amongst others, the lord Charles was there slaine himselfe, and all other either taken or slaine, except those that escaped by flight, amongst the which there were not manie of the nobilitie. For (as Thomas Walsingham saith) there were slaine about a thousand men of armes, and there were taken two earles, seuen and twentie lords, and fifteene hundred men of armes. The chase was followed to the citie of Reimes, eight great leagues from the place where the battell began. After this victorie, the earle of Montford conquered manie townes and castels in Britaine, whereof the French king being aduertised, sent his brother the duke of Aniou, vnto the wife of the lord Charles of Blois now deceassed, to comfort hir in such an heauie case, and to take order for things as should be thought expedient, vntill further prouision might be made.

Ambassadors sent to yᵉ earle of Montford.

The variance for Britaine compounded.

Fabian.

1365.

Shortlie after, there were sent vnto the earle of Montford, the archbishop of Reimes, the marshall Bouciquault, and the lord of Cran, as commissioners, to commune with him of a finall agréement. Wherevpon, after he had signified the matter vnto the king of England, and vnderstood his pleasure therein, this treatie was so handled, that peace therof followed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next insuing. ¶ This yeare (as some haue written) king Edward finished his warres vpon S. Stephans daie, and began the foundation of S. Stephans chappell at Westminster in memorie thereof, which chappell was afterwards finished by king Richard the second that succeeded him. ¶ In the nine and thirtith yéere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the citie of Angolesme, was borne the first sonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the seuenth yeare of his age.

An. Reg. 39. *Fabian. Tho. Wals.*

The lord Coucie marieth the king of Englands daughter. *Polychron. Froissard. Ia. Mair.*

A treatie of mariage for the earle of Cambridge.

Also this yeare, the seuen and twentith of Iulie, Ingeram de Guines lord de Coucie a Frenchmen, married the ladie Isabell daughter to K. Edward. The solemnization of the marriage feast was kept at Windsor in most roiall and triumphant wise. The said lord Coucie was created earle of Bedford, with an yeerelie annuitie of thirtie markes, going foorth of the issues and profits of that countie, ouer and beside a thousand marks by yeare, assigned to him and his said wife, and to the heires male of their bodies begotten, to be paid forth of the excheker. About this time, there was a treatie also for marriage to be had, betwixt the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge, and the ladie Margaret, daughter and heire to the earle of Flanders, which treatie went so far, that the earle came ouer to Douer,

The earle of Flanders.

where the king was readie to receiue him, and there the earle promised by words of affiance, to giue his said daughter vnto the said lord Edmund in marriage: and after that the earle had beene at Douer, the space of thrée daies, passing the time in great solace and banketting, when he had finished his businesse, he returned backe againe into his countrie.

The lord Latimer.

Whilest the king was thus at Douer with the earle of Flanders, the lord Latimer came from the lord Iohn de Montford, to vnderstand his pleasure, touching the offers that were made for peace, vpon whose returne with answer, the peace was concluded as before yee haue heard. This yeare was Peter king of Castile chased out of his realme, by his bastard brother Henrie, which was aided in that enterprise by sir Berthram de Cleaquin latelie deliuered, and other Frenchmen: so that the said Henrie was crowned at Burgus, vpon Easter daie: wherefore the said Peter was constreined to flee, and so came to Burdeaux to sue for aid at the hands of the prince of Wales. This yeare by the kings commandement, a restraint was ordeined, that Peter pence should not be from thencefoorth anie more gathered within this realme, nor anie such paiment made at Rome, which had béene vsed to be paid there, euer since the daies of Ine, king of Westsaxons, which ordeined this paiment

The king of Castile chased out of his realme. *Froissard.*

Peter pence.

Ine king of Westsaxons.

paiment toward the maintenance of a schoole for English scholers. But howsoeuer this paiment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine shires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight, so greatlie preuailed the vsurped power of that beast of Rome, which had poisoned the princes of the world with the dregs of his abhomination, whose glorie shall end in shame, his honor turne to horror, and his ambitious climing vp aloft aboue all principalitie (to be compeere with God) shall haue an irrecouerable ruine; as long agone, and of late likewise hath beene and now is prophesied of him, that he may readilie read his owne downefall into hell:

In rapidas acherontis aquas, qui gloria mundi
Papa fuit, lapsu corruet ille graui:
Corruet vt rapidum descendit ab æthere fulmen,
Corruet in stygios tempus in omne lacus.

In this yeare fell great abundance of raine in the time of haie haruest, so that much corne and haie was lost. ¶ There was also such fighting amongst sparrowes in that season, that they were found dead on the ground in great numbers. Also, there followed great mortalitie of people, the sicknesse being so sharpe and vehement, that manie being in perfect health ouer night when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. Also, manie died of the small pocks, both men, women, and children. ¶ Moreouer this yeare, Simon Islep archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and Simon Langham bishop of Elie succeeded in his place. This yeare at Burdeaux, was borne the second sonne of prince Edward named Richard, on the third daie of Aprill: his godfather at the fontstone was Iames K. of Maiorke. ¶ Peter the king of Spaine, who (as yee haue heard) was expelled out of his realme by his bastard brother, made such earnest sute to the prince of Wales for aid to be restored home, that finallie the prince aduertising his father king Edward of the whole matter, by aduise from him, determined to bring home the said king Peter, and to restore him againe to his kingdome, by force of armes, in despite of all his aduersaries.

A raine haruest. *Caxton.* Death. K. Richard the second borne. *Froissard.*

The prince indéed was verie desirous to take this enterprise vpon him, both of a certeine pitifull affection to relieue the miserable state of king Peter, and also of an ardent desire which he had to purchase a glorious fame thorough martiall deeds, and noble acts of chiualrie. Therfore hauing this occasion to imploie his time in such exercises, and now commanded thereto of his father, he was excéedinglie glad in his mind, and with all spéed that might be, made his prouision both of a sufficient armie of men of warre, and also of all other things necessarie for the furniture of such an enterprise: but first, he tooke good assurance of king Peter, for the paiment of the soldiers wages: so the king left at Baionne thrée of his daughters, Beatrice, Constance, and Isabell as pledges, for performance of all the couenants agreed betwixt him and the prince.

Thus when the prince, by the aduise and counsell of sir Iohn Chandois, and sir Robert Knols (by whome he was much ruled) had taken direction in his businesse, for that his iournie into Spaine, in each condition as was thought behoouefull, he with the king of Spaine in his companie, passed foorth with a puissant armie, and came to the streicts of Ronceualle, at the entrie into Nauarre, and obteining so much freendship of the king of Nauarre, as to haue the passages of his countrie opened, they entered into his realme through the same, as freends, without finding any resistance. In this meane time, Henrie king of Spaine, hauing knowledge that the prince of Wales was thus comming against him, to restore his brother king Peter to his former degrée, by aduise of sir Berthram de Cleaquin, got a great number of soldiers out of France, by whose aid he might the better defend himselfe against his enimies.

1367. An. Reg. 41. The prince setteth forward towards Spaine. He entreth into Nauarre.

Now it chanced, that whilest the prince of Wales was passing thorough Nauarre, toward the entrie of Spaine, certeine of those Frenchmen, vnder the leading of sir Oliuer Mannie, tooke the king of Nauarre prisoner, as he was riding from one towne to an other. Manie

The king of Nauarre taken by the French-men.

maruelled at that chance, and some there were that thought he suffered himselfe to be taken for a cautele, bicause he would not aid the prince of Wales any further, nor conduct him through his realme, as he had promised to doo. But the prince nothing dismaid herewith, passed forward, by the guiding of a knight of Nauarre, called sir Martin de Care, and finallie came to the confines of Spaine, and lodged at Victoria, not far from his enimies. For king Henrie of Spaine, vnderstanding which waie the prince drew, came forward to incounter him, and pight downe his field, not far from the borders of his realme, at a place called saint Muchaule: and thus were both the hosts lodged within a small distance the one against the other.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Muchaule.

The king of Spaine sendeth to the prince.

King Henrie had sent to the prince an herauld of armes with a letter, requiring to know of him for what cause he moued warre against him, sith he had neuer offended him. The prince taking deliberation for answer of this letter, kept the messenger with him, and perceiuing that king Henrie came not forward, but laie still at saint Muchaule, stronglie incamped, he remooued from Victoria, and came to a towne called Viana, where he staied two daies to refresh his people, and after went forward, and passed the riuer which diuideth the realmes of Castile and Nauarre, at the bridge of Groigne. King Henrie aduertised hereof, departed from saint Muchaule, and came before the towne of Nauarret, situat on the same riuer. Not manie daies before the prince passed the riuer at Groigne, king Henrie had sent foorth two of his brethren, the earle Dom Teille, and the lord Sanches, with six hundred horssemen, to view the princes host.

Victoria.
Viana.

Polydor.

They chanced to incounter two hundred English horssemen, whom after long and sharpe fight they distressed, & slue sir William Felton, one of the chiefe leaders of those Englishmen, and tooke sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other, both knights and esquiers. Whether that king Henrie was greatlie incouraged by this good lucke in the beginning, or that he trusted through the great multitude of his people, which he had there with him, to haue the vpper hand of his enimies, true it is, that he coueted sore to giue them battell; and although he might haue wearied the prince, and constreined him for want of vittels to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at some great aduantage, if he had deferred the battell, as the marshall of France Dandrehen gaue counsell, yet he would néeds fight in all the hast, and therefore did thus approch his enimies.

Sir William Felton slaine.
Froissard.

The prince perceiuing that his aduersarie came forward to incounter him, dispatched the herauld with an answer to the letter which he had of him receiued, conteining in effect, that for great considerations, he had taken vpon him to aid the rightfull K. of Spaine, chased out of his realm by violent wrong, and that if it might be, he would gladlie make an agreement betwixt them; conditionallie, that king Henrie of necessitie must then forsake the administration, and all the title of the kingdome of Spaine, which by no rightfull meane he could inioy, and therefore if he refused thus to doo, he was for his part resolued how to procéed. The herauld departed with this answer, and came therewith vnto king Henrie, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puissant armie at Nauarre, so that then both parties prepared themselues to battell.

The prince hauing with him thirtie thousand men of Englishmen, Gascoignes, and other strangers, ordeined three battels, of the which, the first was led by the duke of Lancaster, and with him was sir Iohn Chandois constable of Guien, sir William Beauchampe son to the earle of Warwike, the lord Dalbret, sir Richard Dangle, and sir Stephan Cousenton, marshals of Guien, & diuerse other. The middle ward was gouerned by the prince, and with him was the foresaid Peter king of Spaine, and diuerse other lords and knights of England, Poictou, and other countries, as the vicounts of Chatelareault and Rochcort, the lords of Partnie, Pinan, Taneboton, and others, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Iohn Grendon, and a great sort more, whose names it would be too long to rehearse. The rereward was vnder the gouerance of the king of Malorques, & with him were

The number of the princes armie.

The chiefteins of the same armie.

were associat the earls of Arminacke, Dalbreth, Piergort, Gominges, the capitoll of Buefz, sir Robert Knols, and manie other valiant lords, knights, and esquiers.

On the second day of Aprill, the prince with his battell thus ordered, remoued from Groigne, and marching that day two leagues forward, came before Nauarret, and there tooke his lodging, within a small distance from his enemies, so that both parties prepared to giue battell the next day in the morning, commanding that euerie man at the sounding of the first trumpet, should apparell themselues, that they might be readie vpon the next sound to be set in order of battell, and to go against their enemies. The Spaniards very earlie in the morning drew into the field, and ordeined three battels in this wise. The first was led by sir Berthram de Cleaquin, wherein were all the Frenchmen and other strangers, to the number of foure thousand knights and esquires, well armed and appointed, after the manner of France. In the second battell was the earle Dom Tielle, with his brother the lord Sanches, hauing with them fifteene thousand men on foot, and on horssebacke. The third battell and the greatest of all was gouerned by king Henrie himselfe, hauing in that battell seuen thousand horssemen, and threescore thousand footmen, with crossebowes, darts, speares, lances, and other abilliements of war: so in all three battels he had fourescore and six thousand men on horssebacke and on foot.

The order of the Spaniards.

The number of ye Spanish armie.

The prince of Wales, at the breaking of the daie was readie in the field with his people arranged in order of battell, and aduanced forward with them toward his enimies, an hosting pace; and as they passed a little hill, they might see as they were descending downe the same, their enemies comming likewise towards them, in good order of battell. When they were approached neere togither, and readie to ioine, the duke of Lancasters battell incountered with the battell of sir Berthram de Cleaquin, which two battels verie eagerlie assailed each other. so that there was betwixt them a sore conflict and well continued. The erle Dom Teille, and his brother the lord Sanches, upon the first approach of the princes battell towards them, fled out of the field, and with them two thousand speares, so that the residue of their battell were shortlie after discomfited, for the capitall of Buz otherwise Beuf, and the lord Clisson, came vpon them on foot, and slue and hurt manie of them, so that they brake their arraie, and fled to saue themselues.

The duke of Lancaster.

The capitall of Beuf.

This chance discomforted the hearts of the Spaniards right sore, but yet king Henrie like a valiant gentleman came forward, and incouraged his men all that he might, so that there was a cruell battell, and well foughten a long time. For the Spaniards with slings cast stones in such fierce manner, that they claue therewith manie an helmet and bassenet, hurt manie, and ouerthrew them to the earth. On the other part, the English archers shot freshlie at their enemies, galled and slue the Spaniards, and brought them to great confusion: yet king Henrie nothing abashed herewith, wheresoeuer he perceiued his men to shrinke, thither he resorted, calling upon them, and exhorting them to remember their estimations and duties, so that by his diligence and manfull incouragement, thrise that daie did he staie his people, being at point to giue ouer, and set them in the faces of his enemies againe. Neither did the souldiers alone manfullie behaue themselues, but the capteins also stoutlie laid about them. King Peter like a lion pressed forward, coueting to meet with his brother Henrie, that he might seeke his reuenge on him with his owne hands. Cruell was the fight, and tried throughlie with most eger and fierce minds.

The archers.

King Peter.

At length, when the Spaniards were no longer able to susteine the force and violence of the Englishmen, Gascoignes, & other which were there against them, they brake their arraie, and fled; so that neither the authoritie nor bold exhortation of king Henrie, could cause them to tarrie anie longer: wherevpon, when he saw himselfe forsaken of his people, and that few abode with him to resist his enemies, he also to saue himselfe fled out of the field, being fullie persuaded, that if he had beene taken, no ransome should haue saued his life. The battell that was best fought, and longest held togither, was that of the strangers, which sir Berthram de Cleaquin led. For if the Spaniards

The Spaniards put to flight.

Spaniards had doone halfe their parts as well as the Frenchmen, & other in this battell, the matter had gone harder against the Englishmen than it did: yet finally, by the noble courage of the duke of Lancaster, and the valiant prowesse of sir John Chandois, sir Hugh Caluerlie, & others, the Frenchmen were put to flight, and their battell quite discomfited. The slaughter in this battell was great, both of them that were slaine in the field, and of those that were drowned in the riuer that runneth by the towne of Nauarret.

The number slaine at this battell at Nauarret.

After that the battell was ended, and that such as had followed the chase were returned, the prince caused the fields to be searched, to vnderstand what number had béene slaine in the battell: they that were appointed to take the view, vpon their returne reported, that there was dead of men of armes five hundred and threescore, and of commons about seauen thousand, and fiue hundred of the English part: there were slaine of men of name, but foure knights, two Gascoignes, one Almaine, and the fourth an Englishman, and of other meane souldiers, not past fortie (as Froissard saith) But others affirme, that there were slaine of the princes part about sixtéene hundred; which should séeme to be more like a truth, if the battell was fought so sore and fiercelie, as Froissard himselfe dooth make report. Howbeit, there be that write, how the duke of Lancaster wan the field by great fortune and valiancie, yer the prince came neere to his enimies. But howsoeuer it was, the Englishmen obtained the victorie in this battell, fought on a saturdaie being the third of Aprill, in the yeare 1367. There were taken prisoners, to the number of two thousand, and amongst them the erle of Dene, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the marshall Dandrehen or Odenhen, and manie other men of name.

Fabian. Caxton.

Froissard.

Caxton.

After the battell, king Peter went to Burgus, and was receiued into the citie, and shortlie after, that is to say, on the Wednesdaie folowing, the prince came thither, and there held his Easter with king Peter, and tarried there aboue three weekes. In the mean time, they of Asturgus, Toledo, Lisbone, Cordoua, Galice, Siuill, and of all other places of the kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage vnto king Peter, promising him to be true to him euer after: for they saw that resistance would not auaile so long as the prince should be in the countrie. After this, the prince was in hand with king Peter, for the souldiers wages, by whose aid he was thus restored into his former estate. King Peter went vnto Siuill, to make shift for monie accordinglie, promising to returne againe, within a few weekes, and to sée euerie man paid, according as he had couenanted. For when he was driuen out of his realme, and came to Burdeaux to craue aid of the prince, he promised, that so soone as he should be restored to his kingdome, he would see the souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himselfe thereto, both by his oth and writing giuen vnder his seale. But when he obteined his purpose, he forgat all fréendlie dutie, and was so farre from performing his promise, that he cloaked his ill meaning with a feigned tale, and sent the prince a message spiced with hypocrisie and vnthankfulnesse, two foule faults in a priuat man, much more odious in a prince and great state, as the poet wiselie and trulie saith in this distichon:

Froissard.

Omne animi vitium tantò conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quantò maior qui peccat habetur.

The prince tarried for the returne of king Peter, both weekes and moneths, but could not heare anie tidings of him. He therefore sent vnto him, to vnderstand the cause of the staie: his answer was, that he had prouided monie, and sent it by certeine of his men toward the prince, but the companions that serued vnder the prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had the conueiance of it: he therefore required the prince to rid the realme of those snaphances, and to leaue behind him some of his officers, to whome in name of him he would make paiment of such monie as was due. This answer pleased not the prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that present

King Peters dissimulation.

he

he could not haue, for anie likeliehood he saw: and therefore, taking order with king Peter how the paiment should be made, he prepared to returne into Gascoigne. The order thereforé taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure moneths next insuing, king Peter should paie the one halfe of the wages due to the soldiers for this iournie, vnto such as the prince should leaue behind him to receiue the same, and the other halfe within one yeare.

The prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make monie thereof to paie his soldiers, namelie, the companions, which he had called forth of France, so that he left himselfe bare of all riches, to kéepe touch with them, although king Dampeter failed in his promise each waie foorth. For where the prince should haue had in recompense towards his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the said Dampeters assignment, so that he sent one of his knights to take seizine of the same lands, he was neuertheles disappointed, for he could not come by any peaceable possession of those lands, and so returned greatlie impouerished, hauing spent in this iournie all that he could make. In the meane time the bastard Henrie, hauing escaped out of the field by flight, got him into France, and there through fauor of the duke of Anion, so purchased for himselfe, that he got togither a certeine number of Britains and other soldiers, & comming to the frontiers of the princes land in Gascoigne, got a towne in Bigore, called Bannieres, and made war upon the princes subjects. *Tho. Walsi.* The prince put to his shifts for default of paie.

The prince obteining passage for himselfe and his men, of the kings of Aragon and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the bastard Henrie forsake his garrison at Bannieres, and went into Arragon, and there got the king of Arragons assistance: & finallie, in the yeare 1369, returning into Spaine, recouered the kingdome, and slue his brother king Peter, as in the historie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this historie of England, I doo here passe ouer. This yeare, in the moneth of March, appeared a blasing starre, betwixt the north and west, whose beames stretched towards France as was then marked, threatning (as might be thought) that within a small time after it should againe be wrapped and set on fire with new troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrie was not in quiet, but harried in diuerse parts, by such soldiers as had béene with the prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people were for the more part Englishmen and Gascoignes, as sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tresmelle, Robert Cenie, sir Gaollard Vigier, the bourge of Bertueill, the bourge Camois of Cominges, as Denise Sauage thinketh, the bourge of Lespare, Nandon or Nawdon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, Lamut, and manie other. The prince returneth into Gascoigne. 1368. An. Reg. 42. A blasing starre. *Polychron.* *Polydor.* *Froissard.*

In this 42 yeare of king Edwards reigne, his second son the lord Lionell duke of Clarence and earle of Vlster passed the sea, with a noble companie of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and went thorough France into Lombardie, there to marrie the ladie Violant, daughter to the duke of Millane He was honorablie receiued in all places where he came, and speciallie at Paris, by the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the lord Coucie and other, the which brought him to the court, where he dined and supped with the king, and lodged within the palace. On the next day he was had to a place where the quéene lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueied to the court againe, and supped that night with the king, and on the morrow following, he tooke his leaue of the king and quéene the which gaue to him great gifts, and likewise to the noble men of England that came ouer with him, to the value of twentie thousand florens and aboue: he was conueied from place to place, with certeine of the French nobilitie, till he came to the borders of the realme and then entring into Sauoy, he cáme to Chamberie, where the earle of Sauoy was readie to receiue him, and there he remained foure daies, being highlie feasted amongst the ladies and damosels: and then he departed, and the earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to doo him the more honor, for his sister was mother to the bride, which the duke should marrie. The duke of Clarence goeth into Italie. The ladie Violant. His interteinement in Sauoy.

To

His receiuing into Millane.

To speake of the honorable receiuing of him into the citie of Millane, and of the great feast, triumph, and banketting, and what an assemblie there was in Millane of high states, at the solemnizing of the mariage betwixt him and the said ladie Violant, it were too long a processe to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the lord Galeas gaue vnto such honorable personages as were there present, amounted in value to an inestimable summe. ¶ The writers of the Millane histories affirme, that this marriage was celebrated on the fiftéenth daie of June, in the yeare 1367, which being true, the same chanced in the 41 yeare of this kings reigne, and not in this 42 yeare, though other authors agree, that it was in the yeare 1368. But to returne to other dooings where we left.

Corio in the historie of Millane.

Ia. Meir. Froissard. Caxton.

Froissard.

Ye haue heard how the Prince of Wales could get no monie of the king of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had reteined to serue him in the reducing the said king home into his countrie, wherefore the prince hauing béene at great charges in that iournie, was neither able to satisfie them, nor mainteine his owne estate, without some great aid of his subiects, and therefore he was counselled to raise a subsidie called a fuage, through all the countrie of Aquitaine, to run onelie for the space of fiue yeares. To this paiment, euerie chimnie or fire must haue beene contributorie, paieng yearely one franke, the rich to haue borne out the poore. And to haue this paiment granted, all the states of the countrie were called togither at Niort. The Poictouins, and they of Xainctonge, Limosin, Rouergne, and of Rochell, agréed to the princes request, with condition, that he should kéepe the course of his coine stable, for the terme of seuen yeares.

The prince of Wales constreined to burden his subiects with a sore subsidie.

Coine not to be inhanced nor abased.

But diuerse of the other parts of Guien refused that ordinance, as the earles of Arminake, and Gominges, the vicount of Carmaigne, the lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Cande, Pincornet, and diuerse other great barons: but yet to depart quietlie from the assemblie, they required a time to take better aduise, and so they repairing into their countries, determined neither to returne againe according to their promises, nor to suffer any fuage to run amongest them at all, and were so much offended with the motion, that they sought occasion forthwith to reuolt from the English obeisance and submission, knowing that

The demand of this fuage the cause of ye Gascoignes reuolting to the French king.

Pastores tondere boni haud deglubere cultris
Villosum assuescunt pecus.

And therefore diuerse lords of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the péeres of France, their complaints of the grieuous impositions & wrongs, which the prince went about to laie vpon them, affirming that their resort ought of speciall duty to be to the crowne of France, and to the king there, as to their lord Peramount. The French king, who would not seeme to breake the peace betwéene him and the king of England, dissembled the matter, and told them that he would peruse the tenor of the charters and letters of the peace, and so far foorth as he might by permission of the same, he would be glad to doo them good. The earles of Arminake, Perigourd, Gominges, and the lord Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this answer, and so staied in France, till they might vnderstand further, both of the French kings mind, and of the princes dooings. ¶ This yeere in October, was Simon Langham archbishop of Canturburie elected to the dignitie of a cardinall, and then William Witleslie, bishop of Worcester, was remooued vnto the sée of Canturburie.

The earle of Saint Paule.

About the same time, the earle of saint Paule, one of the hostages in England, stale from hence, without taking anie leaue, or saieng farewell. At his comming into France, he greatlie furthered the sute of the lords of Gascoigne, & finallie so much was doone on their behalfe, that the French king was contented that the prince of Wales should be appealed, and summoned to appeare before the French king as iudge in that point, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made

1369.

The prince of Wales appealed to appeare.

made their resort vnto him, as reason was they should. This appeale was written and dulie examined.

The tenor of the said prince of Wales his appeale or summons of appearance before the French king, &c.

CHARLES by the grace of God king of France, to our nephue the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, send greeting. So it is, that diuerse prelats, barons, knights, vniuersities, communalties, and colledges of the marches and limits of the countrie of Gascoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our realme, besides diuerse other of the duchie of Aquitaine, are resorted and come to our court, to haue right of certeine greefes, and vnlawfull troubles, which you, by vnaduised counsell, and simple information, haue purposed to doo vnto them, whereof we greatlie maruell. Therfore, to withstand, and to redresse such things, we are so conioined to them that we haue thought good, by our roiall power, to command you to repaire to our citie of Paris, in proper person, and there to shew and present your selfe before vs, in the chamber of our peeres, that you may be constreined to doo right to your people, concerning the greefes which they alledge that you are about to oppresse them with, who claime to haue their resort into our court: and that you faile not thus to doo, in as speedie manner as yee can, immediatlie vpon the sight and hearing of these present letters. In witnesse whereof, we haue to the same set our seale. Yeuen at Paris, the fiue and twentith daie of Ianuarie.

These letters were giuen to a knight and a clerke, to beare and present to the prince, which according to that they had in charge, went to Burdeaux, and there getting licence to come before his presence, they read the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openlie told them for a plaine answer, that he meant to accomplish the French kings request, for his comming to Paris, but that should be with his helmet on his head, and threescore thousand armed men, to beare witnesse of his appearance. The messengers perceiuing the prince to be sore offended with their message, got them awaie, without taking their leaue: but before they were passed the limits of the English dominion, they were staied by commandement of the prince, and committed to prison, within the citie of Agen. An. Reg. 43. The princes answer to the messengers.

About the same time, the duke of Berrie returned into France, hauing licence of king Edward for an whole yeare; but he bare himselfe, so wiselie, that he returned not againe at all: for he excused himselfe, till time that the warre was open. In like manner, the more part of all the other hostages, by one meane or other were returned into France, and some indéed were deliuered vpon their ransomes, or other considerations, so that the French king being deliuered of that obstacle, was the more readie to breake with the king of England, and therefore vpon knowledge had of the princes answer, to those that he sent with the appeale, by such of the messengers seruants as were returned, and declared how their maisters were delt with, he couertlie prepared for the warre. The lord John Chandois, and other of the princes counsell foresaw what would insue of leauieng the fuage, and therefore counselled the prince, not to procéed any further in it. But he hauing onlie regard to the releefe of his souldiers and men of warre, would néeds go forward with it. ¶ Indéed, if he might haue brought it to passe, as it was denied, that euerie housholder should haue paid a franke for chimniage, the summe would haue growne to twelue hundred thousand frankes by the yeare, which had beene a great releefe, and that made him the more earnest, bicause he might haue beene able so to haue paid his debts. The duke of Berrie. The lord Chandois. Chimniage.

Now, when it was perceiued certeinlie that open rebellion would therof insue, and that king Edward was certified of the whole state of the matter, and how diuerse of the lords

of

of Aquitaine were withdrawne vnto the court of France, in manner as before yée haue heard, he deuised a letter, which he caused to be published through all the parts of Aquitaine the effect whereof was this; That were the people of that countrie found themselues greeued for such exactions as were demanded of them, he meant therefore vpon examination of their iust complaints, to see their wrongs redressed. And further, he was contented to pardon all such as were withdrawne to the French king, so that within a moneths space they would returne home; requiring them that in no wise they should stirre anie seditious tumult, but to remember their oths of allegiance, and to continue in the same, according to their bounden duties; and as for him, he would be readie to sée them eased, that would shew by plaine proofe how they had beene otherwise gréeued than reason might beare. This was his meaning and this was the aduise of all his councellours.

A letter published by the prince to appease the Gascoignes.

But this courteous letter little auailed, for dailie the Gascoignes reuolted from the prince, and turned to the French part. Moreouer, another occasion of grudge chanced to renew the malice betwixt the K. of England, and the French king. For whereas yée haue heard, that the earle of Flanders had affianced his daughter and heire to the lord Edmund of Langlie, earle of Cambridge, a shift was made, namelie by the earles mother the countesse of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithstanding the same affiance, she was married to Philip duke of Burgognie, who was surnamed the Hardie, by this occasion, as I. Meir saith. It chanced, that whilest he was prisoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to wait at the table, where his father and the king of England sat togither at meat. And bicause a noble man of England that was appointed likewise to attend at the same table, serued first the king of England before the king of France, this Philip vp with his fist, and tooke the English lord a blow on the eare, saieng; "Wilt thou serue the king of England first, where the French king sitteth at the same table?" The Englishman out with his dagger, & would haue striken the said Philip, but the king of England streictlie charged him to the contrarie, and praising the déed of the yoong stripling, said vnto him, "Vous estes Philip le hardie," Thou art (said he) the hardie Philip. And so from that daie he bare that name euer after. There be other that saie, how he tooke that surname, bicause in the batell of Poictiers he abode still with his father till the end of the battell, without shewing any token of feare, or faintnes of courage.

Io. Meir.

Philip duke of Burgognie marieth ye erle of Flanders daughter.

The cause of his surname le Hardie.

The earles of Arminacke & Perigord. *Froissard.*

The earles of Arminacke and Perigord, with the other lords of Gascoigne, that had made their appeale (as ye haue heard) to the chamber of the peeres of France, when they vnderstood that the prince had imprisoned the messengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, began to make warre on the princes lands. The first enterprise they made, was the discomfiting of the lord Thomas Wake seneshall of Rouergne, as he was riding from Agen vnto the citie of Rodais, with threescore spears, and two hundred archers in his companie. Also the French king being now prouided for the war, and vnderstanding the minds of the people within certeine towns vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, in his high court of parlement holden at Paris, procéeded in iudgement vpon the appellation before made by the earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, against prince Edward. And moreouer he sent ouer into England the earle of Salisbruch, and a knight called sir William Dorman, to signifie to the king of England, how he thought himselfe not honorablie vsed, & that the king of England did but slenderlie kéepe the couenants of the peace, considering that he did not find meanes to reforme such of his subiects Englishmen and Gascoignes, as dailie robbed and wasted the countries & lands belonging to the crowne of France.

The L. Wake discomfited.

Fabian. The French king procéedeth against the prince in iudgement of the appeale. *Froissard.*

These ambassadors were staied for the space of two moneths, & still they complained of the wrongs that the Englishmen had doone contrarie to the couenants of the peace, but the king made small account thereof, bicause he perceiued it was a forged matter that they alledged, and so in the end sent them awaie. At Douer being vpon their returne, there

met them a Britaine that was comming with letters of defiance to the king of England from the French king, and as he had in commandement, he declared to them the effect of his message, whervpon with all spéed they passed ouer to Bullongne, and were glad they had so escaped. The Britaine came to the court, and deliuered the defiance to the king, according to the instructions which he had receiued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceiued by good view taken of the seale and signet, that the same were of authoritie, he licenced the messenger to depart, and fell in councell with the peeres of his realme, what he should doo in so weigthie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought necessarie by them, that he should assemble his court of parlement, and so he did. In the which (vpon declaration made how iniuriouslie the French king after manie wrongfull dealings had now broken the peace, and sent his defiance vnto the king in so despitefull wise as might be) there was granted towards the maintenance of the warre thus begun, thrée fiftéens of the temporaltie, and thrée dismes of the spiritualtie, to be paied in thrée yeares.

The French king sent to defie the king of England.

Polydor. A parlement assembled. Thrée fiftéens and thrée tenths granted. *Fabian.* *Froissard.*

At the selfe same time that the defiance was made to the king here in England, the earle of S. Paule, and Guie de Chatillon master of the crosbowes in France, entered into the countie of Ponthieu, tooke Abuile, and an English knight called sir Nicholas Louaigne seneshall of that countrie vnder the king of England, as then being within it. They tooke also saint Valerie, Crotoie, Rue, Pont saint Renie, and to be short, reduced the whole countrie of Ponthieu vnder the French obeisance, which had remained in possession of the Englishmen for the space of a hundred and twelue yeares, euer since Edward the first had the same assigned to him in name of a dowrie, with his wife queene Elianor, sister to Alfonse K. of Castile. And yet were the people of that countrie readie now to reuolt to the French dominion, not withstanding their former long continued obeisance to the Englishmen: for otherwise could not the Frenchmen so easilie haue come to their purpose, but that the people were couenanted before to receiue them, and betraie those few Englishmen that were amongst them.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken. The countie of Ponthieu taken by the French king.

About the same time also, it fell so ill for the Englishmen, that the prince of Wales was troubled with a sore sickenesse, that had continued long with him, euer since his being in Spaine, by reason whereof his enimies were the more bold to make attempts against him, and dailie went about to allure and intise his subiects of the marches of Guien to reuolt from him, in somuch that the citie of Cahors, and diuerse other townes thereabout turned to the French part. Thus was the peace which had beene so suerlie made, and with so manie solemne oths confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen togither by the eares againe in sundrie places, and namelie in Aquitaine, where sundrie armies were abroad in the fields, diuers sieges laid, manie townes taken, often incounters and skirmishes made, sometime to the losse of the one part, and sometime of the other, and the countries in the meane time harried and spoiled, that maruill it is to consider, and too long a processe it should be to rehearse the tenth part of such chances as dailie happened amongst them, so that it might well haue beene said of that sore & tumultuous time:

The prince of Wales diseased with sicknesse.

The citie of Cahors reuolteth.

O quàm difficiles sunt sint pace dies.

King Edward sent ouer into Gascoigne the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with a certeine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Britaine, passed through that countrie by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as then lieng at Angolesme in Poictou, by whom they were sent to ouerrun the earle of Perigords lands, and so they did, and after laid siege to Burdille, hauing with them about thrée thousand men one and other. There came with them foorth of England foure hundred men of armes, foure hundred archers, and (as Froissard saith) beside their capteins, these earles which he nameth, to wit, the lord of Tabestone (or rather Bradstone as I take it) sir Brian Stapleton, sir Thomas Balaster, and sir Iohn Triuet. Whilest the said earles went thus to make warre against the earle of Perigord, sir Hugh Caluerlie with two thousand

Succors sent into Gascoigne.

Burdille besieged.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

thousand men of warre was sent also to ouerrun the lands of the earle of Arminacke, and of
Sir Iohn Chandois. the lord Dalbret; sir Iohn Chandois laie in the marches of Tholouse at Mountaubon, &
afterwards besieged Terrieres, and in the end wan it; and so likewise did the earles of
Burdille woone. Cambridge and Penbroke win Burdille, by reason of a saillie that they within made
foorth, and passed so far from their fortresse, that the Englishmen got betwixt them and
home.

Sir Robert Knols. Sir Robert Knols came from such lands as he had in Britaine, to serue the prince
now in these warres of Gascoigne, and was by him made chéefe gouernor of all his men
of warre, who bare himselfe right worthilie in that charge. The first iournie which he
made at that time, was into Quercie, hauing with him beside his owne bands, certeine
knights of the princes retinue, as sir Richard Ponchardon, sir Stephan Gousenton, sir
Noell Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Iohn Triuet, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Thomas Ba-
laster, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Moine seneschall of Aigenois, sir Baldwin de
Freuille, and others. At their comming into Quercie, they besieged a strong fortresse
called Durmell, within the which were diuerse capteins of the companions, as Aimon
d'Ortigo, the little Mechin, Iaques de Bray, Perot de Sauoie, and Arnaudon de Pons,
the which so valiantlie defended the place, that although the lord Chandois, accompa-
nied with sir Thomas Felton, the capitall of Beuf, sir Iohn de Pommiers, sir Thomas
Percie, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and others came with their retinues from Montaubon,
to reenforce that siege, yet could they not obteine their purpose, but raising from thence
after fiue weekes siege (constreined thereto through want of vittels) they marched streight
Fr. Gerard. to a towne called Domme, which they besieged, hauing in their armie fifteene hundred
men at armes, beside two thousand archers and brigands, so called in those daies, of
an armor which they ware named brigandines, vsed then by footmen, that bare also tar-
gets, or pauoises, and certeine darts or iauelines to throw at their enimies.

The towne and castell of Domme were so strong of themselues, and so well prouided
of men of warre that were appointed to the gard of the same, with the lord thereof called
sir Robert de Domme, that after the English capteins perceiued they should but lose time
to linger about the winning of that towne, they raised their siege, and marching further
into the countrie, wan Gauaches Freins, Rochmador, and Ville Franche, vpon the
marches of Toulouzain, greatlie to the displeasure of the duke of Aniou that lay at the
same time in the citie of Toulouze, & could not remedie the matter. ¶ But to recite
euerie particular enterprise, as the same was atchiued by the English capteins and men
of warre in that season, it should be more than the purpose of this volume might permit,
and therefore I passe ouer diuerse things, which I find registred by Froissard and other
writers, onelie aduertising you, that as the Englishmen thus made sore warres against
their aduersaries abroad in those quarters; so the Frenchmen on the other part had as-
sembled great numbers of men of warre, not onelie to defend their frontiers, but also by
inuasions to win from the Englishmen towns and castels, and to wast such countries as
Aquitaine full of warre. would not turne to their side. Thus were all those countries in troubles of warre.

The two kings also of England and France, signified to their neighbours the causes of
this warre, laieng the fault either to other, and excusing themselues as cleare and innocent
therein. Edward duke of Gelderland, nephue to the king of England, as sonne to his
sister, and the duke of Gulike cousine to the kings children by their mother that was
daughter to the earle of Heinault, tooke great despite that the French king had broken the
peace, as they were throughlie persuaded, and that he had defied king Edward (as before
yee haue heard.) Wherevpon they sent their defiance vnto the French king, threatning
The duke of Bauier. to be reuenged on him to the vttermost of their powers. Duke Albert of Bauier, was
once minded also to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards such per-
suasions were vsed on the French kings part, that he chose to remaine as neuter betwixt
them both, refusing to take anie part.

Among the soldiers also called companions, which serued the prince in this season,
there

there were three capteins, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Ortigo, Bernard de Wiske, & Bernard de la Sale. These three remaining as then in Limosin, hearing that the duke of Burbons mother, which was also mother to the French queene, laie within the castell of Belleperch in Burbonnois, with a small companie about hir, rode thither in one daie and a night, so that in the morning they approched the castell, scaled it, and tooke it, with the ladie within it. And though they were after besieged in the same castell by the duke of Burbon and other Frenchmen, yet they defended it, till the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with fiftéene hundred speares, and three thousand of other men of warre, came and offered the Frenchmen battell, lodging afore them fifteene daies. And when they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not issue out of the bastide (in which they laie) to giue battell, the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke caused all them within the castell to come foorth, and to bring with them the duches of Burbon, whome they led awaie in sight of hir sonne, leauing the castell void and free for him to enioy.

The duke of Burbons mother taken.

The French king prouided a great number of ships to assemble togither at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to bestow them aboord in the same ships, that they might saile into England, and make warre against king Edward in his owne countrie. Cheefteine of this armie should haue beene his brother the duke of Burbon, but this iournie was broken, for the Frenchmen were eased of the paine to come to séeke the Englishmen at home in England, they comming ouer into France, and proffering them battell euen at their owne doores. For the king of England hauing leuied a power of archers, and other men of warre, sent them ouer vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Lancaster. There went with him in this iournie, the earles of Hereford and Salisburie, the lord Ros, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord de la Ware, the lord de la Pole, the lord Walter of Mannie, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Thomas Grantson, sir Alane Burhul, sir Richard Sturrie, & diuerse other. They went ouer about Midsummer. And after they had rested a little, the duke set forward and roded foorth into the countrie, spoiling and harrieng the same, and when he saw time, returned againe to Calis.

The French king prepareth a nauie.

The duke of Lancaster sét into France with an armie.

The French king being at Roan, heard of the arriual of this armie at Calis, and that his countrie of Picardie was in great danger: he changed his purpose therefore of sending an armie into England, and with all spéed appointed that his power should with his brother the duke of Burgognie turne toward Calis, to resist the duke of Lancaster. Herevpon when the duke of Lancaster heard that the duke of Burgognie was thus comming toward him, he issued foorth of Calis, and comming into the vallie beneath the hill of Turneham, there tooke his field, and fortified the place with strong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to resist his enimies if they would assaile him. The duke of Burgognie came still forward, till he approched verie néere to the duke of Lancasters campe, and pight downe his field aloft vpon the hill of Turneham, so that the fronts of both hosts were within lesse than a mile either of other.

The duke of Lancaster fortifieth his campe.

The duke of Burgognie. *Fabian. Froissard.*

There was come to the duke of Lancaster a knight of the marches of Almaine, called sir Robert de Namur with an hundred speares: but yet the duke of Lancasters host was but one handfull of men, in respect of the huge number of the French armie, wherin were (as Froissard writeth) foure thousand knights beside others. But yet for all his great puissance and number of men, he would not aduenture to assaile the Englishmen in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue doone, but kept himselfe and his men vpon the hill, from the foure and twentith of August, vnto the twelfth of September, and then dislodged not much to his honour, howsoeuer writers doo excuse it, declaring how his brother had giuen him streight commandement, that in no wise he should fight with the Englishmen: and that when he had sent to his brother for commission either to fight, or to remooue, he was commanded to turne with all speed vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that time. Some there be that write, how that after both these hostes had lien the one against the other a long space, to the reproofe of both chiefteins, it chanced

Sir Robert de Namur.

Caxton.

The earle of Warwike.

chanced that the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike came thitherward by sea, to be at the battell, which he heard would shortlie follow betweene the two armies: but yer he was come to land, the Frenchmen for feare durst no longer abide, but secretlie in the night departed and fled towards Hesdin, and so to Paris, for the which their flight, the duke of Burgognie was after blamed of his brother the French king.

Froissard. The quéene of England departeth this life.

In this meane while, that is to sale, on the euen of the Assumption of our ladie, died that noble princesse, the ladie Philip quéene of England. It is said that when she perceiued that she must néeds depart out of this transitorie life, she desired to speake with the king hir husband, and when he was come to hir with a sorowfull hart to sée hir in that state, she tooke him by the hand, and after courteous words of induction, she required of him to grant hir thrée requests.

Hir thrée petitions to the king.

1 The first request was, that all such merchants, and other men, with whom she had bargained in any condition, might be answered of all such debts as she owght them, whether they dwelled on this side the sea or beyond.

2 The second request was, that all such ordinances and promises, as she had made to churches, as well within this realme, as in the parts of the further side the sea, might be performed.

3 The third request was, that it might please him to choose out none other sepulchre when God should call him out of this world, but beside hir at Westminster.

The praise of quéene Philip.

This quéene, to traine the English youth vnto vertuous conuersation, & to giue occasion that they might be brought vp in learning and good instructions, founded a colledge at Oxford, furnishing it with goodlie buildings, and a church, that they might both serue God, and profit in their studies, wherevpon it is called the quéenes colledge euen to this daie.

The quéenes colledge.

But now to returne to the duke of Lancaster. Ye shall vnderstand that after the departure of the French armie beside the hill of Turneham, the said duke returned to Calis, and there refreshed himselfe and his people the space of thrée daies. And then he set forward againe, & with him as marshals of the host, was the earle of Warwike, and the lord Roger Beauchampe, with the lords and knights before remembred. They tooke their iournie to S. Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the countie of saint Paule, still burning the countrie as they went. They rode not past thrée or foure leages in a daie, and keeping on their waie, they came by saint Riquier, and at the planches vnder Abuile passed the riuer of Some, and then entered into the countrie of Vimew, in purpose to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne the French kings nauie. Thus passing forward thorough Vimew, and the countie of Ewe, they entered into the archbishoprike of Roan, and marching foorth by Déepe, came vnto Harflew: but the earle of saint Poule, and the lord of Fiennes constable of France which had coasted the English armie in all this iournie, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entred into this towne, so that they knew how they should but lose their paine, if they did assaile it, and so therefore after they had lien before it thrée daies, on the fourth day they dislodged, & went backe againe towards Calis, returning through the countrie of Ponthieu, and before Abuile chanced to incounter a number of Frenchmen, which gaue to the duke battell. In the which was taken sir Hugh de Chatellon, master of the crosbowes of France, with other knights, esquiers, and burgesses of that towne, and about sixtéene score of the French part slaine.

The duke of Lancaster maketh a iournie into France.

S. Riquier.

Fabian. The master of the crosbowes of France taken.

Froissard.

There be that write otherwise herof, shewing how the said sir Hugh Chatellon was taken by an ambush laid by sir Nicholas Louaine, as the same sir Hugh was come foorth of the towne, with not past ten or twelue with him, to see how the passage of Rowraie was kept by them that had charge thereof. How soeuer it came to passe, taken he was, & brought to the duke of Lancaster, that reioised greatlie of that good hap: and so marching forward, he passed the riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towards the towne of Rew on the seaside, and so to Montreuill, and finallie to Calis. Then were the strangers licenced

licenced to depart: and bicause it was far in the winter, as about saint Martines tide, the duke and the most part of his armie returned into England. In this yeare chanced the third mortalitie, which was excéeding great both of men and beasts, that the like had not béene heard of. And amongst other people that perished of that pestilentiall sickenesse, that worthie knight and noble capteine the earle of Warwike died at Calis in the moneth of Ianuarie, after his returne from Harflew. ¶ The countrie of Aquitaine was full of trouble in this meane time, either part séeking to grieue other to the vttermost of their powers. ¶ Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke, hauing with him certeine bands of men of warre, recouered diuerse towns and castels in those parts: but when he perceiued how the enimies that were not far from the place where he was lodged, shewed manifest tokens of feare, in marching one while vncerteinelie forward, and an other while fetching great compasses about, he somewhat vnwarilie setting vpon them in their campe, was discomfited and put to flight, so that getting him into a place of the Templers, that was closed about with a wall, he remained there in great danger to be taken prisoner of his enemies that assailed him, if the lord Iohn Chandois seneschall of Poictou had not come to the rescue, and pledged him foorth.

The third mortalitie. *Caxton. Polychron.* The earle of Warwike departeth this life. 1370. *Polydor.* *Froissard.*

But shortlie after, the said lord Chandois was slaine by the enemies (whom first he had ouercome) whilest without good aduise he put off his helmet, and so receiuing a stroke with a glaiue that entered into his head, betwixt his nose and his forhead, he neuer after spake word, not liuing past a day and a night after he was hurt. The death of this right famous, wise, and valiant knight, was bewailed as well of the Frenchmen as Englishmen. The French king himselfe, when he heard that he was slaine, greatlie lamented the mishap, affirming that now he being dead, there was not any left aliue able to agree the kings and realmes of England and France: so much was he feared, esteemed, and beloued of all men. But alas what auailed all their mourning and lamenting against the necessitie of death, sith we know that

Thom. Wals. Sir Iohn Chandois slaine. *Froissard.*

Est commune mori, mors nulli parcit honori.

After he was thus slaine, sir Thomas Percie was made seneschall of Poictou. By reason of the great wet and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had béene accustomed, much corne was lost, so that the price thereof was sore inhanced, in so much that wheat was sold at thrée shillings foure pence the bushell. But as concerning the death, the west parts of the realme was sorest afflicted with this mortalitie, and namelie at Oxford there died a great number of scholers.

Sir Thomas Percie. A dearth. *Hen. Marle.*

Somewhat before this time, the ladie Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster, departed this life, and was buried on the north side of the high altar in the cathedrall church of saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir husband Iohn of Gant was after also interred. She ordeined for hir husband and for hir selfe a solemne obit to be kept yearelie in that church, where the maior being present with the shiriffes, chamberlaine, and sword-bearer, should offer each of them a pennie, and the maior to take vp a pound, the shiriffes either of them a marke, the chamberleine ten shillings, and the sword-bearer six shillings eight pence, and euerie other of the maiors officers two and twentie pence, and the number of eight officers belonging vnto the shiriffes (and by them to be appointed) eight pence a péece. ¶ This yeare was granted to the king in parlement assembled at Westminster of the spirituall mens liuings a tenth for the space of thrée yeares, and a fiftéenth of the temporaltie during the same tearme.

The duches of Lancaster, *Fabian.* *Polychron.* An. Reg. 44 *Froissard.* *Polychron.*

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great summe of monie, as well by borowing of the clergie as of the laitie, he leuied an armie, & sent the same ouer to Calis about Midsummes, vnder the gouernance of that worthie chéefteine sir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the L. Fitz Walter, the lord Granson, sir Alaine Buxhull, sir Iohn Bourchier, sir William Meuille, sir Geffrey Wourseley, and diuerse other noblemen, knights, and worthie capteins. About the same time, the king of England concluded an abstinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of nine yeares, yet so that the Scots

Sir Robert Knolles with an armie sent into France. Truce with Scots.

might arme themselues, and at their pleasure serue and take wages, either of the English or French, by reason whereof, sir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred speares of the realme of Scotland.

When this armie had lien and rested in Calis about the space of seauen daies, sir Robert Knolles caused euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the first daie néere to the castell of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue twelue thousand men. Froissard saith, they were but fiftéene hundred speares, & foure thousand archers. Within the castell of Fiennes was the constable of France, that was lord thereof, with such a number of souldiers and men of warre, that the Englishmen thought they should but lose their labour to assaile it. And so they passed foorth by Turrouane, and toward Arras, riding not past foure leages a daie, bicause of their cariages and footmen. They tooke their lodging euer about noone, and laie néere vnto great villages.

Iac. Meir. The number of men of war in this armie. *Froissard.*

The French king had furnished all his townes and fortresses in Picardie with strong garrisons of souldiers, to defend the same against all chances that might happen either by siége or sudden assault. The Englishmen therefore thought not good to linger about the winning of anie of the strong townes, but passed by them, wasting or ransoming the countries. At Arras they shewed themselues before the barriers, and when none would issue to skirmish with them, they set fier on the suburbs, & departed. From thence they tooke the waie by Baūpalmes, and so came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the countrie were withdrawne, with such goods as they might carie with them. And in like manner had those doone which inhabited about S. Quintine, Peronne, and other strong townes, so that the Englishmen found little abroad, sauing the barnes full of corne for it was after haruest.

The suburbs of Arras burnt.

The towne of Roy burnt.

The French mē withdraw into their fortresses & strōg townes.

Thus they rode faire and easilie, two or thrée leages a daie, and sometime to recouer monie of their enimies, they would compound with them within strong townes, to spare the countrie from burning and destruction, for such a summe as they agréed vpon, by which meanes sir Robert Knolles got in that voiage aboue the summe of an hundred thousand frankes. For the which he was after accused to the king of England, as one that had not dealt iustlie in so dooing. In this sort passing the countrie, they came before Noion, and after they had rested a while afore the towne, they went foorth wasting and burning the countrie, and finallie passed the riuer of Marne, and so entered in Champaigne, and passed the riuer of Aube, and also diuerse times they passed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing toward Paris, and comming before that citie, they lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and shewed themselues in order of battell before the citie. This was on the twentie fourth daie of September.

The English men before Paris.

The French king was at the same time within the citie, & might behold out of his lodging of S. Paule, the fiers and smokes that were made in Gastenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Englishmen, but yet he would suffer none of his people to go foorth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the citie, both of such as had coasted the English armie in all this iournie, and also of other which were come thither by the kings commandement, beside the burgesses, and inhabitants of the citie. When sir Robert Knolles perceiued that he should haue no battell, he departed and drew toward Aniou, where they wan by strength the townes of Vaas and Ruellie. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell such discord amongst the English capteins, through couetousnesse and enuie, that finallie they diuided themselues in sunder, greatlie to the displeasure of sir Robert Knolles their generall, who could not rule them.

There was a knight among them named sir Iohn Minsterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this armie, a good man of his hands (as we call him) but peruerse of mind, and verie deceitfull, and to sir Robert Knolles (to whome he was much beholden) most vnfaithfull. This knight, perceiuing the wilfull minds of certeine yoong lords and knights there

Thom. Wal. Sir Simon Minsterworth.

there in the armie, that repined at the gouernement of sir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did sometime at the gouerance of Camillus (the chéefe of whome were the lord Grantson, the lord Fitz Walter, and others) did his best to pricke them forward, sounding them in the care, that it was a great reproch for them being of noble parentage, to serue vnder such an old rascall as he was, ech of them being able to guide their enterprise of themselues, without his counsell, by which flattering of them, and disgracing of him, the said Minsterworth did much mischéefe, for

Lingua loquax, odiosa, procax, parit omne molestum.

Indeed this sir Robert Knolles was not descended of anie high linage, but borne in the countie of Chester of meane ofspring, neuerthelesse through his valiant prowesse, and good seruice in warre, growne to such estimation, as he was reputed worthie of all honour due to a noble and skilfull warriour, so that it was thought the king could not haue made his choise of one more able or sufficient to supplie the roome of a chéefteine, than of him: but yet, although this was most true, his aduise could not be heard, nor the authoritie appointed him by the king beare anie swaie. For where he counselled that they should now vpon the approching of winter draw foorth of France into Britaine, and there remaine for the winter season, they would not so agrée, nor obeie his will. Wherevpon it came to passe, that sir Berthram de Cleaquin, at that time newlie made constable of France, vnderstanding this diuision to grow amongst the Englishmen, and that they were diuided into parts, set vpon them so much to their disaduantage, that he distressed them, and tooke or slue the more part of them: but sir Robert Knols with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Britaine, and there saued himselfe, and those that followed him. ¶ Here you may sée, how those that before through amitie and good agreement were of such force as their enimies durst not once assaie to annoie them, now by strife and dissention among themselues were slaine or taken by the same enimies, and brought to confusion. To which purpose it is properlie and trulie said,

Bermondsey. Sir Robert Knolles borne in Cheshire.

Sir Robert Knolles counsell not followed.

Discord what commeth of it. *Caxton.*

Lis odium gignit, charos concordia stringit.

In this meane time that sir Robert Knols made this voiage through the realme of France, the prince of Wales laid siege to the citie of Limoges, which was reuolted to the Frenchmen. There were with him at the laieng of this siege, his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, sir Guichard Dangle, sir Lois de Harecourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenaie, the lord of Pinane, the lord of Tannaibouton, sir Perciuall de Coulongne, sir Geffrie de Argenton, Poictouins: and of Gascoignes, the lord of Mountferrant, the lord de Chaumount, the lord de Longueren, sir Amerie de Tharse, the lords of Pommiers, Mucident de l'Esparre, the Souldich de Lestrade, the lord of Gerond, and manie other: of Englishmen there were, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Ros, the lord William Beauchampe, sir Michaell de la Pole, sir Stephan Goussenton, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Baldwin Freuille, sir Simon Burlie, sir Dangousse, sir Iohn Deuereux, sir William Menille or (as some copies haue) Neuille, and manie other. There was also sir Eustace Dambreticourt, and of the companions, sir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the beginning of these warres being turned French, was by the persuasion of sir Robert Knols procured to returne againe to the princes seruice before the siege of Durmelle.

Froissard. The citie of Limoges besieged.

The prince being thus accompanied with these worthie capteins and men of armes, to the number of twelue hundred, beside a thousand archers and other footmen, indeuored by all waies he could deuise to indamage them within. In the end he caused the walles to be vndermined, and quite reuersed into the ditch, & then giuing assault, entered by the breach, and made an huge slaughter of them within, in somuch that of men, women, and children (for none were spared in respect of age or sex) there were slaine and beheaded that daie aboue thrée thousand. The bishop with certeine knights and capteins were taken and had their liues granted, though the bishop was in great danger to haue lost his head, bicause he was a cheefe dooer in yéelding the citie before vnto the Frenchmen.

Limoges taken by force.

Whilest

Polydor. *Froissard.*

Whilest the prince laie at siege before Limoges (a litle before he wan it) thither came to him his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, the lord Ros, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Robert Rous, sir Iohn Saintlo, and sir William Beauchampe, with a faire number of men of war, spears, and archers. The prince then after he had woone Limoges, and executed some crueltie there to the terrour of other; his maladie which still continued vpon him, rather increased than diminished, so that he was aduised by physicians to returne into England, in hope that change of aire should restore him to health.

The prince returned into England. *Thom. Wals.*

For the which consideration and other causes of businesse which he had to doo with his father, touching certeine weightie affaires he tooke the sea, and came ouer into England, leauing the gouernement of Aquitaine vnto his brother the duke of Lancaster, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of Ianuarie.

The king of Nauarre cõmeth ouer into England. *Polydor.*

Moreouer in this 44 yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and there talked with him of such matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the king of Nauarre could not assure the king of such couenants as should haue passed betwixt them two, it was not thought meet by the kings councell to worke too far vpon his bare word, that had before time shewed apparant proofes of his inconstant dealing. And suerlie this doubt arose not without cause, as his dooings shortlie after declared: for although he seemed now at this present to be a verie enimie to the French king, yet shortlie after he was reconciled to him againe, and became his great freend for the time it lasted.

The king of Nauars constancie suspected. *Froissard.*

This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a parlement called, in the which there was demanded of the spiritualtie a subsidie of

1371.

An. Reg. 45. *Caxton.* A subsidie.

fiftie thousand pounds, and as much of the laitie. The temporall men soone agréed to that paiment, but the cleargie excused themselues with faire words and shifting answers: in somuch that the king tooke displesure with them, and deposed certeine spirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the chancellor, the priuie seale, the treasuror, and such others, in whose roomes he placed temporall men.

Spirituall men deposed.

Cardinals appointed to treat of peace.

The bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Beauuois being both cardinals, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace. But albeit they did their indeuour therein, and mooued both kings to the vttermost of their powers, yet their motions tooke none effect, and therefore was the warre pursued to the vttermost betwixt the parties, & namelie in Aquitaine, where the fortresses were so intermedled one with an other, some English, and some French, that one knew not how to beware of an other, nor to auoid the danger, so that the countrie of Poictou and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation. Sir Robert Knols, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Iohn Triuet, and sir Hugh Hastings, diuiding their powers insunder, went to recouer townes, some in one quarter, and some in an other, and certeine they assaied, but preuailed not: the inhabitants doubting to be punished for their vntruths, made such stout resistance.

Polydor.

After this, the duke of Lancaster appointed sir Robert Knols to repaire againe to Calis, and by the waie (if occasion serued) to attempt the recouerie of Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iournie through France by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and bicause in comparison to this man, all the English capteins were litle feared of the Frenchmen, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the constable of France, leauing the fortresses in the marches of Aquitaine sufficientlie stuffed with men of warre and munition, followed sir Robert Knols, still readie to assaile the hindermost companies, or else to set on the sides of his enimies. So that there chanced manie skirmishes betwixt them, & manie men were slaine on both parts; but at length, when sir Robert Knols saw no likelihood to atchiue his purposed intent in recouerie of the townes of Ponthieu, as Abuile and other, he drew streight to Calis, and the constable retired backe into France.

The feare which the enimies had of sir Ro. Knols. Sir Berthã de Cleaquin.

1372.

In this 46 yeare, sir Robert Ashton was sent into Ireland as lord deputie there, and in the same yeare, the duke of Lancaster being as then a widower, maried the ladie Constance

An. Reg. 46.

eldest daughter to Peter king of Spaine, which was slaine by his bastard brother Henrie (as

(as before ye haue heard:) ¶ Also the lord Emund earle of Cambridge maried the ladie Isabell, sister to the same Constance. ¶ Their other sister named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, son to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this life a little before this time at Baionne, where they were all three left as hostages by their father, when the prince went to bring him home into his countrie (as before yée may read.) Froissard writeth, that the duke married the ladie Constance in Gascoigne, and that shortlie after he returned into England with his said wife and hir sister, leauing the capitall de Bueffz, and other lords of Gascoigne and Poictou in charge with the rule of those countries. By reason of that marriage, the duke of Lancaster, as in right of his wife being the elder sister, caused himselfe to be intituled king of Castile, and his said wife quéene of the same realme.

The earle of Hereford being sent to the sea, with certeine ships of warre, was incountered by the Flemish fléet, before an hauen in Britaine called the Baie, where was fought a sore battell, and long continued for the space of thrée houres: howbeit finallie the victorie abode with the Englishmen, notwithstanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better prouided for the matter. There were taken of them fiue and twentie ships, with their Admerall Iohn Peterson. They had beene at Rochell for wine, and now were come to the Baie for salt vpon their returne homeward, and hearing that the Englishmen would come that waie, staied for them, and first gaue the onset. For yée must remember, that by reason that the earle of Flanders had married his daughter to the duke of Burgognie, which he had first promised to the earle of Cambridge, there was no perfect fréendship betwixt the realme of England, and the countries of the said earle of Flanders.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poictou, that was come ouer with the duke of Lancaster, to procure the king to send some new aid into Aquitaine, was for his approoued valiancie and tried truth to the king of England, made knight of the garter. And moreouer at his instance the king rigged a nauie of ships, and appointed the earle of Penbroke as generall, to saile with the same into Aquitaine, and there to remooue the siege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell. The earle according to his commission tooke the sea with a fléet of fortie ships prepared for him: but yer he could enter the hauen of Rochell, he was assailed by an huge fleet of Spaniards, and there vanquished, taken prisoner, & led into Spaine. The Spaniards had for capteins foure skilfull warriours, Ambrose Bouquenegre, Cabesse de Vake or Vakadent, Dom Ferand du Pion, and Rodigo de la Rochell, who had vnder their gouernement fortie great carrauels, and thirteene trim barkes throughlie furnished and appointed with good mariners and men of warre.

Sir Guichard Dangle made knight of the Garter. *Polydor. Caxton.*

The earle of Penbroke set into Guien. *Froissard.*

The earle of Penbroke had with him nothing the like number of ships, nor men: for (as Froissard writeth) he had not past two and twentie knights with him, or (as other haue) not past twelue, being for the more part of his owne retinue or houshold: and yet those few Englishmen and Poictouins that were there with him, bare themselues right valiantlie, and fought it out to the vttermost. There were slaine sir Simon Houssagre, sir Iohn de Mortague, and sir Iohn Tuchet; and there were taken prisoners, besides the earle himselfe, sir Robert Buffort, sir Iohn Curson, sir Othes de Grandson, sir Guichard Dangle, the lord of Pinane, sir Iohn de Griueres, sir Iaques de Surgieres, the lord of Tannaibouton, sir Iohn de Hardane, and others. This battell was fought on Midsummer euen, in this six and fortith yeare of king Edwards reigne. The earle had (as Froissard writeth) treasure with him, to haue waged thrée thousand men of warre, which neuer did anie man good, for (as he was informed) the ship wherein he was aboord, perished with diuerse other being burnt or sunke. ¶ The English writers saie, that it was no maruell though this mishap chanced vnto him, bicause he had in parlement spoken against men of the church, in giuing counsell that they might be constreined to paie grieuous subsidies, towards the maintenance of the kings warre, and that no lesse beauie paiments

These foure last remembred came forth of Rochell to aid the earle.

and subsidies, should be imposed vpon them, than vpon the secular sort. Wherein he seemed to bewraie a malicious mind against the clergie, who as in no age they haue wanted foes, so in his time they found few frèends, being a generation appointed and ordeined in their cradels to be contemned of the world, speciallie of great men, of whose fauour and goodwill it is truelie & rightlie said,

Gratia magnatum nescit habere statum.

By reason of this misfortune thus happened to the English fleet, the Frenchmen recouered manie townes and castels out of the Englishmens hands, in the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Limosin, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

Froissard. Yuans a Welsh gentleman. Sir Edmund Rous.

About the same time the French king sent foure thousand men to the sea, vnder the guiding of one Yuans a banished Welsh gentleman, the which landing in the Isle of Guernesey, was incountered by the captein of that Ile called sir Edmund Rous, who had gathered eight hundred men of his owne souldiers togither, with them of the Ile, and boldlie gaue battell to the Frenchmen: but in the end the Englishmen were discomfited, and foure hundred of them slaine, so that sir Edmund Rous fled into the castell of Cornet, & was there besieged by the said Yuans, till the French king sent to him to come backe from thence, and so he did, leauing the castell of Cornet, and sir Edmund Rous within it as he found him. The Frenchmen this yeare recouered the citie of Poictiers, Rochell also, and the most part of all Poictou, and finallie laid siege to Towars in Poictou, wherein a great number of the lords of that countrie were inclosed, the which fell to a composition with the Frenchmen to haue an abstinence of warre for themselues, and their lands, till the feast of saint Michaell next insuing, which should be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they sent to the king of England their souereigne lord, to certifie him what conditions they had agréed vnto, that if they were not aided by him, or by one of his sonnes within the said tearme, then they to yéeld them and their lands to the obeisance of the French king.

The prosperous successe of the Frenchmen in Poictou.

Towars in danger to be lost. *Th. Walsing.*

Not long before this, the capitall of Bueffz was taken prisoner, and sir Thomas Percie, with diuerse other Englishmen and Gascoignes before Soubise by sir Yuans of Wales and other French capteins, so that the countries of Poictou and Xaintonge were in great danger to be quite lost, if spéedie succours came not in time. Where vpon king Edward aduertised of that agreement which they within Towars had made, raised an armie, rigged his ships, and in August tooke the sea, purposing to come before the daie assigned, to the succours of that fortresse: but the wind continued for the space of nine wéekes so contrarie vnto his intent, that he was still driuen backe and could not get forward toward the coast of Rochell, where he thought to haue landed, so that finallie when the daie of rescuing Towars came, he nor anie of his sonnes could appeare in those parts, and so to his great displeasure he returned home, and licenced all his people to depart to their houses. By this means was Towars deliuered to the Frenchmen, which ceassed not in such occasions of aduantage to take time, and follow the steps of prosperous fortune.

1373.

An. Reg. 47. The duke of Britaine.

About this season the duke of Britaine being sore displeased in his mind, that the Englishmen susteined dailie losses in the parts of Aquitaine, would gladlie haue aided their side, if he might haue got the nobles of his countrie to haue ioined with him, but the lords Clisson and de la Vale, with the vicount of Roan, and other the lords and barons of Britaine, so much fauoured the French king, that he perceiued they would reuolt from him, if he attempted any thing against the Frenchmen. He therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of England his quarell, and fearing to be attached by his owne subiects, and sent to Paris, dispatched messengers to K. Edward, requiring him to send some power of men of warre into Britaine, to defend him against the malice of such as were altogither French and enemies to England.

The lord Neuill sent into Britaine.

King Edward forthwith sent ouer the lord Neuill, with foure hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, the which arriuing at saint Matthewes de fine Poterne, remained there all the winter. Wherevpon the Britaines being sore offended therewith, closed

their townes and fortresses against their duke, and shewed much euil towards him. The constable of France sir Berthram de Cleaquin, laieng siege to the towne and castell of of Sireth in Poictou, discomfited a number of Englishmen that came to raise his siege, by meanes whereof he got not onelie Sireth, but also Niort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and fortresses which the Englishmen held till that day within Poictou, Xaintonge, and Rochellois. Shortlie after this, the constable returned into France, and was appointed by the king there to go with an armie of men of warre into Britaine, and there to take into his hands all such townes and fortresses as belonged to the duke of Britaine, bicause he had alied himselfe with the king of England, and receiued Englishmen into his countrie, to the preiudice of the realme of France.

Englishmen discomfited by the constable of France.

Townes woone by him.

The constable of Fra'e sent into Britaine.

The duke being aduertised of the constables comming, was counselled by sir Robert Knols (whom the king of England had sent to aid him) that he should passe ouer into England, and there to be a suter in his owne cause for more aid to be sent into Britaine, to resist the Frenchmen that now sought to bring the whole countrie into their possession. The duke inclining to this aduise, went ouer into England, and in the meane time the constable came and wan the most part of all the townes and fortresses of that duchie, except Brest, where sir Robert Knols was, and certeine other. The earle of Salisburie with a great nauie of ships, well furnished with men of armes and archers, laie vpon the coast of Britaine all that time, and greatlie comforted them within Brest, in so much that he came on land, and offered battell to the constable if he would haue come forward & receiued it.

Sir Robert Knols.

The duke of Britaine cōmeth ouer into England.

The earle of Salisburie.

In the moneth of Iulie in this seuen and fourtith yeare of King Edwards reigne, the duke of Lancaster was sent ouer vnto Calis with an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) but as Froissard saith, they were but thirteene thousand, as thrée thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers. This voiage had béene in preparing for the space of thrée yeares before. The duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the English nobilitie, beside the duke of Lancaster that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Edward Spenser that was constable of the host, the lords Willoughbie, de la Pole, Basset, and diuerse others. Of knights, sir Henrie Percie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertsart, Walter Hewet, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Stephen Cousington, sir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

Polydor. The duke of Lancaster sent ouer into France with an armie.

Ia. Meir. Froissard.

Noble men that went with him in that iourne.

When they had made readie their cariages and other things necessarie for such a iournie which they had taken in hand, that is to say, to passe through the realme of France vnto Burdeaux, they set forward, hauing their armie diuided into thrée battels. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the fore ward: the two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine, the middle ward or battell, and the rereward was gouerned by the lord Spenser constable of the host. They passed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coasted the countrie of Arthois, and passed the water of Some at Corbie. They destroied the countries as they went, and marched not past thrée leages a day. They assailed none of the strong townes, nor fortresses. For the French king had so stuffed them with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceiued they should trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they rested them seuen daies, and at their departure set fire on the towne, bicause they could not win the church which was kept against them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and so marched forward, passing the riuers of Ysare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coasted them, but durst not approch to giue them battell.

They passed through the countrie without assaulting any townes.

Neere to Ribaumount, about 80 Englishmen of sir Hugh Caluerlies band were distressed by 120 Frenchmen: & likewise beside Soissons, 120 English speares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie speares, and twentie archers were vanquished by a Burgonian knight called sir Iohn de Vienne, that had with him thrée hundred French speares. Of more hurt by anie incounters I read not that the Englishmen susteined in this voiage.

Fabian.

For

The Frenchmen meant not to fight with the Englishmen. *Polydor.*

For the Frenchmen kept them aloofe, and meant not to fight with their enemies, but onelie to keepe them from vittels, and fetching of forrage abroad, by reason whereof the Englishmen lost manie horsses, and were in deed driuen to great scarsitie of vittels. When they had passed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderstood how the Frenchmen laid themselues in sundrie ambushes to distresse them, if they might espie the aduantage: but the duke of Lancaster placing his light horssemen, with part of the archers in the fore ward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to couer that battell, wherein he himselfe was, the residue of the horssemen with the rest of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and so causing them to keepe close togither, marched foorth till he came into Poictou, & then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the English obeisance, he began a new spoile, killing the people, wasting the countrie, and burning the houses and buildings euerie where as he passed, & so finallie about Christmasse came to Burdeaux.

The order of the duke of Lancasters armie in marching.

He cõmeth into Burdeaux.

Froissard.

Whilest the duke of Lancaster was thus passing through the realme of France, pope Gregorie the eleuenth sent the archbishop of Rauenna and the bishop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to & fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the duke of Lancaster: but the duke and the Englishmen kept on their waie, and so finallie keeping forwards about Christmasse came to Burdeaux. The legats pursued their treatie, but the parties were so hard, that no reasonable offers would be taken. The two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine laie in Burdeaux all the residue of the winter, and the Lent following. The same yeare that the duke of Lancaster made this iournie thorough France, the king of England sent certeine ambassadors to the pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reseruations of benefices within his realme of England, but that those which were elected bishops might enioy their sees, and be confirmed of their metropolitaine and archbishop, as of ancient time they had beene accustomed.

The archb. of Rauenna sent from the pope.

Caxton.

Messengers sent to the pope about reseruations of benefices.

The pope would not at that present determine anie thing herein, but commanded them that were sent, that they should certifie him againe of the kings pleasure and further meaning, in those articles and other touching him and his realme. Also this yeare it was decreed in parlement, that cathedrall churches might inioy the right of their elections, and that the king should not hinder them that were chosen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations. ¶ In the same parlement was granted to the king a disme of the cleargie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie. ¶ Moreouer at the sute of the popes legats, a respit of war was granted betwixt the kings of England and France, but so that the Englishmen lost in Gascoine a great number of castels and townes, by reason of a composition made before, that if they were not rescued by the middest of August, they should then yeeld themselues French: and bicause the truce was agreed vpon to indure till the last of August, the Englishmen tooke no heed to the matter. It was further agréed vpon, that in the beginning of September, there should méet in the marches of Picardie, the duke of Lancaster, and other of the English part, as commissioners to intreat of peace; and the duke of Aniou and other on the French part, the popes legat to be there also as mediator. When this agréement was thus accorded, the duke of Lancaster, and the duke of Britaine, with the earls of Warwike, Suffolke and Stafford, the lords Spenser, Willoughbie and others, tooke the sea at Burdeaux the eight of Iulie, and returned into England.

Cathedrall churches.

Cõmissioners appointed to meet and commune of peace.

Death of the archb. of Can.

This yeare the fifth of Iune, died William Wittelsey archbishop of Canturburie, after whose death the moonks chose to that see the cardinall of Winchester, with which election the king was nothing contented, so that after much monie spent by the moonks to obteine their purpose, at length they were disappointed, and doctor Simon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, who before was bishop of London, being the seauen and fiftith archbishop that had ruled that see. He was chosen by the appointment of the king,

Simon Sudberie elected archbishop.

king, and consent of the pope. For alredie was that decree worne out of vse, whereby the elections of bishops haue rested in the voices of them of the cathedrall church: for not onelie this Simon archbishop of Canturburie, but other also were ordeined bishops from thencefoorth, by the will and authoritie of the popes and kings of this realme, till at length it came to passe, that onelie the kings instituted bishops, and the bishops ordeined other gouernours vnder them of meaner degrees.

Thus the popes within a while lost all their authoritie, which they had before time within this realme in the appointing of bishops, and other rulers of churches; and in like manner also they lost shortlie after their authoritie of leuieng tenths of spirituall promotions, the which they in former times had vsed, to the great detriment of the realme, which lost nothing by this new ordinance: for the English people were not compelled afterwards to depart with their monie vnto strangers, so largelie as before, to content the greedinesse of that coruorant generation of Romanists, whose insatiable desires would admit no stint, as infected with the dropsie of filthie auarice, for

Omnia des cupido, sua non perit inde cupido,
Quò plus sunt potæ plus sitiuntur aquæ.

The begining of the statute of Premunire.

This restraining reformation concerned the benefit of the whole land verie much: for K. Edward the third was the first that caused an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie should seeke to obteine anie spirituall promotions within this realme of the pope, or bring anie sutes to his court, except by waie of appeale: and that those that were the aiders of any such offendors against this act, should run in danger of the same paine, which act by those kings that succeeded was not onelie commanded to be kept, but also confirmed with new penalties, and is called the statute of Premunire. *Caxton.*

1375.

An. Reg. 49.

The commissioners meet at Bruges.

A truce taken betwixt England & France. *Fabian. Froissard.*

About Candlemasse there met at Bruges as commissioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king, the dukes of Aniou, and Burgognie, the earle of Salebruce, and the bishop of Amiens with others. Finallie, when they could not agree vpon anie good conclusion for peace, they accorded vpon a truce, to indure to the first of Maie next insuing in all the marches of Calis, and vp to the water of Some; but the other places were at libertie to be still in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed vpon to continue till the feast of All saints next insuing. About the same time that the foresaid commissioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did so much with his father in law king Edward, that about the beginning of Aprill he sent ouer with him into Britaine the earles of Cambridge, March, Warwike, and Stafford, the lord Spenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camois, sir Edward Twiford, sir Richard Ponchardon, sir Iohn Lesselles, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other worthie capteins with a power of three thousand archers, and two thousand men of armes, all verie well furnished to fight.

Tho. Wals.

An armie sent ouer into Britaine with the duke.

Townes woonwan.

Sir Iohn Deureux.

They landed at saint Matthews or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they tooke the castell by force, and the towne by surrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wan it likewise by force of assault, and then went to Brieu de Vaux, a towne stronglie fensed, and well manned. In hope yet to win it, the duke of Britaine and the English lords laid siege to it, but hearing that an English knight, one sir Iohn Deureux was besieged in a fortresse which he had newlie made, by the vicount of Roan, the L. Clisson, and other of the French part, they raised from Brieu de Vaux, and hasted forward to the succor of sir Iohn Deureux, ernestlie wishing to find their enimies in the field, that they might giue them battell: but the British lords hearing that the duke and the Englishmen approched, made no longer abode, but got them with all speed vnto Campellie a towne of great strength not farre off, and therein closed themselues for their more safetie. The duke of Britaine hearing that they were fled thither, followed them, and laid siege round about the towne, inforcing himselfe to obteine the place, and so had doone in deed by all likelihood verie shortlie, if at the same time, by reason of a truce taken for twelue moneths, he

This truce was concluded to indure from midsummer in this 1375, vnto midsummer in y yeare next insuing. *Tho. Walsi.*

he had not beene commanded by the duke of Lancaster, without delaie to ceasse his war, and breake vp his campe: as he did.

There were sundrie meetings of the commissioners for this treatie of peace, and still they tooke longer time for continuance of the truce. And bicause that Britaine and all the other countries of France (as should séeme) were included in this truce, it seemeth that this was some second truce, and not the first truce, which included onelie the marches of Calis, and those parts vp to the water of Some. But howsoeuer it was, the duke of Britaine being in a great forwardnesse to haue recouered his duchie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to haue reduced his rebellious subiects vnder due obeisance againe, was now by this truce concluded out of time, greatlie disappointed, and so breake vp his siege from before Campellie, and sent home the English armie. He went himselfe to Aulroie, where his wife was; and taking order for the fortifieng and keeping of those places, which were in his possession, he came backe againe into England, and brought his wife with him.

The duke of Britaine disappointed by the truce.

A litle before the concluding of this truce, the Englishmen and others within the fortresse of saint Sauiour le vicount, in the Ile or rather Close (as they called it) of Constantine, which had beene long besieged, made a composition, that if they were not rescued by a certeine daie, then should they yéeld vp the place to the Frenchmen. Now bicause this truce was agréed before the daie appointed for the rescue of that place, with condition that either part should inioy and hold that which at that present they had in possession, during the terme of the truce; the Englishmen thought that saint Sauiour le vicount should be saued by reason of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie auouched, that the first couenant ought to passe the last ordinance. So that when the daie approched, the French king sent thither six thousand speares, knights, and esquiers, beside other people: and bicause none appeared to giue them battell, they had the towne deliuered to them.

S. Sauiour le vicount yéelded.

Thom. Wals. Fabian.

¶ In this 49 yeare of K. Edwards reigne, a great death chanced in this land, and in diuerse other countries, so that innumerable numbers of people died and perished of that contagious sickenesse. Amongst other the lord Edward Spenser died the same yeare, a man of great renowme and valiantnesse. Also the earle of Penbroke, hauing compounded for his ransome, as he was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewards through France, he fell sicke, and being brought in an horsselitter to Arras, he died there, on the 16 daie of Aprill, leauing a sonne behind him not past two yeares of age, begot of the countesse his wife called Anne, daughter vnto the lord Walter de Mannie. Polydor mistaking the matter, saith that Marie the countesse of Penbroke, who builded Penbroke hall in Cambridge, was wife to this Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke, whereas in deed she was wife to his ancestor Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke (as Iohn Stow in his summarie hath trulie noted.) She was daughter to Guy earle of saint Pole, a worthie ladie and a vertuous, tendering so much the wealthfull state of this land (a great part wherof consisteth in the good bringing vp of youth, and training them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenance of students she began the forsaid commendable foundation, about the yeare of Christ 1343, vpon a plot of ground that was hir owne, hauing purchased licence thereto of the king, to whom she was of kin.

The lord Spenser departeth this life. *Polydor.*

The earle of Penbroke deceasseth.

Iohn Stow.

During that greeuous mortalitie and cruell pestilence before remembered, the pope at the instant request of the English cardinals, granted vnto all those that died in England, being shriuen and repentant of their sinnes, cleane remission of the same, by two buls inclosed vnder lead. The duke of Lancaster about the feast of All saints met with the French commissioners againe at Bruges. There was with him the duke of Britaine, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king there appeered the duke of Burgognie, the earle of Salebruch, and the bishop of Amiens. And at saint Omers laie the duke of Aniou, the archbishop of Rauenna, and the bishop of Carpentràs tooke great paine to go to and fro betwéene the parties: but they were sofar at ods in their demands, and as it were

Froissard. Commissioners eftsoones met to common of peace.

were of set purpose on the French behalfe, that no good could be doone betwixt them. The demands on both parts.
The French king required to haue Calis raced, and to haue againe fourtéene hundred thousand franks, which were paid for the ransome of king Iohn. The king of England demanded to haue all the lands restored to him in Gascoigne and Guien cléerelie exempt of all resorts. So when nothing could be concluded touching a final peace, the truce was renewed to indure till the feast of S. Iohn Baptist next insuing, which should be in the yeare 1376.

In this fiftith yeare, king Edward assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, 1376
in the which was demanded a subsidie of the commons for the defense of the kings dominions against his enimies. Wherevnto answer was made by the common house, that they might no longer beare such charges, considering the manifold burthens by them susteined in time past. And further they said, it was well knowne the king was rich inough to withstand his enimies, if his monie and treasure were well imploied: but the land had béene of long time euill guided by euill officers, so that the same could not be stored with chaffer, merchandize, or other riches. The commons also declared whom they tooke and iudged to be chéefe causer of this disorder, as the duke of Lancaster, & the L. Latimer lord chamberleine to the king; also dame Alice Perers, whom the king had long time kept to his concubine; and also one named sir Richard Sturrie, by whose sinister meanes and euill counsell the king was misled, and the land euill gouerned. Wherefore the commons by the mouth of their speaker sir Peers de la Mere, required that those persons might be remooued from the king, and other more discreet set in their roomes about his person, and so put in authoritie, that they might sée to his honour and weale of the realme, more than the other had doone before them.

An. Reg. 50.
A parlement.
The lord Latimer.
Dame Alice Perers.
Sir Richard Sturrie.
The request of the commons.

This request of the commons by support of the prince was allowed, and granted, so that the said persons and other of their affinitie were commanded to depart the court, and other (such as were thought méet by the prince, and the sage péeres of the realme) were placed in their stéeds. ¶ Shortlie after, the commons granted to the king his whole request, so that he had of euerie person, man and woman, being aboue the age of fourtéene yeares, foure pence, poore people that liued of almesse onelie excepted. ¶ Likewise the cleargie granted, that of euerie beneficed man, the king should haue twelue pence, and of euerie priest not beneficed foure pence (the foure orders of friers onelie excepted.) But yet this monie could be leuied, the king was constreined to borrow certeine great summes in sundrie places, and therefore he sent to the citie of London for foure thousand pounds. And bicause Adam Staple the maior was not diligent in furthering that lone, he was by the kings commandement discharged on the 22 daie of March, and Richard Whitington mercer chosen in his place.

On the eight of Iune being Trinitie sundaie (the parlement yet continuing) that noble and famous prince Edward the kings sonne departed this life within the kings palace at Westminster. His bodie was conueied to Canturburie with great solemnitie, and there honorablie buried. He died in the 46 yeare of his age: a prince of such excellent demeanour, so valiant, wise and politike in his doings, that the verie and perfect representation of knighthood appeared most liuelie in his person, whilest he liued, so that the losse of him stroke a generall sorrow into the harts of all the English nation. For such was his towardnesse, or rather perfection in princelie gouernement, that if he had liued and atteined to the crowne, euerie man iudged that he would suerlie haue excéeded the glorious renowme of all his ancestors. This princes death is bréefelie touched by C. Okland, who (after mention made of the great victories atchiued by his father the king against his enimies, and concluding him to be verie happie and fortunate in the issue of his attempts) saith

The blacke prince departeth this life.
Polydor.
He is buried at Canturburie.

——— inclytus ille monarcha
Vndiq; ter fœlix, nisi quòd trux Atropos occat
Ante diem gnati fatalia stamina vitæ.

The

Froissard. The French king kept his obsequie in most reuerend wise, in the chapell of his palace at Paris. After his death, the king called to him againe the foresaid persons, that had

Sir Péers de la Mere. *Fabian.* beene from him remooued, and the said sir Peers de la Mere that was speaker in the parlement (as before yée haue hard) for his eloquence shewed in reprouing the misgouernment of the said persons (and namelie of the said dame Alice Peres) was now committed

The truce prolonged. *Polydor.* to prison within the castell of Notingham. About the same time the truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Aprill next following. ¶ King Edward, after the deceasse of his sonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, sonne to the said prince, as heire to him,

Polydor. prince of Wales, and gaue to him the earledomes of Chester & Cornewall. ¶ Moreouer, bicause the king waxed feeble and sicklie through langor (as some suppose) conceiued for the death of his sonne, he appointed the rule of the relme to his sonne the duke of Lancaster, ordeining him as gouernour vnder him, and so he continued during his fathers life.

A riot. *Caxton.* A great riot happened betwixt the seruants of the earle of Warwike, and the tenants of the abbat of Euesham, so that manie of the said abbats seruants were slaine and hurt. The fish-ponds and warrens belonging to the abbie were broken and spoiled, so that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not beene sent downe to the

The nobles sworne to the prince of Wales. earle, commanding him to staie his men from such misdemeanours. All the nobles of the realme were caused to sweare, that after the kings decease they shuld admit and mainteine Richard prince of Wales for their king and souereigne lord. And vpon Christmasse day, the king caused him to sit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high estate, as representing the personage of the heire apparant to the crowne.

1377. This yeare being the one and fiftith and last of king Edwards reigne, there were sent

An. Reg. 51. *Froissard.* Comissioners sét to Bruges. againe to Bruges as commissioners to treat of peace on the part of king Edward, Iohn lord Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the maior of London. And for the French part thither came the earle of Salebruch, monsieur de Chatillon, and Phillibert Lespoit. And still the two legats were present as mediatours betwixt the parties, moouing a mariage to be had, betwixt Richard prince of Wales, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the French king. But they departed in sunder for this time without anie conclusion. But shortlie

Cõmissioners sent to Montreuill. after in Lent following, there was a secret meeting appointed to be had at Montreuill by the sea, whither came from the king of England, sir Richard Dangle a Poictouine, sir Richard Stan, & Geffrie Chaucer. For the French king there appeared the lord Coucie, and others. These commissioners treated a long season concerning the mariage, and

Truce eftsoones prolonged. when they had vnderstanding and felt each others meaning, they departed and made report of the same to their maisters. The truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Maie.

And in the meane time, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of saint Dauie lord chancellour of England, and the bishop of Hereford went ouer to Calis. In like case the lord of Coucie, and sir William Dorman chancellor of France came to Montreuill. But they durst not meet at anie indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that either partie had of other, for anie thing the legats could saie or doo. Thus these commissioners abode in

Sir Hugh Caluerlie lieutenant of Calis. that state till the truce was expired. And when the warre was open, then sir Hugh Caluerlie was sent ouer to Calis, to remaine vpon safe kéeping of that towne, as deputie there. The earle of Salisburie, and the other commissioners returned into England, and with

Tho. Walsi. Fabian. them the duke of Britaine. On the twelfth day of Aprill this yeare, one sir Iohn Minsterworth knight, was drawne, hanged, headed, and quartered at Tiborne, being first condemned and adiudged to suffer that execution before the maior of London, and other the kings

Sir Iohn Minsterworth beheaded. iustices in the Guildhall, for treason by him committed, in defrauding souldiers of their wages: for where he had receiued great summes of monie to make paiment thereof to them, he reteined the same to his owne vse.

Thom. Wals. Moreouer (as in the fortie foure yeare of this king yée haue heard) he was the chéefe procurer and setter forward of the dissention that rose in the armie, which vnder the leading

ing of sir Robert Knolles was sent into France. And when in that iournie he had lost most of his men, and was escaped himselfe into England, he laid all the blame on sir Robert Knolles, accusing him to the king of heinous treason; so as the king tooke no small displeasure against the said sir Robert, insomuch that he durst not returne into England, till he had pacified the kings wrath with monie, and that the knowne fidelitie of the man had warranted him against the malicious and vntrue suggestions of his enimies. Wherevpon the said Minsterworth perceiuing his craft to want the wished successe, he fled to the French king, and conspiring with him to annoie the realme of England by bringing the Spanish nauie to inuade the same, at length he was taken in the towne of Pampilona in Nauarre, and brought backe into England, where he tasted the deserued fruit of his contriued treason (as before yée haue heard.)

Thom. Walsi. Iohn Wiclife.

About this season, there rose in the vniuersitie of Oxenford a learned man Iohn Wiclife, borne in the north parts, who being a secular preest, and a student in diuinitie, began to propone certeine conclusions greatlie contrarie to the doctrine of the church in those daies established, speciallie he argued against moonks, and other men of religion that inioied great riches, and large possessions. There were diuerse that gaue good eare to him, insomuch that sundrie learned men of that vniuersitie preached and set foorth the doctrine that he taught. ¶ Amongst other articles which they held, these were the cheefe and principall.

The chéefest articles preached by Wiclife.

1 That the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, was not the bodie of Christ, but a figure thereof.

2 That the church of Rome was no more head of the vniuersall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Christ vnto Peter, than to anie other of the apostles, and that the pope had no more power in the keies of the church than anie other préest whatsoeuer.

3 That temporall lords might both lawfullie and meritoriouslie take the temporall goods and reuenues from the church, if it offended; and if anie temporall lord knew the church to offend, he was bound vnder paine of damnation to take from it the temporalties.

4 That the gospell is sufficient in this life to direct by rule euerie christian man.

5 That all other rules of saints, vnder the obseruing whereof diuers religious doo liue, ad no more perfection to the gospell, than washing ouer with lime dooth the wall.

6 That the pope, nor anie other prelat of the church, ought to haue anie prisons wherein to punish offendors.

These and manie other opinions did these men hold and mainteine, and diuerse lords and great men of the land fauoured their cause. But when these conclusions were brought before the pope, he condemned the number of 23 of those articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his buls to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London, that they should cause the said Wiclife to be apprehended, and examined vpon the said conclusions, which they did in presence of the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percie, and hearing his declaration, commanded him to silence, and in no wise to deale with those matters from thencefoorth, so that for a time, both he and his fellowes kept silence: but after at the contemplation of diuerse of the temporall lords, they preached and set foorth their doctrine againe.

Wiclife & his fellowes mainteined by certeine lords.

The same day that Wiclife was conuented thus at London, before the bishops and other lords, thorough a word spoken in reproch by the duke of Lancaster vnto the bishop of London, streightwaies the Londoners getting them to armour, meant to haue slaine the duke, & if the bishop had not staid them, they had suerlie set fire on the dukes house at the Sauoie: and with much adoo might the bishop quiet them. Among other reprochfull parts which in despite of the duke they committed, they caused his armes in the publike stréet to be reuersed as if he had béene a traitor, or some notorious offender. The duke and the lord Henrie Percie, whom the citizens sought in his owne house to haue slaine him,

The duke of Lancaster in danger by the Londoners.

The lord Percie.

him, if he had béen found, hearing of this riotous stur and rebellious commotion, forsooke their dinner and fled to Kenington, where the lord Richard, sonne to the prince, togither with his mother then remained, exhibiting before their presence, a grieuous complaint of the opprobrious iniuries doone vnto them, by the wilfull outrage of the Londoners. For this and other causes, the citizens were sore hated of the duke, in so much that he caused the maior & aldermen that then ruled to be discharged of their roomes, and other put in their places.

The king being more grieuouslie vexed with sickness from daie to daie, either increasing by the course therof, or renewed by some new surfet, finallie this yeare departed out of this transitorie life at his manour of Shéene, now called Richmond, the 21 daie of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord 1377, after he had liued 65 yeares, & reigned fiftie yeares, foure moneths, & 28 daies. His corpse was conueied from Sheene by his foure sonnes, namelie Lionell duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Cambridge, with other nobles of the realme, and solemnelie interred within Westminster church, with this epitaph in his memoriall:

Tho. Walsi. The decease of K. Edward the third. *Fabian*, pag. 262, 263.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens iubileum,
Inuictus pardus, pollens bellis Machabeum.

His issue. He had issue by his wife quéene Philip 7 sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died yoong, Lionell duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glocester, and an other William which died likewise yoong. He had also thrée daughters, Marie that was maried to Iohn of Mountford duke of Britaine, Isabell wedded to the lord Coucie earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in mariage with the earle of Penbroke.

His praise. This king, besides other his gifts of nature, was aided greatlie by his seemelie personage. He had a prouident wit, sharpe to conceiue and vnderstand: he was courteous and gentle, dooing all things sagelie and with good consideration, a man of great temperance and sobrietie. Those he chiefelie fauoured and aduanced to honour, and roomes of high dignitie, which excelled in honest conuersation, modestie, and innocencie of life, of bodie well made, of a conuenient stature, as neither of the highest nor lowest sort: of face faire and manlike, eies bright and shining, and in age bald, but so as it was rather a séemelinesse to those his ancient yeares than any disfiguring to his visage; in knowledge of martiall affaires verie skilfull, as the enterprises and worthie acts by him atchiued doo sufficientlie witnesse.

His proportion of bodie.

In what estimation he was had among strangers it may appeare, in that he was not onelie made vicar of the empire by the emperour Lewes of Bauiere, but also after the decease of the same emperour, diuerse of the electours, as Lewes marques of Brandenbourgh, Robert or Rupert count Palatine of the Rhene, and the yoong duke of Saxonie, with Henrie archbishop of Mentz, elected him to succéed in place of the said emperour Lewes. Neuerthelesse, he giuing them hartie thanks for the honour which they did vnto him herein, refused to take the charge vpon him, alledging that he could not haue time to supplie the roome, by reason of the warres that he had in France, to recouer his right which he had to that realme.

This is noted by writers to be a token of great wisedome in this noble king, that would not go about to catch more than he might well gripe. Examples of bountious liberalitie, and great clemencie he shewed manie, and the same verie notable; so that in maner he alone amongst all other kings was found to be one, subiect to none, or at the least, to verie light and small faults. But yet he was not void of euill haps: for whereas, during the terme of fortie yeares space he reigned in high felicitie, and as one happie in all his dooings:

dooings: so in the rest of his time that followed, he felt a wonderfull change in fortune (whom writers compare to the moone for hir variablenesse, and often alterations, as neuer at a staie, saieng, Prosperitie vnstable.

Vultus fortunæ variatur imagine lunæ,
Crescit, decrescit, in eodem sistere nescit)

shewing hirselfe froward to him in most part of his proceedings: for such is the state of this world, seldome dooth prosperitie continue, and guide the sterne of our worldlie dooings, as it well appeared by this noble prince. For in the first yeares of his reigne, after he once began to gouerne of himselfe, he recouered that which had béene lost in Scotland, by great victories obteined against his aduersaries in that land, and passed further into the same, than euer his grandfather king Edward the first had doone before him, subduing the countrie on each hand, so that he placed gouernors, and bestowed offices, lands, and liuings in that realme at his pleasure.

¶ Amongst other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a charter vnder his great seale conteining a grant made vnto Iohn Eure and his heires for his good seruice doone in those parts, of a manour called Ketnes in the countie of Forfar (which lieth in the north of Scotland) with a market euerie mondaie, and a faire for thrée daies togither at Michaelmasse, as the euen, the daie, and the morrow after. Also he granted to the same Iohn Eure, free warren thoroughout the same lordship. This Iohn Eure was ancestor vnto the lord Eure that now liueth, who hath the same charter in his possession. ¶ As for this kings victories in France, the same were such as might séeme incredible, if the consent of all writers in that age confirmed not the same. But as these victories were glorious, so yet they prooued not so profitable in the end: for whereas he had sore burdened his subiects with taskes and subsidies, at length they waxed wearie, and began to withdraw their forward minds to helpe him with such summes as had béene requisit for the maintenance of the warres, which the Frenchmen prolonged of purpose, and refused to trie their fortune any more in pight fields, wherby when he was constreined to be at continuall charges in such lingering warres, to defend that which he had erst gotten by force, and couenants of the peace; the sinewes of warre, to wit monie, began to faile him, and so the enimies recouered a great part of that which before time they had lost, both on the further side the seas, and likewise in Scotland. *Iohn Stow vpon conference referreth this to the last yeare of king Edward the first.*

This must needs be a great greefe vnto a prince of such a stout and valiant stomach, namelie sith he had béene so long time before accustomed to find fortune still so fauourable vnto him in all his enterprises. But finallie the thing that most greeued him, was the losse of that most noble gentleman, his déere sonne prince Edward, in whom was found all parts that might be wished in a worthie gouernour. But this and other mishaps that chanced to him now in his old yeares, might séeme to come to passe for a reuenge of his disobedience shewed to his father in vsurping against him, although it might be said, that he did it by constreint, and through the aduise of others. But whether remorse hereof, or of his other offenses mooued him, it may séeme (as some write) that the the consideration of this worlds mutabilitie, which he tried to the full, caused him (as is thought) to haue in mind the life in the world to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the church and colledge of saint Stephan at Westminster, and another at Cambridge called The Kings hall, giuing therevnto lands and reuenues, to the maintenance of them that would giue themselues vnto learning.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furnishing foorth of such other charges and expenses as he tooke in hand to beare out, he had some helpe by the siluer mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, in like manner as his grandfather king Edward the first had. For one Matthew Crowthorne keeper of his mines in those parts, yéelded diuerse accounts of the issues and profits of the same, betwéene the second and fifteenth yeare of his reigne, as well for the siluer as for the lead, after the siluer was fined from it. Also Iohn Moneron succeeding in the same office, accomptant of the profits of the same mines, from Michaelmasse *Mines of gold & siluer.*

Michaelmasse in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, vnto the second of Nouember in the three and twentith yeare, yéelded vpon his accounts, both the siluer and the lead thereof remaining. Moreouer he let by indenture in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, vnto Iohn Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his mines of gold, siluer, and copper, in the countie of Deuonshire, for terme of years. There is an account thereof remaining, and by the same (as it appeareth) was answered for the first yeare twentie markes. The second yeare the patentées died, and the king then disposed the same to others. In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, he committed by indenture his said mines in Deuonshire, to one maister Iohn Hanner, and one Herman Rainesthorpe of Boheme, minors, yéelding to the king the tenth part of the oare, as well of the gold and siluer, as of the lead and copper that should be gotten foorth of the said mines.

In this kings daies, there liued manie excellent men; both in learning, in vertue, and in martiall prowesse, as partlie is touched in this discourse of his reigne; and first, the said noble and most valiant king, the prince of Wales his sonne surnamed the blacke prince, the duke of Lancaster Iohn of Gant sonne to the king, and his father in law duke Henrie, Edmund earle of Cambridge, and after duke of Yorke; the earles of Warwike, Huntington, Salisburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell and others; the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Basset, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Walter de Mannie and Henuier, the lord Edward Spenser, the lord Iohn Chandois, the lord Iames Audeley, sir Iohn Copland, sir Thomas Felton, sir Robert Knolles, who (as I haue said) being born in Cheshire of meane parentage, through his manlie prowesse, and most skilfull experience in the warres, grew to be right famous.

Moreouer, sir Hugh Calnerlie borne in the same shire, the capitall de Beufe a Gascoigne, sir Thomas Percie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Baldwine Freuill, sir Iohn Harleston, sir Iames Pipe, sir Thomas Dagworth, & that valiant English knight sir Iohn Hawkewood, whose fame in the parts of Italie shall remaine for euer, where (as their histories make mention) he grew to such estimation for his valiant atchiued enterprises, that happie might that prince or common-wealth accompt themselues, that might haue his seruice, and so liuing there in such reputation, sometimes he serued the pope, somtimes the lords of Millane, now this prince or common-wealth, now that, and other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, would kéepe the same, till some liking enterteinment were offered, and then would he sell such a towne, where he had thus remained, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Barnabe lord of Millane gaue vnto him one of his base daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for hir dower.

This man was borne in Essex (as some write) who at the first became a tailor in London, & afterwards going to the warres in France, serued in the roome of an archer, but at length he became a capteine and leader of men of war, highlie commended and liked of amongst the souldiers, in so much that, when by the peace concluded at Bretignie, in the yeare 1360, great numbers of soldiers were discharged out of wages, they got themselues togither in companies, and without commandement of any prince, by whose authoritie they might make warre, they fell to of themselues, and sore harried and spoiled diuerse countries in the realme of France, as partlie yée haue heard: amongst whome this sir Iohn Hawkewood was one of the principall capteins, & at length went into Italie, to serue the marques of Montferrato, against the duke of Millane: although I remember that some write, how he came into that countrie with the duke of Clarance, but I thinke the former report be true: but it may well be, that he was readie to attend the said duke at his comming into Italie. And thus much concerning such famous capteins as serued this noble king Edward the third, although for bréefeness I passe ouer diuerse other, no lesse famous and worthie for their high manhood and tried valiancie to be remembred, than these afore mentioned.

Of learned men, these we find by Iohn Bale registered in the Centuries; Iohn Baconthrop borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, so excellentlie learned, as well in diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he procéed-

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ed doctor in either facultie at Oxenford and Paris, and wrote diuerse treatises, to his high and singular commendation; William Ockam, Iohn Bloxham a Carmelite frier, Nicholas Triuet borne in Northfolke, sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight, & one of the kings iusticiers, prooued excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and amongst other, two histories, and one booke of annales, he was by profession a blacke frier, and departed this life about the second yeare of this king Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1328; William Alnewike borne in Northumberland, in the towne whereof he tooke name, a frier Minor; Iohn Tanet borne in the Ile of Tanet, an excellent musician, and a moonke in Canturburie; Hugh of saint Neot, a Carmelite frier in Hertfordshire, a notable diuine as those daies gaue; William Alton borne in Hampshire, a blacke frier and a diuine.

Furthermore, Richard Stradley borne in the marches of Wales, a moonke and a diuine, writing certeine treatises of the scripture; William Herbert a Welshman and a frier Minor, wrote also certeine goodlie treatises of diuinitie; Richard Comington a frier of the order of the Cordeliers, a preacher, and a writer of diuinitie; William Exeter a doctor of diuinitie, and a prebendarie canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was borne; Lucas Bosden a westerne man, and by profession a Carmelite frier; Thomas Walleis a Dominike frier, a great diuine, as by such bookes as he wrote it may appeare; Thomas Pontius a moonke of Canturburie, Iohn Ridewall a graie frier, Henrie Costesay or Cossey a frier Minor, Geffrie Aleuant borne in Yorkeshire, a frier Carmelite; Iohn Euersden, a moonke in Burie in Suffolke, an historiographer; Simon Burneston, a doctor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike or blacke friers, as they called them here in England; Walter Burlie a doctor of diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onlie in Martine college in Oxford, but also in the Vniuersities and schooles abroad beyond the seas, in France and Germanie, & afterwards for his wisedome, good demeanor, & learning, he was reteined with the bishop of Vlmes in Suabenland, a region in high Germanie.

Amongst other treatises which he compiled, being manie, and namelie of naturall philosophie, he wrote a commentarie of the ethikes of Aristotle, and dedicated the same vnto the said bishop, a worke which hath beene highlie esteemed, not onelie in the Vniuersities of Italie, Germanie and France, but also here in our Vniuersities of England. To conclude, such was the fame of this doctor Burlie, that when the ladie Philip, daughter to the earle of Heinault should come ouer into England to be married to king Edward, this doctor Burlie was reteined by hir, and appointed to be hir almoner, and so continued in great estimation, in so much that after Edward prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward commonlie called the blacke prince, was borne, and able to learne his booke, the said Burlie among other was commanded to be one of his instructors.

By reason hereof, sir Simon Burlie, of whom I haue made some mention heretofore in this kings life, and more intend to speake, as occasion serueth in the next king, being sonne to sir Iohn Burlie, néere kinsman to the said doctor Burlie, was admitted among other yoong gentlemen, to be schoolefelow with the said prince, by occasion whereof he grew in such credit and fauour with the said prince, that afterwards when his son Richard of Burdeaux, that succéeded king Edward his father, was borne, the said prince for special trust and confidence which he had in the said sir Simon Burlie, committed the gouernance & education of his son the said Richard vnto him, whereby he was euer after highlie in fauour with the said Richard, and no lesse aduanced by him, when he came to inioy the crowne of this realme.

But now to other learned men of that age. Iohn Barwike a frier Minor, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxford; William Notingham, Roger Glacton, borne in Huntingtonshire, an Augustin frier; Iohn Polestéed borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Ipswich or Gippeswich as they write it; Walter Kingham a frier also of the order of those Dominikes, which they called pied friers; Roger of Chester a moonke of that citie and

and an historiographer: Thomas de Hales a frier Minor, Robert Eliphat a graie frier, Geffrie Grandfield an Augustine or Blacke frier, Hugh Wirlie a Carmelite frier of Norwich, William Eincourt a blacke frier of Boston, Hugh Ditton borne in Cambridgeshire a frier preacher, Adam Carthusianus a doctor of diuinitie, Iohn Luttrell an excellent philosopher and well seene in the mathematicals, Walter Cotton and Thomas Eckleston both graie friers, Iohn Folsham a Carmelite frier in Norwich, Benet of Northfolke, William Southhampton so called of the towne where he was borne, a blacke frier.

Moreouer, Iohn Burgh a moonke wrote an historie, and certeine homilies; Adam Nidzard a master of art, Edmund Albon, Robert Counton a graie frier, William Lissie a frier Minor, Iohn Repingale borne in Lincolneshire a Carmelite or white frier, as they called them; Christopher Mothusensis a blacke frier, Richard Aungeruile borne in Suffolke, who was bishop of Duresme, and lord chancellor of England; Iohn Manduith, Walter Heminford a canon of Gisborne an historiographer, Iohn Olnie borne in Glocestershire, in an Ile so called, whereof he tooke his surname a Chartreux moonke; Thomas Staueshaw a frier Minor in Bristow, Robert of Leicester taking that surname of the towne where he was borne, a Franciscane or graie frier; Iohn of Northhampton borne in that towne, and a Carmelite frier, an excellent mathematician.

Adde to the foresaid learned men, Robert Worsop borne in Yorkeshire, and a blacke frier in Tickill; William Bruniard a blacke frier, Richard Chichester, a moonke of Westminster wrote an excellent chronicle, beginning the same at the comming in of the Saxons about the yeare of our Lord 449, and continued it till the yeare 1348; Richard Rolle aliàs Hampole an excellent diuine wrote manie treatises; Iohn Guent a Welshman, a Franciscane frier, and prouinciall of the order; Rodulph Radiptorius a frier Minor, Robert Holcoth a blacke frier, borne in Northampton, excellentlie learned, and wrote manie works, both of diuinitie and other arguments; William Miluerlie a logician or rather a sophister, Iohn Teukesburie, Thomas Bradwardin borne in Hartfield, a towne within the diocesse of Chichester, archbishop of Canturburie succeeding Iohn Offord, he wrote against the Pelagians; Richard Wetherset, William Breton a graie frier, a Welshman borne, as Bale supposeth; Iohn of saint Faith, borne in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier of Brumham.

Furthermore, Iohn Goodwicke borne also in Northfolke, an Augustine frier of Lin; William Rothwell a blacke frier, Geffrie Waterton moonke of Burie, Richard Fitz Rafe, whome some take to be an Irishman, but a student in Oxford, and scholer to Iohn Baconthrope profited highlie, & wrote manie treatises, he was first archdeacon of Lichfield, and after chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and at length archbishop of Ardmachan in Ireland; Richard Kilington a doctor of diuinitie, William Grisant a notable physician, surnamed of the countrie where he was borne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Marseilles in Prouance, & had a son that was abbat of the regular canons of that citie, who at length was aduanced to gouerne the see of Rome, & named Vrbane the fift; Iohn Paschall borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Gippeswich, and by K. Edward the third preferred to the bishoprike of Landaffe; Adam Woodham a frier Minor, Simon Henton a blacke frier, William de Pagula; of Iohn Wicliffe ye haue heard before.

Pope Vrban the fift.

Moreouer, Geffrie Hardebie a blacke frier of Leicester, William Binham, Roger Counwey a Welshman borne in Counwey a grey frier, Richard Billingham, William Doroch a lawier, Iohn Killingworth an excellent philosopher, astronomer, and physician; Willam of Couentrie a frier Carmelite, professed and borne in the same citie; Ranulfe Higden a moonke of Chester and borne in those parts, an historiographer; Iohn Eastwood aliàs Aschenton an excellent philosopher, Thomas Ratclife borne in Leicester, and an Augustine frier in Leicester towne; Bartholomew Glanuille descended of noble parentage, as of the linage of those Glanuilles that were sometimes earles of Suffolke, as Bale saith; Robert Computista a moonke of Burie, Iohn Wilton a moonke of Westminster, Simon Wichingham a frier Carmelite of Norwich, Iohn Deir a northerne man borne a notable diuine.

Furthermore,

Furthermore, Simon Islep, founder of Canturburie colledge of Oxenford, wrote diuerse treatises, he was archbishop of Canturburie, as before yee haue heard; George Chadley, Iohn of Tinmouth vicar of that towne in the bishoprike of Durham, Peter Babion, Walter Wiborne or Wimborne, Nicholas de Lin borne in the towne of that name in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier by profession, but as excellent an astronomer as was in those daies: Iohn Ridington borne in Lincolneshire a frier minor in Stafford, Adam a moonke of the Cisteaux order, Roger Wihelpedale a mathematician, Simon de Feuersham parson of Birton in Kent, Matthew Westmonasterienses, who wrote the booke called Flores historiarum; Iohn Elin a Carmelite borne in Northfolke, liued in these daies, but departed this life in king Richard the seconds daies; Thomas de Sturey an Augustine frier, Sertorious Gualensis a Welshman borne.

Moreouer, Simon de Tunstéed a gray frier, borne in Northfolke, prouinciall of the gray friers in England; Thomas Stubs borne in Yorkeshire a blacke frier, Robert Langland a secular préest borne in Salopshire in Mortimers Cliborie, Lewes Kaerleon a Welshman an excellent astronomer and mathematician, Iohn Garanson, Nicholas Durham a Carmelite frier of Newcastell, William Fleet an heremite wrote sundrie treatises, exhorting his countrimen of England to repentance, to auoid the vengeance else likelie to come; Iohn Stafford a frier minor, borne in Stafford, whereof he tooke name; Thomas Rugsteed a blacke frier, Rafe Stride an excellent logician, William de sancta Fide, or of saint Faith, so called of the towne in Northfolke, where he was borne, a Carmelite frier.

To conclude, Iohn Mandeuille knight, that great traueller, liued in those daies, and departed this life at Liege, the seuenteenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1372. Thomas of Douer a moonke of the abbeie there, Henrie Knighton wrote an historie intituled De gestis Anglorum, Iohn Stokes borne in Suffolke an Augustine frier, Iohn Hornebie a frier Carmelite of Boston, Henrie Bederike or (as other rather will) of Burie an Augustine frier, Simon Alcocke a diuine, Vtred Balton borne in the marches of Wales a moonke of Durham, William Iordan an Augustine frier, Iohn Hilton a frier minor, William de Lincolne a Carmelite, borne and professed in that citie, whereof he tooke his surname; Adam Saxlingham a frier of the same order, but borne in Northfolke; Simon Mepham a prebend of Chichester, and a great diuine; Iohn Bamton a Carmelite, and student in Cambridge; Iohn Wichingham a gray frier: and diuerse other, which for that we are not certeine in what age they liued, we here passe ouer.

Thus farre Edward the third, sonne to Edward the second and queene Isabell.

RICHARD THE SECOND,

the second sonne to Edward prince of Wales.

RICHARD, the second of that name, and sonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the sonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reign ouer the realme of England the two and twentith daie of Iune, in the yeare of the world 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conquest 310, about the two and thirtith yeare of the emperour Charles the fourth, and in the fouretéenth yeare of Charles the fift king of France, and about the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Robert the second. An. Reg. 1. 1377.

Fabian. *Thom. Wals.* second king of Scotland: he was named Richard of Burdeaux, bicause he borne at Burdeaux in Gascoigne, whilest his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderstood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentith of Iune (on which daie neuerthelesse he deceassed) the citizens of London hauing certeine knowledge that he could not escape his sicknesse, sent certeine aldermen vnto Kingston, where the prince with his mother the princesse then laie, to declare vnto the said prince their readie good wils, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour, immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they besought him, to haue their citie recommended vnto his good grace, and that it would please him to visit the same with his presence, sith they were readie in all sorts to honour and obeie him, and to spend both liues and goods in his cause, if need required.

The Londoners sent to K. Richard, commending themselues to his fauour before ye death of K. Edward.

Moreouer, they besought him, that it might please his grace to make an end of the discord betwixt the citizens, and the duke of Lancaster, which through the malice of some had béene raised, to the commoditie of none, but to the discommoditie of diuerse. When Iohn Philpot, one of the foresaid aldermen, that had the words in all their names, had ended his oration, he was answered by the prince and his councell, that he would indeuour himselfe in all things to satisfie their requests, and so were they sent home to bring a ioifull answer of their messege to the citie. The morrow after, there were sent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Simon Burlie, & sir Richard Adderburie, knights; to bring them sorowfull newes of the assured death of king Edward, who (as we haue said) deceassed the day before; but comfortable newes againe, of the great towardlinesse and good meaning of the yoong king, who promised to loue them and their citie, and to come to the same citie, as they had desired him to doo. And further, that he had spokẽ to the duke of Lancaster in their behalfe, and that the duke had submitted himselfe to him in all things touching the cause; wherevpon the kings pleasure was, that they should likewise submit themselues, and he would doo his indeuor, that an agreement might be had to the honor of the citizens, and profit of the citie.

Iohn Philpot.

The duke of Lancaster & the Lõdoners submit their quarels to the kings order.

The citizens liked not of this forme of procéeding in the dukes matter, bicause the king was yoong, and could not giue order therein, but by substitutes: yet at length with much adoo, they were contented to submit themselues, as the duke had doone before, though not, till that the knights had vndertaken vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their submission should not redound to the temporall or bodilie harme of any of them, consenting to the kings will in this point. And so with this caution they tooke their iournie towards Sheene, where they found the new K. with his mother, the duke of Lancaster & his brethren, vncles to the king, and diuerse bishops, about the bodie of the deceassed king. When it was knowen that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was so handled, that the duke and they were made frẽends. After this, when the king should ride through the citie towards the coronation, the said duke and the lord Percie riding on great horses before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vsed themselues so courteouslie, modestlie, and pleasantlie, that where before they two were greatlie suspected of the common people, by reason of their great puissance in the realme, and huge rout of reteiners, they ordered the matter so, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any maner of person, but rather by gentle and swéet demeanour they reclaimed the harts of manie, of whome before they were greatlie had in suspicion, and thought euill of. ¶ But now, sith we are entred into the matter of this kings coronation, we haue thought good breefelie to touch some particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walsingham we find it) though nothing so largelie here, as the author himselfe setteth it foorth, bicause the purpose of this worke will not so permit.

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The king, in riding thorough the citie towards Westminster, on the 15 daie of Iulie being wednesdaie, was accompanied with such a traine of the nobilitie and others, as in such case was requisite. Sir Simon Burlie bare the sword before him, and sir Nicholas Bond lead the kings horsse by the bridle on foot. The noise of trumpets and other instruments was maruellous, so that this seemed a day of ioy and mirth, a day that had béene long looked for, bicause it was hoped, that now the quiet orders and good lawes of the land, which thorough the slouthfulnesse of the aged king deceassed, and couetousnesse of those that ruled about him, had béene long banished, should now be renewed and brought againe in vse. The citie was adorned in all sorts most richlie. The water conduits ran with wine for the space of thrée houres togither. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certeine castell made with foure towers, out of the which castell, on two sides of it, there ran foorth wine abundantlie. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of stature and age like to the king, apparelled in white vestures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approching néere to them, leaues of gold; and as he approched also, they threw on him and his horsse florens of gold counterfeit. The manor & order of the kings coronation.

When he was come before the castell, they tooke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the spouts of the castell, presented the same to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the castell, betwixt the foure towers, stood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was so contriued, that when the king came, he bowed downe & offered to him the crowne. But to speake of all the pageants and shewes which the citizens had caused to be made, and set foorth in honour of their new king, it were superfluous; euerie one in their quarters striuing to surmount other, and so with great triumphing of citizens, and ioy of the lords and noble men, he was conueied vnto his palace at Westminster, where he rested for that night. The morrow after being thursdaie, and the 16 day of Iulie, he was fetcht to the church with procession of the bishops and monks, and comming before the high altar, where the pauement was couered with rich clothes of tapistrie, he there kneeled downe and made his praiers, whilest two bishops soong the Letanie, which being finished, the king was brought to his seat, the quéere singing an antheme, beginning, Fermetur manus tua.

That doone, there was a sermon preached by a bishop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behaue himselfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient vnto him. The sermon being ended, the king receiued his oth before the archbishop and nobles: which doone, the archbishop hauing the lord Henrie Percie lord marshall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oth, and demanding of them, if they would submit themselues vnto such a prince & gouernor, and obeie his commandements: and when the people with a lowd voice had answered that they would obeie him, the archbishop vsing certeine praiers, blessed the king; which ended, the archbishop came vnto him, and tearing his garments from the highest part to the lowest, stripped him to his shirt. Then was brought by earles, a certeine couerture of cloth of gold, vnder the which he remained, whilest he was annointed.

The archbishop (as we haue said), hauing stripped him, first annointed his hands, then his head, brest, shoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the sacred oile, saieng certeine praiers, and in the meane time did the quéere sing the antheme, beginning, Vnxerunt regem Salomonem, &c. And the archbishop added another praier, Deus Dei filius, &c. Which ended, he and the other bishops soong the hymne, Veni creator spiritus, the king knéeling in a long vesture, & the archbishop with his suffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift vp by the archbishop, and clad first with the coate of saint Edward, and after with his mantell, a stole being cast about his necke, the archbishop in the meane time saieng certeine praiers appointed for the purpose. After this, the archbishop and bishops deliuered to him the sword, saieng, Accipe gladium, &c.

When that praier was ended, two earles girded him with the sword, which doone, the archbishop gaue to him bracelets, saieng, Accipe armillas, &c. After this, the archbishop did put vpon him an vppermost vesture, called a pall, saieng, Accipe pallium, &c. In the meane time, whilest the archbishop blessed the kings crowne, he to whose office it apperteined, did put spurs on his héeles. After the crowne was blessed, the archbishop set it on his head, saieng, Coronet te Deus, &c. Then did the archbishop deliuer to him a ring, with these words, Accipe annulum, &c. Immediatlie herewith came the lord Furniuall by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, gaue to him the scepter, with these words, Accipe sceptrum, &c. Then did the archbishop deliuer to him in his other hand a rod, in the top whereof stood a doue, with these words, Accipe virgam virtutis, &c. After this the archbishop blessed the king, saieng, Benedicat de Deus, &c.

These things doone, the king kissed the bishops and abbats, by whome he was lead afterwards vnto his seat, the bishops beginning to sing (Te Deum) which ended, the archbishop said to him, Sta & retine amodo locum, &c. When these things were finished, they began masse, the bishop of Worcester read the epistle, and the bishop of Elie the gospell. At the offertorie, the king rose from his seat, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered first his sword, and after so much gold as he would, but no lesse than a marke, by reason of the custome; for more he might offer to God and S. Peter, but lesse he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which he and the archbishop did after communicate. This doone, the earle, to whome it apperteined to beare the sword before the king, redéemed the sword which the king had offered with monie, and receiuing the same, bare it afore the king. When masse should be soong, the king was brought againe to the altar, & there knéeling downe, and saieng Confiteor to the archbishop, did communicate, and so was brought backe to his seat. The wardens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in time of the procession, as when he was annointed also at masse time, and as he returned from the church to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canopie of blew veluet, fastened vnto foure staues at the foure corners.

In the meane time, sir Iohn Dimmocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had béen at the kings armorie and stable, where he had chosen according to his tenure, the best armour saue one, and the best stéed saue one: albeit, sir Baldwine Freuill claimed the same office, but could not obteine it; so that the said sir Iohn Dimmocke hauing armed himselfe, and being mounted on horssebacke, came to the abbeie gates, with two riding before him, the one carrieng his speare, and the other his shield, staieng there till masse should be ended. But the lord Henrie Percie lord marshall, appointed to make waie before the king with the duke of Lancaster lord Steward, the lord Thomas of Woodstoke lord constable, and the lord marshals brother sir Thomas Percie, being all mounted on great horsses, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but when the king was at dinner, and therefore it should be good for him to vnarme himselfe for a while, and take his ease and rest, till the appointed time were come.

The knight did as the lord marshall willed him, and so after his departure, the king hauing those lords riding afore him, was borne on knights shoulders vnto his palace, and so had to his chamber, where he rested a while, being somewhat faint with trauell, and tooke a small refection. After this, comming into the hall, he created foure new earles, before he sat downe to meat; to wit, his vncle the lord Thomas de Wodstoke earle of Buckingham, to whome he gaue a thousand marks a yeare out of his treasurie, till he prouided him of lands to the like value. The lord Guishard de Engolesme, that had béene his tutor, was created earle of Huntington, to whome he gaue likewise a thousand marks annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of like value. The lord Mowbraie was created earle of Nottingham, and the lord Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. He made also nine knights the same daie.

To shew what roiall seruice was at this feast, it passeth our vnderstanding to describe: but

but to conclude, the fare was excéeding sumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all things, that if the same should be rehearsed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth therof. ¶ In the midst of the kings palace was a marble pillar raised hollow vpon steps, on the top whereof was a great gilt eagle placed, vnder whose feet in the chapiter of the pillar, diuers kinds of wine came gushing foorth at foure seuerall places all the daie long, neither was anie forbidden to receiue the same, were he neuer so poor or abiect. On the morrow after the coronation, there was a generall procession of the archbishop, bishop, and abbats then present, with the lords, and a great multitude of people, to praie for the king and the peace of the kingdome.

At the going foorth of this procession, the bishop of Rochester preached, exhorting them, that the dissentions and discords which had long continued betwixt the people and their superiours, might be appeased and forgotten, prooning by manie arguments, that the same highlie displeased God. He admonished the lords, not to be so extreme and hard towards the people. On the other part, he exhorted the people in necessarie causes, for the aid of the king and realme, chéerefullie, and without grudging, to put to their helping hands, according to their bounden duties. He further exhorted those in generall that were appointed to be about the king, that they should forsake vice, and studie to liue in cleanesse of life and vertue. For if by their example the king were trained to goodnesse, all should be well; but if he declined through their sufferance from the right waie, the people and kingdome were like to fall in danger to perish. After the sermon and procession were ended, the lords and prelats went to their lodgings.

But now, bicause the Englishmen should haue their ioies mingled with some sorrowes, it chanced that the Frenchmen (which about the same time that the kings grandfather departed this life, were wafting on the seas) within six or seauen daies after his deceasse, burnt the towne of Rie. Wherevpon, immediatlie after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge and Buckingham were sent with a power vnto Douer, and the earle of Salisburie vnto Southampton: but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentith of August, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight, burnt diuerse townes in the same. And though they were repelled from the castell, by the valiant manhood of sir Hugh Tirrell capteine thereof, who laid no small number of them on the ground; yet they constreined the men of the Ile to giue them a thousand marks of siluer to saue the residue of their houses and goods, and so they departed from thence, sailing still along the costs, and where they saw aduantage, set on land, burning sundrie towns néere to the shore, as Portesmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth.

Froissard. Rie burnt by ye Frenchmen. *Tho. Wals.* The Frenchmen spoile the Ile of Wight. Sir Hugh Tirrell. *Froissard.* *Tho. Walsi.* Portsmouth, Dartmouth, & Plimmouth, burnt by the French.

They made countenance also to haue set on Southampton, if sir Iohn Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell had not beene readie there with a number of men of armes and archers, by whome the towne was defended, and the enimies chased to their ships. From thence the Frenchmen departed, and sailing towards Douer, burnt Hastings; but Winchelsie they could not win, being valiantlie defended by the abbat of Battell, and others. After this, they landed one day not far from the abbeie of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two knights, the one named sir Thomas Cheinie, and the other sir Iohn Falleslie, hauing assembled a number of the countrie people, incountred the Frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen; so that there were slaine about an hundred Englishmen; and the prior, with the two knights, and an esquier called Iohn Brokas, were taken prisoners, but yet the Frenchmen lost a great number of their owne men at this conflict, and so with their prisoners retired to their ships and gallies, and after returned into France.

Hastings burnt.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Frēch to the Englishmen.

But now touching the dooings about the new K. You shall vnderstand, that by reason of his yoong yeares, as yet he was not able to gouerne himselfe, and therefore Iohn duke of Lancaster, and Edmund earle of Cambridge, with other péeres of the realme, were appointed to haue the administration. He was of good disposition and towardnesse, but his age being readie to incline which way soeuer a man should bend it, those that were appointed

Polydor. The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Cambridge appointed protectors.

appointed to haue the gouernement of his person, did what laie in them now at the first, to keepe him from all maner of light demeanor. But afterwards, when euerie one began to studie more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduancement of the commonwealth, they set open the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grew familiar with him, and dimming the brightnesse of true honour, with the counterfeit shine of the contrarie, so maskered his vnderstanding, that in the end they brought him to tract the steps of lewd demeanour, and so were causers both of his and their owne destruction. This séemeth to be touched by C. Okland, who speaking of the death of the old king and the erection of the new, saith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

In Angl. præl.

Vndecimum puer hic nondum transegerat annum,
Cùm iuuenile caput gessit diademate cinctum.
Qui postquam princeps iustis adoleuerat annis,
Dicere non facile est quantum distaret auitis
Moribus atque animo, fuit hic quàm disparemente,
Dissimili ingenio claræ matríque patríque.

The Frenchmen not ignorant of such mischéefes as were like to grow in England, suffered no time to passe, but tooke occasions of aduantage when they were offered.

Froissard. ¶ Among other enterprises I find, that shortlie after the deceasse of king Edward, the duke of Burgognie wan Arde, and two or three other fortresses in those marches. The

Berwike castell woone by the Scots. Scots this yeare also wan the castell of Berwike by stealth one morning, but shortlie vpon knowledge had, the earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the lords Neuill, Lucie, Graistoke, & Stafford, with other lords, knights, and esquiers, came with their powers in all hast thither, and entring the towne, besieged the castell, and finallie, assaulting them that kept it, wan it of them by force, and slue all those Scotishmen which they found within it,

Berwike castell recouered by the Englishmen. except Alexander Ramsie their capteine. When the Englishmen had thus recouered the castell, they entred into Scotland, in hope to find the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew to be assembled.

The English host was thrée thousand men of armes, & seuen thousand archers, but they sent foorth sir Thomas Musgraue with thrée hundred speares, and thrée hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderstand any thing of the Scots in those parts, with whom

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Englishmen. the earle Dowglas, hauing with him seuen hundred speares, and two thousand of other called yomen with glaiues and other weapons, incountered by chance and distressed him & his companie. Sir Thomas Musgraue himselfe, and six score other, were taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine, the residue escaped by flight, making the best shift they could for themselues. The lord Neuill, sir Thomas Triuet, sir William Scrope, and diuerse other valiant captéins of England, were sent into Gascoigne this yeare, which first landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, where after they had rested

The siege of Mortaigne raised. them a while, they went and raised the siege, which the Frenchmen had held before Mortaigne in Poictou a long time before.

Gouernour of this siege at the first, was Yuan or Owen of Wales, but he was murthered one morning as he sat alone viewing the castell, and combing his head, by one of his owne countriemen, which vnder colour to serue him, was become with him verie familiar. This Owen or Yuan whether ye will (for all is one) was sonne to a noble man of Wales, whom K. Edward had put to death for some offense by him committed, where this Yuan got him into France, being as then verie yoong, and was brought vp in the French court, and prooued an expert man of warre, so that great lamentation was made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Englishmen, although they misliked the maner of his death, yet they were not greatlie sorrowfull for the chance, sith they were rid thereby of an extreame enimie.

¶ After that the Englishmen had raised the Frenchmen from the siege of Mortaigne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered sundrie castels and fortresses in the marches of

Burdelois, and about Baionne. Also they aided the king of Nauarre, against the king of Castile, and made a road into the confines of Castile. But shortlie after, a peace was concluded betwixt those two kings, so that the lord Charles of Nauarre should marrie the daughter of the king of Castile vpon certeine conditions: and so the Englishmen had their wages trulie paid them to their full contentation, and therevpon returned. About Michaelmasse began a parlement that was summoned at Westminster, which continued till the feast of saint Andrew. In this parlement the foresaid sir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had beene so earnest against dame Alice Peres in the last parlement holden by king Edward the third, so prosecuted the same cause now in this parlement, that the said dame Alice Peres was banished the realme, and all hir goods moueable and vnmoueable forfeited to the king, bicause contrarie to that she had promised by oth in the said last parlement, she had presumed to come within the court, and to obteine of the king what soeuer was to hir liking.

A parlement. *Thom. Wals.*

There were two tenths granted by the clergie to the king in this parlement, and two fiftéenes of the temporaltie, to be paid the same yeare; and two citizens of London, William Walworth, and Iohn Philpot were appointed to haue the kéeping of that monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings necessarie vses, for the defense of the realme. Sir Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming one morning to Bullongne, burnt certeine ships which laie there in the hauen, to the number of six and twentie, besides two proper barkes, being vessels of no small accompt: and hauing spoiled and burnt the most part of the base towne, he returned to Calis with a great rich bootie of goods and cattell.

Two citizens of London appointed to kéepe the subsidie granted by parlement.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie a valiant capteine.

Also, where the castell of Marke, in the absence of the capteine sir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was lost through negligence of them that were left in charge within it; the same sir Hugh Caluerlie made such spéed in the matter, that he recouered it againe the same daie it was lost, by force of assault, taking the Frenchmen prisoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certeine Picards stipendarie soldiers in the said castell, vnder the said sir Robert de Salle, for that whilest the Englishmen were gone foorth, to see the shooting of a match which they had made amongst themselues, a little off from the castell, those Picards being left within, shut the gates against them, and receiued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practised in treason, kéeping the Englishmen foorth, to whom the safe kéeping of that castell was committed.

Marke castell recouered by sir Hugh Caluerlie, the same daie it was lost.

This yeare was a bull sent from the pope vnto the vniuersitie of Oxenford, to apprehend Iohn Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, within the diocesse of Lincolne. Also, there were other bulles to the same effect, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London. Likewise to the king were letters directed from the pope, to require his fauour against the said Wickliffe, so greeuouslie was the pope incensed against him, and not without cause, for if his conclusions in doctrine tooke effect, he well perceiued his papisticall authoritie would shortlie decaie. As for the popish cleargie, to them not onelie the sect but also the name of Wickliffe was so odious, that in recording his opinions and sectaries, they excéed the bounds of all modestie, aggrauating such reports as they infer concerning him or his with more than hyperbolicall lies: as appeereth by that long and tedious discourse which he wrote, that compiling certeine annales intituled De euentibus Angliæ, prefixeth this verse in the front of his volume, in letters of red vermilon, as desiring to haue his name notoriouslie knowne to the world;

1378.

Iohn Wickliffe.

Autoris nomen capitales litteræ pandunt:

Hen. de Knighton canon abbat. Leicestr. in annalib. de Rich. secundo.

He (I say) in that copious treatise hauing spoken as maliciouslie & viperouslie as he might both of Wickliffes life, which he concludeth to be lewd; of his opinions, which he auoucheth to be hereticall; and of his fauourers and followers, to whom (at his pleasure) he giueth vnreuerent epithets (all which to prosecute at length, as by him they are in ample sort laid downe, would but detect the mans malignitie, and procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto his declarations) he maketh vp his mouth with a tristichon of

of poeticall imitation, to bring Wickliffe and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and defamation, saieng as followeth in verse and prose;

Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne,
Et Thetis encaustum, scriptor & omnis homo,
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.

Maledictus conuentus eorum, quoniam pertinax, propterea Deus destruat eos, in finem euellat, & emigrare faciat de tabernaculis fidelium suorum, & radicem eorum de terra regni; & hoc videant iusti, & lætentur; vt dicere possint; Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Domini, & sperauit in multitudine vanitatis suæ: confundantur & pereant cum doctrina eorum in æternum, &c.

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large, I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of the church, published by maister Iohn Fox: and now will we returne to matters of state and policie. There went foorth this yeare a verie great nauie of ships to the sea, vnder the guiding of the earle of Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Latimer, the lord Fitz Walter, sir Robert Knolles, and other valiant capteins, meaning to haue intercepted the Spanish fléet that was gone to Sluse in Flanders, but thorough rage of tempest, and contrarie winds, they were driuen home, although twise they attempted their fortune: but sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, slept not his businesse, dooing still what displeasures he could to the Frenchmen. Shortlie after Christmasse, he spoiled the towne of Estaples the same daie the faire was kept there, to which a great number of merchants of Bullongne were come to make their markets, but the sellers had quicke vtterance, for that that might easilie be caried awaie, the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused the owners to redéeme the residue with great sums of monie, which they vndertooke to paie; or else sir Hugh threatned to haue burnt all that was left, togither with the houses.

*The nauie setteth foorth, and is beaten backe by tempest.

*Exploits doone by sir Hugh Caluerlie.

Yée haue heard, how at the first the duke of Lancaster was one of the chéefe about the yoong king in gouernement of his person and realme, who prudentlie considering, that sith there must néeds be an alteration in the state, & doubting least if any thing chanced otherwise than well, the fault and blame might be chéefelie imputed to him, and thanks (howsoeuer things went) he looked for none, he gaue therefore the slip, obteining licence of the king to depart, and so got him home to his castell of Killingworth, permitting other to haue the whole swaie: for before his departure from the court, there were with his consent ordeined such as should be attending on the kings person, and haue the rule and ordering of matters perteining to the state, as William Courtnie, then bishop of London (though shortlie after remooued to the archbishops see of Canturburie) Edmund Mortimer earle of March, & diuerse other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet bicause the bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were admitted amongst the residue, the commons murmured greatlie against them.

*The duke of Lancaster misliking the maners of the court, getteth himselfe home to ye castell of Killingworth.

The earle of Northumberland resigned his office of lord marshall, in whose place succeeded sir Iohn Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. ¶ The duke of Lancaster, although retired from the court, yet desirous to haue the monie in his hands that was granted the last parlement, at length obteined it, vpon promise to defend the realme from inuasion of all enimies for one yeares space: he therefore prouided a great nauie to go to the sea, hiring nine ships of Baionne, to assist his enterprise herein, the which in making saile hitherwards, incountred with the Spanish fléet, and tooke fouretéene vessels laden with wines and other merchandize. But in the meane time, one Mercer a Scotishman, with certeine saile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, came to Scarburgh, and there tooke certeine ships, and led them awaie to the sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers imprisonment, named Iohn Mercer, who before being caught by certeine ships of the north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northumberland, was committed to prison within the castell of Scarburgh.

*Iohn Philpot Alderman of London setteth

*Iohn Philpot that worshipfull citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that should haue prouided against such inconueniences, made foorth a fléet at his owne charges, stronglie

stronglie furnished with men of warre and munition necessarie: the men of warre méeting with the same Mercer, accompanied with his owne ships, and fiftéene other Spaniards that were newlie ioined with him, set vpon them, and so valiantlie behaued themselues, that they tooke the said Mercer with all them that were then in his companie, so recouering againe the ships that were taken from Scarburgh, besides great riches which were found aboord, as well in the fiftéene Spanish ships, as the other that were of the old retinue, belonging to the same Mercer. Iohn Philpot was afterwards blamed of the lords, for presuming thus far, as to set foorth a nauie of men of warre, without the aduise of the kings councell: but he made his answer in such wise vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

foorth a fléet at his owne charges, to recouer certeine English ships taken by the Scots.

Before all such prouision as the duke of Lancaster prepared for his iournie to the sea could be readie, the earles of Salisburie and Arundell sailed ouer into Normandie, where, by such composition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French king, the towne of Chierburg was deliuered vnto the said earles, who sending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were sent ouer such as should haue in charge the keeping of that towne; and so the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of Nauarre, hauing beene heere in England with the king and his councell, had agréed with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demise vnto him the said fortresse of Chierburg, whereby the Englishmen might haue frée entrie into Normandie, when they would, as well to aid the king of Nauarre in his necessitie, as to worke anie enterprise that should be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occasion serued. But the obteining of possession of Chierburg brought not so much ioy to the English nation, as the mishap that happened at the going foorth of the said earles did cause lamentation and heauinesse.

Chierburg deliuered to the Englishmen.

Additions to *Adam Meri-muth.*

For vpon the first entring into the sea, it fortuned that sir Philip, and sir Peter Courtenie, discouered a certeine number of ships that were enimies, and vndiscréetlie entered amongst them, there suddenlie came vpon them the Spanish fléet, so that the English ships that were in companie with the said Philip and sir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in somuch that finallie after that sir Philip had lost diuerse of his men that were there slaine, he got awaie by flight himselfe, though gréeuouslie wounded, but sir Peter was taken prisoner with a few other knights that were with him; and the most part of all the valiant esquiers of Summersetshire & Deuonshire, being there abroad with him, were slaine and drowned, which was estéemed no small losse to the whole common-wealth.

The English nauie is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spanish fléet.

Thus were the Englishmen occupied in this first yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie against the Frenchmen, but also against the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the same yeare, the Scots burnt Rokesburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thousand men, and sore spoiled the lands of the earle of March for the space of three daies togither; bicause the said earle of March was the chéefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokesburgh, & so for that time th' Englishmen were well reuenged of those enimies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would néeds make a rode into Scotland, entring by the west borders, they were incountered by the Scots and put to flight, so that manie of them being slaine, the Scots tooke the more courage to inuade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and tooke an abstinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the same continued not long.

Rokesburgh burnt by the Scots.

Anon after Midsummer, the duke of Lancaster with a strong power tooke the sea, and landing in Britaine, besieged the towne of saint Mallo dè Lisle, a fortresse of great importance. There went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafford, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie, the which made their approches, and fiercelie assailed the towne, but it was so valiantlie defended, that in the end, the duke with his armie

An. Reg. 2. The duke of Lancaster saileth into Britaine with a great power. Additions to *Adam Meri-muth.*

armie raised from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpose. ¶ About the same time, there was a notable and hainous murther committed within saint Peters church at Westminster, by occasion of variance betweene the lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two esquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other Iohn Shakell on the other partie, about a prisoner which was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as some write) was taken by one sir Franke de Hall at the said battell; and bicause he remained in his hands at the death of the said sir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his sonne the said Robert Hall esquier.

Hall & Shakerlie hath *Crafton.* *Polydor.*

Thom. Wals.

But as other write, the said earle was taken by the said Robert Hall himselfe & Iohn Shakell iointlie, and iudged to be their lawfull prisoner, by the sentence of the prince of Wales, and sir Iohn Chandois that was master to the said esquiers. Wherevpon afterwards the said earle obteined so much fauor, that by leauing his sonne and heire in gage for his ransome, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to discharge it; but he was so slow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any paiment, and so his lands fell to his sonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two esquiers. Wherevpon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaster, desirous to haue the yoong earle in his hands (in hope through his meanes the better to accomplish his enterprise which he meant to take in hand against the king of Castile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the said earle of Deane, at the hands of the said esquiers.

But they refused to deliuer him, keeping their prisoner foorth of the waie, so that none wist were he was become: the esquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they escaped vnto Westminster, and there registred themselues for sanctuarie men. The duke of Lancaster was herewith sore offended, and their enimies the said lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers tooke counsell togither, with sir Alane Boxhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this despite. This sir Alane Boxhull was constable of the tower, and therefore it greeued him not a little, that the esquiers had broken from him and kept themselues thus at Westminster, vnder protection of that priuileged place. Herevpon it was concluded, that sir Rafe Ferrers, and the said Alane Boxhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie persons, should go and fetch them by force from Westminster, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after saint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of August, these two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings seruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Westminster, whilest the said esquiers were there hearing of high masse, which was then in celebrating; and first laieng hands vpon Iohn Shakell, vsed the matter so with him, that they drew him foorth of the church, and led him streight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceiuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falcheon or short sword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so fréelie about him, trauersing twise round about the moonks quier, that till they had beset him on ech side, they could doo him no hurt.

A cruell murther in Westminster church.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them cloue his head to the verie braines, and an other thrust him through the bodie behind with a sword, and so they murthered him among them. They slue also one of the moonkes that would haue had them to haue saued the esquiers life. Much adoo was about this matter, for the breaking thus of the sanctuarie, in somuch that the archbishop of Canturburie, and fiue other bishops his suffragans, openlie pronounced all them that were present at this murder accurssed, and likewise all such as aided or counselled them to it, cheeflie and namelie sir Alane Boxhull, and sir Rafe Ferrers, capteins and leaders of them. The king, the queene, and the duke of Lancaster were yet excepted by speciall names. The bishop of London a long time after, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

The

The duke of Lancaster (though excepted in the same) yet in behalfe of his frèends was not a little offended with the bishops dooings, in so much that in a councell holden at Windsore (to the which the bishop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceasse the pronouncing of the cursse, albeit the king had requested him by his letters) the duke said openlie, that the bishops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (saith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that disobedient prelat, in dispite of those ribaulds (for so he termed them) the Londoners. These words procured the duke much euill will, as well of the Londoners; as of other: for it was commonlie said, that whatsoeuer had bèene doone at Westminster, concerning the murther there committed in the church, was doone by his commandement.

A parlement at Glocester.

About the feast of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Glocester, for the displeasure (as was thought) which some of the councell had conceiued against the Londoners, or rather (as some tooke it) for feare of them, least if any thing were doone contrarie to their minds, they should be about to hinder it, if the parlement had beene kept neere them: for manie things (as some iudged) were meant to haue beene put foorth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to passe of those matters that were surmised, sauing that it was inacted, that the king should haue a marke of the merchants for euerie sacke of their woolles, for this present yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the seas, and here sold, six pence of the buiers. ¶ Also, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-strangers, that they might buie and sell in grosse, or by retaile within this realme, as in the printed booke of statutes it appeareth.

The pope sendeth to the king for aid.

This yeare came messengers from the new elected pope Vrbane, with letters to require the kings assistance and aid against such cardinals as he named schismatikes, that had elected an other pope whome they named Clement, which cardinals sent likewise their messengers with letters, to beséech the king to aid them with his fauourable assistance: but through persuasion of the archbishop of Canturburie, Vrbans request was granted, and Clements reiected. About the same time, to wit, on thursdaie before the feast of S. Andrew th' apostle, the Scots by stelth entred by night into the castell of Berwike, and slue sir Robert Bointon, a right valiant knight, that was constable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and seruants to depart, with condition, that within three weeks next insuing, they should either paie them thrée thousand marks, or else yeeld their bodies againe to prison.

Berwike castell woone by the Scots.

The morrow after, the same Scots fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the countries next adioining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertised hereof, hasted thither with foure hundred armed men, and assaulting the castell on ech side, after two houres defense, wan it, slaieng of the defendants about eight and fortie, reseruing onelie one of the whole number aliue, that he might informe the Englishmen thoroughlie of the Scotishmens purposes. At this enterprise was the earle of Northumberlands eldest sonne, spreading there first his banner, and dooing so valiantlie, that he deserued singular commendation; as likewise did sir Alane de Heton, and sir Thomas de Ilderton, with those of the surname of the Herons, euerie of these hauing their quarters assigned to assault. Thus was the castell recouered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the same, so that they enioied not long that victorious exploit.

Alexander Ramsie was onlie saued as *Froissard* saith. Berwike castell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

And bicause this enterprise was taken in hand against the couenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recouer the castell, sent to the earle of March in Scotland, to vnderstand if he would auow that which his countrimen had doone, touching the winning of that castell, who sent him knowledge againe, that he neither vnderstood of their enterprise, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it so pleased the earle of Northumberland, he would come himselfe, and helpe to recouer it to the K. of Englands vse, out of those Scotishmens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, sir Robert Rous, capteine of Chierburg, was called home,

Sir Robert Rous a valiãt capteine.

1379. home, after he had taken sir Oliuer de Clisson, and atchiued manie other worthie aduentures against the kings enimies. In his place was sent sir Iohn Herleston, to remaine vpon the gard of that castell. Also sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, that had so valiantlie borne himselfe against the Frenchmen, was likewise discharged; and comming home was made admerall, being ioined in commission in that office with sir Thomas Percie.

Sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie was sent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who shortlie after his comming thither fetcht a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrie adioining, so that Calis was furnished with no small number of the same. ¶ Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and sir Thomas Percie, going to sea, tooke seauen ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of warre. ¶ The archbishop of Cassils in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and loosing, granted to him by pope Vrbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accursed; and therefore now was the time for Englishmen to make warre in France, hauing such occasion, as greater could not be offered; speciallie, sith it was like that the excommunicated king should haue no courage to make resistance. This is I will not saie the diuinitie (for what heauenlinesse can there be in such damnable doctrine, to set people togither by the eares?) of the Romanists; so farre off are they from the studie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they set whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in streams of bloud, imitating their great grandfather sathan, who hath béene a makebate and a murtherer from the beginning: renouncing the footsteps of Christ with open mouth, and forswering to follow him either in demeanour or doctrine, and therefore;

Quis nisimentis inops, vt sanctum tale probabit?
Hæccine mens Christi? Talia nulla docet.

The 'sanctuarie at Westminster confirmed by parlement.

In a parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbeie of Westminster should remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a prouiso against those that tooke sanctuarie, with purpose to defraud their creditors, that their lands & goods shuld be answerable to the discharging of their debts.

A subsidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons go free.

In the same parlement was granted to the king a subsidie, to be leuied of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be spared, the dukes of Lancaster and Britaine paied twentie marks, euerie earle six marks, bishops and abbats with miters as much, and euerie moonke thrée shillings foure pence: also, euerie iustice, shiriffe, knight, esquier, parson, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

*An. Reg. 3. A notable exploit doone by sir Iohn Harleston.

Ye haue heard how sir Iohn Harleston was sent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortresse, who issuing abroad on a day, with such power as he might take foorth, leauing the fortresse furnished, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid vp, as in storehouses, a great quantitie of vittels, for prouision; which church and mill the Englishmen assaulted so valiantlie, that notwithstanding there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their best to defend themselues, yet at length they were taken, and sir Iohn Harleston with his companie, returned with the vittels towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountred by one sir William de Bourds, whome the French king had appointed to lie in Mountburg with a strong power of men of war, to countergarison Chierburg.

Herevpon insued a sore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it séemed that the Englishmen were ouermatched in number, yet they stucke to it manfullie. Their capteine sir Iohn Harleston, fighting in the foremost presse, was felled, and laie on the ground at his enimies féet in great hazard of death. The Englishmen neuerthelesse continued their fight, till at length sir Geffrie Worslie, with a wing of armed footmen with axes, came to the rescue (for to that end he was left

behind, of purpose to come to their aid if néed required) with whose comming the Frenchmen were so hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken insunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquished: there were of them slaine aboue six score, and as manie taken prisoners, among which number was their chéefe capteine sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the residue, and there put in safe keeping. This exploit was atchiued by the Englishmen, on saint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

Sir Iohn Clearke a valiant capteine.

But least any ioy should come to the English people in that season, without some mixture of gréefe, one sir I. Clearke a right valiant knight, & fellow in armes with sir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garrison in a castell in Britaine, where was an hauen, & diuerse English ships lieng in the same, whereof the French gallies being aduertised, came thither, to set those ships on fire, appointing one of their gallies first to attempt the feat, and if fortune so would, to traine the Englishmen foorth, till they should fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had béene in ambush. Now as the enimies wished so it came to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing their vessels in danger to be burnt of the enimies, ran euerie man aboord to saue the ships and goods within them; and amongst the rest, sir Iohn Clearke their capteine, meaning to take such part as his men did, got aboord also, and streight falling in pursute of the gallie that withdrew for the purpose aforesaid, the Englishmen were shortlie inclosed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what shift to make to auoid the present danger.

A policie

Sir Iohn Clearke, perceiuing how the case stood, laid about him like a giant, causing his companie still to draw backe againe, whilest he resisting the enimies, did shew such proofe of his valiancie, that they were much astonished therewith. To be short, he so manfullie behaued himselfe, that the most part of his companie had time to recouer land; but when he that had thus preserued others should leape foorth of the ship to saue himselfe, he was striken on the thigh with an ax, that downe he fell, and so came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almost quite cut off from the bodie, so that he died of that and other hurts presentlie, leauing a remembrance behind him of manie worthie acts through his valiancie atchiued, to his high praise and great commendation. The barke of Yorke was also lost the same time, being a proper vessell; and now taken suddenlie, sanke with all that were aboord in hir, both Englishmen, and the enimies also that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir awaie.

The duke of Britaine restored to his dukedome.

About the same time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of sir Thomas Percie and sir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a hauen not far from saint Malo, the fourth day of August, being receiued with vnspeakable ioy of the Britaines, as well lords as commons, so that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had caused his subiects, in fauor of France, to kéepe him manie yeares foorth of his dukedome as a banished prince, but at length, they being ouercome with irkesomnesse of his long absence, with generall consents sent for him home, so that there were but few of the British nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and those were onelie such as firmelie linked in seruice with the French king, were loth to forgo such roomes and dignities as vnder him they inioied; namelie, the constable of France, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the lord Clisson, the lord de Rohen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

The lord de la Vall amongst other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walsingham) offering him his seruice as well as the residue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue lost all such furniture, as well of vittels, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies espieng their time, immediatlie as he and his companie were set on land, before the ships in which the said furniture was fraught, could enter the hauen, which was somewhat streight

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

streight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at such aduantage, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not caused the master of his ship, euen against his will to returne againe to the rescue, the gallies had taken and gone awaie with the other ships; but through the manfull prowes of sir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ships saued: for according to his woonted valiancie he would not returne, till he saw all other in safetie, & then defending himselfe so well as he might, withdrew into the hauen, and landed safelie with the residue.

An hainous murther of a merchant stranger.

About the same time was an hainous murther committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whome certeine English merchants vpon spite and enuie, which they bare towards him, caused to be slaine one euening in the streét before his own gates. The cause that mooued the merchants so to procure his death was, for that he vndertooke to furnish this land, hauing the staple allowed him at Southhampton, of all such wares as came foorth of Leuant, so plentifullie as was to be had in any place in all the west parts of christendome. In the summer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, so that the countrie became almost desolate. And to the increase of that miserie, the Scots thinking the time to serue their turne, inuaded the borders, and most cruellie harried, robbed, and spoiled the same, not letting passe any part, of most cruell murthering of the people that were left aliue, and not made awaie by that sore contagious sicknesse. The number of cattell was infinite which they droue out of the land with them, not sparing heards of swine which they tooke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that present.

Great death in the north countrie.

Great spoile by the Scots in the death time.

Before the Scots made this iournie into England, whilest the mortalitie was most in force, they calling to certeine of the English borderers, asked of them how it came to passe, that so great a death reigned amongst them. The Englishmen, as good, plaine, and simple meaning men, told them, that trulie they knew not the cause, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in such behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduersitie that chanced vnto them, came by the speciall grace of God, to the end that being punished for their sinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they should enter this land, vnderstanding lewdlie what the Englishmen had told them concerning the disease, and the grace of God, deuised a blessing forsooth to be said euerie morning, of the most ancient person in euerie familie, as; Benedicite, said he: Dominus, said the residue. Then began he againe, saieng; God and saint Mango, saint Romane and saint Andro, shield vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Englishmen dien vpon. Thus the senselesse men misconstruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne destruction, which if not in this world, yet for their brutish crueltie vsed at that present, against the miserable creatures, whom the hand of God had spared in time of that greeuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, least in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imported.

About the same time, Iohn Schakell esquier was set at libertie, the king compounded with him for his prisoner, giuing fiue hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by yeare. When he should bring foorth his prisoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie strange and woonderfull. For when he should appeare, it was knowne to be the verie groome that had serued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer vtter himselfe what he was before that time, hauing serued him as an hired seruant all that while in prison, and out of prison, in danger of life, when his other maister was murthered, where, if he would haue vttered himselfe, he might haue beene enterteined in such honorable state, as for a prisoner of his degrée had beene requisit, so that the faithfull loue and assured constancie in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praised, and no lesse maruelled at of all men.

A notable example of a faithful prisoner.

About the feast of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went

to

to sea an armie of men, that should haue passed ouer into Britaine, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of sir Iohn Arundell, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Thomas Percie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morews, sir Thomas Banester, & manie other knights and esquires, too long to rehearse, a sufficient power vndoubtedlie to haue doone a great enterprise: but they were no sooner on the sea, but suddenlie there arose such an hideous tempest of wind and stormes, that they looked presentlie to be all cast awaie, they were scattered here and there, and driuen they wist not whither. The ship wherein sir Iohn Arundell was aboord, chanced to be cast on the coast of Ireland, and there driuen to forsake his ship, that was readie to be broken in péeces by rage of waues, beating it there against the rocks: he was drowned before he could win to land, in an Ile, neere to the which they had thrust in the ship.

The English nauie scattered by a terrible tempest.

To the like end came sir Thomas Banester, sir Nicholas Trumpington, and sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt foorth of the ship: also one Musard an esquire, a most séemelie personage and a bold; and an other esquier named Denioke, being almost out of danger, were fetched awaie by the surges of the sea, and so perished, with manie other. Robert Rust a cunning seaman, belonging to Blacknie in Northfolke, & maister of the ship wherein sir Iohn Arundell was imbarked, was the first that got to land, giuing example to others how to shift for themselues. But when he saw his cheefe capteine, the said sir Iohn Arundell got foorth to the sands, and as one thinking himselfe past all danger, to shake his wet garments about him; the said Rust waieng the dangerous state wherein the said sir Iohn Arundell yet stood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforsing himselfe to plucke him to the shore: but whilest he tooke care for an other mans safetie, and neglected his owne, he lost his life, and so they both perished togither; for through a mightie billow of the raging seas, they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, drawne into the deepe, so that they could neuer recouer foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The said Rust was much lamented, bicause he was not onelie knowne to be a skilfull maister, but also counselled the said sir Iohn Arundell in no wise to go to sea, at what time he would needs set forward, forsing the said Rust and the marriners to hoist vp sailes and make awaie. They that scaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to releeue their miseries, but bare ground, so that diuerse starved through cold, wanting fier and other succour: the residue that were lustie and wise withall, ran vp and downe, and sometime wrestling, and otherwise chafing themselues, remained there in great miserie, from the thursdaie till sundaie at noone next insuing. At what time, when the sea was appeased and waxen calme, the Irishmen that dwelled ouer against this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and releeued them the best they could, being almost dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The excesse and sumptuous apparell of sir Iohn Arundell.

The said sir Iohn Arundell lost not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie sumptuous, so that it was thought to surmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new sutes of apparell of cloth of gold or tissue, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horsses & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thousand marks, was lost at the sea. And besides this, there were lost at the same time fiue and twentie ships, with men, horsses, and other riches, which attended him in that voiage. Yet sir Thomas Percie, and sir Hugh Caluerlie, with sir William Elmham, and certeine others escaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmercifull tempest: and before sir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the sea was quieted, he was assaulted by a Spaniard, against whome he so defended himselfe, that in the end he tooke the Spanish vessell, and brought hir, with all that he found aboord in hir, vnto the next shore, and sold the same for an hundred pounds, and without long delaie, tooke the sea, & passed ouer to Brest, of which fortresse he was capteine, iointlie with sir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting least some inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their absence, he made the more hast, not taking rest till he came thither, not-

There were drowned aboue a thousand men in one place and other, as the additions to *Ad. Merimuth* doo testifie.

notwithstanding his passed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ship (as Froissard writeth) were drowned, except himselfe & seauen mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, aboue a thousand Englishmen in that most vnluckie voiage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the said sir Iohn Arundell & his companie, for the lasciuious and filthie rule which they kept before their setting foorth, in places where they laie, till their prouision was readie; who not content with that which they did before they tooke ship, in rauishing men wiues, maids and daughters, they carried them aboord, that they might haue the vse of them whilest they were vpon the sea,

Outragious wickednesse iustlie punished.

(Sæua libido furens, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quídue tuo non est violabile telo?)

and yet when the tempest rose, like cruell and vnmercifull persons they threw them into the sea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noise and crieng, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboord with them (whome they had abused so long) God would not cease the rage of the tempest. But it should appeare that this tempest was generall, for where the Spanish and French fléets were abroad at the same time, being assembled togither to annoie the coasts of this land, their ships were likewise tossed and turmoiled, so as no small number of them were lost, in so much that the damage which they susteined, was thought far to passe that which hapned to the English nauie.

1380. In this yeare about Christmasse, sir William de Montacute earle of Salisburie, after he had remained twelue moneths space at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & sir Iohn Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was sent thither in his place. ¶ Also, sir Iohn Harleston was called home from Chierburg, and sir William Windeshore a noble knight was sent thither to be capteine of that fortresse. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Also wheras the yeare before there had beene certeine bishops, earles, barons, and iustices appointed, to haue the gouernement and rule about the king; now at the request of the lords and commons in this parlement assembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was chosen to remaine continuallie with the king, as chéefe gouernour, both of his person, and to giue answer to all strangers that should come hither about any businesse whatsoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of those that were chosen thereto before: it was perceiued that they had sought to inrich themselues, & had doone little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or state of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings cofers.

Sir Iohn Deuereux made deputie of Calis.

The earle of Warwike elected protector.

In this parlement also, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancellor, and Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie tooke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalends of March, to the feast of S. Michaell, which then should be in the yeare 1381, there should be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octaues of Easter, the lord Valeran earle of saint Paule married the kings halfe sister, the ladie Ione de Courtnie: the solemnization of this marriage was holden at Windsore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princesse that was mother to the bride, was greatlie against the marriage, but the bride hir selfe had such a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they should match togither, and set him free of his ransome which he should haue paid, for that he had béene taken prisoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his sister by waie of endowment, the towneship and manour of Biefléet.

The archbishop of Canterburie made lord chancellour.

The kings halfe sister married the earle of saint Paule.

On the seuenth of Iune, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Westminster, on the pauement there, betwixt one sir Iohn Anneslie knight, and one Thomas Katrington esquier;

A combat betwixt sir Iohn Anneslie and

esquier: the occasion of which strange and notable triall rose hereof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that where the fortresse of saint Sauiour within the Ile of Constantine in Normandie, belonging some time to sir Iohn Chandois, had béene committed to the said Katrington, as capteine thereof, to keepe it against the enemies, he had for monie sold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was sufficientlie prouided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it against them: and sith the inheritance of that fortresse and landes belonging thereto, had apperteined to the said Anneslie in right of his wife, as neerest cousine by affinitie vnto sir Iohn Chandois, if by the false conueiance of the said Katrington, it had not béene made awaie, and alienated into the enemies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the said Katrington, whervpon was the same Katrington apprehended, and put in prison, but shortlie after set at libertie againe. Thomas Katrington.

Whilest the duke of Lancaster, during the time that his father king Edward laie in his last sickenesse, did in all things what liked him, & so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he released Katrington for the time, so that sir Iohn Anneslie could not come to the effect of his sute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenses staied the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for such a forren controuersie that had not risen within the limits of the realme, but touched possession of things on the further side the sea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cause were first notified to the constable and marshall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Herevpon was the day and place appointed, and all things prouided readie, with lists railed and made so substantiallie, as if the same should haue indured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to sée this tried, was thought to excéed that of the kings coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed. Triall by cõbat in what case lawfull.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come togither in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the lists were set vp, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courser seemelie trapped, entered first as appellant, staieng till his aduersarie the defendant should come. And shortlie after was the esquier called to defend his cause in this forme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which sir Iohn Anneslie knight and appellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thée. He being thus called thrise by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewise; and riding on a courser trapped with traps imbrodered with his armes, at his approching to the lists he alighted from his horsse, lest according to the law of armes the constable should haue challenged the horsse if he had entered within the lists. But his shifting nothing auailed him, for the horsse after his maister was alighted beside him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast, so that the earle of Buckingham, bicause he was high constable of England, claimed the horsse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and so the horsse was adiudged vnto him. The order of the combat. The earle of Buckingham claimeth the horsse.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horsse was made after, as soone as the esquier was come within the lists) the indenture was brought foorth by the marshall and constable, which had béene made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were conteined the articles exhibited by the knight against the esquier, and there the same was read before all the assemblie. The esquier (whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of troublesome and grudging passions, as an offendor alreadie conuinced, thought (as full well he might)

Multa miser timeo, quia feci multa proteruè)

went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might haue séemed the sounder. But the duke of Lancaster hearing him so staie at the matter, sware, that except

except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures comprised, that were not made without his owne consent, he should as guiltie of the treason foorthwith be had foorth to execution. The duke with those words woone great commendation, and auoided no small suspicion that had béene conceiued of him as parciall in the esquiers cause. The esquier hearing this, said, that he durst fight with the knight, not onelie in those points, but in all other in the world whatsoeuer the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and fauour of his freends, than to the cause which he had taken vpon him to defend. He was in déed a mightie man of stature, where the knight among those that were of a meane stature was one of the least. Freends to the esquier, in whom he had great affiance to be borne out through their assistance, were the lords Latimer and Basset, with others.

Before they entered battell, they tooke an oth, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, nor art magike, whereby they might obteine the victorie of their aduersarie, nor had about them any herbe or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vse to triumph ouer their enimies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therewith hauing made their praiers deuoutlie, they began the battell, first with speares, after with swords, and lastlie with daggers. They fought long, till finallie the knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfullie ouerthrowne by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen vpon the esquier, through sweat that ran downe by his helmet his sight was hindered, so that thinking to fall vpon the esquier, he fell downe sideling himselfe, not comming néere to the esquier, who perceiuing what had happened, although he was almost ouercome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himselfe vpon him, so that manie thought the knight should haue beene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight would recouer his feet againe, and get the victorie of his aduersarie.

The esquire is ouerthrowne.

The king in the meane time caused it to be proclamed that they should staie, and that the knight should be raised vp from the ground, and so meant to take vp the matter betwixt them. To be short, such were sent as should take vp the esquier; but comming to the knight, he besought them, that it might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obteine the victorie, if the esquier might be laid vpon him, in manner as he was earst. Finallie, when it would not be so granted, he was contented to be raised vp, and was no sooner set on his féet, but he cheerfullie went to the king, without anie mans helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him vp, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease, to see if he might recouer his strength.

The knight at his comming before the king, besought him & his nobles, to grant him so much, that he might be eftsoones laid on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft vpon him: for the knight perceiued that the esquire through excessiue heat, and the weight of his armor, did maruellouslie faint, so as his spirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiuing the knight so couragiouslie to demand to trie the battell foorth to the vttermost, offring great summes of monie, that so it might be doone, decreed that they should be restored againe to the same plight in which they laie when they were raised vp: but in the meane time the esquire fainting, and falling downe in a swoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yéeld vp his last breath presentlie among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water vpon him, seeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparell, which thing prooued the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

The esquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquisher.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting vp his eies, began to hold vp his head, and to cast a ghostlie looke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no

péece

péece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false periured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The esquier immediatlie after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to wax raging wood, and so continuing still out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he yéelded vp the ghost. ¶ This combat was fought (as before yée haue heard) the seuenth of Iune to the great reioising of the common people, and discouragement of traitours.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Oliuer de Clisson, with a number of ships and gallies of France and Spaine, tooke the sea, and comming on the coast of England, landed in diuerse places of the west countrie, and also in the south parts, spoiling and burning sundrie townes, taking such ships and vessels as they might laie hold vpon, and so continued to indamage the English people that inhabited néere to the sea side, all that summer following. ¶ In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of seauen or eight thousand men of armes and archers, was sent ouer to Calis, that he might inuade France, and passe through the same to come into Britaine vnto the aid of the duke there. ¶ You haue heard how the French king had seized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, bicause that the duke had ioined himselfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerse of the good townes, and also manie of the barons and nobles of the countrie which kept themselues as neuters a long season; but at length, longing to see the returne of their naturall lord and duke, sent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to sée to the quieting of the troubled state of his countrie.

The French-men spoile & burne diuerse townes in the west countrie. An. Reg. 4. *Froissard.*

The earle of Buckingham sent into Britaine to aid the duke against the French king.

The duke being thus earnestlie desired to returne home, by the aduise of the king of England and his councell, granted to their request that had so instantlie required him, both by letters and sufficient messengers: wherevpon he tooke the sea, and sailing foorth, arriued in Britaine, hauing with him sir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Englishmen both armed men and archers (as before yee haue heard.) The king also promised to send him a new supplie verie shortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was so contrarie, that sir Iohn Arundell generall of those that were sent, and manie of his companie, were drowned by force of tempest, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his subiects, did manfullie defend his townes and countrie against the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppressed by the great puissance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the sooner. Which being signified ouer into England, mooued the king and his councell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voiage. He landed at Calis three daies before the feast of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Stafford and Deuonshire, the lord Spenser constable of the host, the lord Fitz Walter marshall, the lord Basset, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Morlie, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsore, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington, sir Iohn and sir Nicholas Daubriticourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Neuill sonne to the lord Neuill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Broe, sir Geffrie Wourslie, sir William Clinton, sir Iuon Fitz Warren, and diuerse other. After they had rested them at Calis two daies, they remooued the third day out of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remained three daies, till all their companie, cariages, and prouisions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remooued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights these that follow: the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Morlie, the son of the lord Fitz Walter, sir Roger Strange, sir Iohn Ipre, sir Iohn Colle, sir Iames Tirell, sir Thomas Ramston, sir Iohn Neuill, and sir Thomas Ros or Roslie, as some copies haue. These persons were made knights,

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

knights, bicause they went in the vaward, which was sent to win a strong house called Follant, which the owner had fortified against them. But though he defended himselfe manfullie for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken prisoners.

After this the duke passed by saint Omers, shewing himselfe (about a mile off) with his host in order of battell aloft vpon a mounteine. Some of the Englishmen rode to the barriers, requiring that some of them within would come foorth and breake staues with them, but they could not be answered. The same day that the Englishmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as sir Rafe Neuill, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas Danglure, sir Rafe Petipas, sir Lewes saint Albine, and sir Iohn Paulie or rather Paulet. These Englishmen rode through the countrie, demanding iusts and déeds of armes, but they could not be answered. In déed the townes of the frontiers were well replenished and stuffed with men of war, and still were the Englishmen coasted, but they kept themselues so close togither, without breaking their order, that their enimies could find them at none aduantage.

Knights againe made.

The iournie of the English armie through France.

They passed by Tirwine and by Betwine, where they lodged one day. They made but easie iournies, and seemed to require nothing but battell. They passed by Arras, by Miramont, and so to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there thrée daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they dislodged, and drew towards Cambraie, and so to S. Quintines, & after vp towards Reimes. They found little riches, and small store of vittels abroad in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all to his men of warre, who either wasted or conueied all things of any value into the fortresses and walled townes. The Englishmen therefore sent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue some vittels sent to the host, for the which they would spare the countrie from wasting: but they of Reimes would not consent herevnto. Whervpon the Englishmen began to light them such candels, as their eies within the citie aked to behold the same a far off.

Moreouer, the Englishmen approched so néere to the walles and diches of the citie, that they brought awaie twentie thousand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compasse of their diches; and further sent to them within, that if they would not sent bread and wine foorth to vittell the host, in that behalfe they would burne all their corne: for doubt whereof, the citizens sent foorth to the host six charets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their corne saued from destruction; and the Englishmen by soft and easie iournies drew towards the citie of Trois, in the which was the duke of Burgognie, with the dukes of Burbon and Bar, the earle of Ewe, the lord Coucie, sir Iohn de Vien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a bastide without the towne able to receiue a thousand men of armes, but vpon the Englishmens approch to assault it, they did forsake that strength, and withdrew to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Also there were certeine new knights made, as sir Peter Berton, sir Iohn and sir Thomas Paulie or Paulet, sir Iohn Stiugulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir Iohn Vassecoque, sir Thomas Brasie, sir Iohn Brauin, sir Henrie Vernier, sir Iohn Coleuile, sir William Euerat, sir Nicholas Stiugulie, and sir Hugh Lunit.

The citizens of Reimes saue their corne & fields from destroieng by sending vittels to the English host.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a baronet.

Knights created.

Verne or Vernon.

The English host perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdrawe into the towne, drew togither, and stood in order of battell for the space of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remooued to Maillerois le vicount neere vnto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after drew into Gastinois, and so into Beause. They were coasted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as many or more in number as they were themselues. But the French king being a politike prince, wiselie considered what losses the realme of France had susteined afore time, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and therefore was fullie resolued, that in no wise he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience)

The policie of the French king.

experience) to keepe his townes close against his enimies, and so in the end to wearie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, whereas he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they sore indamaged the same for a time.

There chanced manie small skirmishes amongst those that rode foorth to discouer the countrie, but no notable incounter at all. For the Englishmen in those daies were cats not to be catched without mittens (as Iacob Meir in one place saith) & againe the French men were as warie how they aduentured to come néere them, peraduenture for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3, as C. O. noteth, saieng,

In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.

Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Valesus
In campum adiunctum & vicina coëgerat arua,
Non tamen Angligenas aduersum est ausus aperto
Tendere Marte feris confligere fortiter armis.

Onelie they sought how to inclose them vp in the countrie, and to famish them, that they might then fight with them at some great aduantage; but still the English host passed forward, holding on their voiage towards Britaine by Vandosme, Pont Volaine, and so ouer the riuer of Sartre. In this meane while the French king Charles the fift was taken with a sore sicknesse, whereof he departed this life the same daie that the English armie passed ouer the riuer of Sartre, which was on the six and twentith of September, his brethren the dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie were at Paris with him at the houre of his death, where as a little before they had béene abroad in the countrie with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance against the Englishmen, and meant indeed (if they could haue espied their aduantage, and gotten licence thereto of the king) to haue giuen their enimies battell. But now they were otherwise occupied: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the countrie to coast the Englishmen as they had doone before. All the French power was assembled in the citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, the lord Coucie, and others.

The death of Charles the 5 French king.

In this meane while that the earle of Buckingham was passing through the realme of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischéefe on the coast of England: but about the latter end of Iune, by a fléet of Englishmen of the west countries part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an hauen in Ireland called Kingsale, where being assailed of the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were vanquished; so that to the number of foure hundred of them were slaine, and their chéefe capteins taken, as Gonsalue de Verse, and his brother Iohn Martin de Motrigo, Turgo lord of Morants; also the lord of Reith, Péers Martin of Vermew, Iohn Modit of Vermew, the seneshall of Wargarie, the seneshall of S. Andrew, Cornelis of S. Sebastiano, Paschale de Biskey, Iohn Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebastiano, and diuerse other.

Tho. Walsi.

The French and Spanish gallies chased from the coast of England to Kingsale in Ireland and there vanquished.

There were taken foure of their barges with a ballenger, and one and twentie English vessels recouered, which they had robbed and taken awaie from their owners. There scaped yet foure of their notable capteins frō the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, Iohn Peris Mantago, Iohn Husce Gitario, and one Garcias of S. Sebastiano, so that the malice of those robbers ceased not. For they with the French gallies, still lieng on the seas, when they espied anie aduantage, would land their people, and doo what mischeefe they could, in taking preies, and burning townes and villages, although now and then they came short to their vessels againe, losing sometimes an hundred, sometimes fourescore that were ouertaken by the Englishmen that came foorth against them. But among other inuasions which they made this summer on the coasts, we find that they burnt the towne of Winchelsie, & put the abbat of Battell to flight with his people, comming to succor that towne and tooke one of his moonks that was there in armor with the abbat. ¶ Some write also, that they burnt Rie, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Finallie, their boldnesse so farre increased, that in August they entring with their gallies into the riuer of Thames, came vp to Grauesend, where they burnt the most part of the towne, and on the other side

Diuerse townes on the English costs destroied and burnt.

The abbat of Battell in rescuing Winchelsie is put to flight.

Grauesend burnt.

side of the riuer, as well in Essex as Kent, they burnt and spoiled diuerse places, and with their prisoners and booties returned without receiuing anie hurt, bringing with them to France, both rich spoiles and good prisoners.

The English host entreth into Britaine.

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where we left. The English armie drew still towards Britaine, but with so small doubt of their aduersaries, that they laie three or foure daies sometimes still in one place. At their approching to the marches of Britaine, they came to Vitrie, a towne situate at the first entring into that countrie, and from thence went to Chateau Briant, and there rested, whither came to them certeine knights sent from the duke of Britaine, which signified to the erle of Buckingham what the dukes meaning was. Indéed by the death of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie abated towards the Frenchmen, so that he had not much passed if the Englishmen had béene at home againe. Moreouer, his townes were not determined to receiue the Englishmen, as enimies to the crown of France: so that he was in a perplexitie how to order his businesse. At length, to shew himselfe a stedfast frend to the Englishmen, and one that was no changeling, he determined by their support, to force all those to allow the league which he had established with the Englishmen, who had denied to beare armour against the crowne of France. And first, bicause they of Naunts were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appointed first to besiege their citie. They hauing knowledge thereof, sent into France for aid.

Naunts besieged by the Englishmen.

The dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burgognie, and Burbon, brethren to the late king, and vncle to his sonne the yoong king, hauing the gouernance of the realme vnder him, sent six hundred speares with all spéed to strengthen them of Naunts, which defended the citie in such wise from the puissance of the Englishmen, who enuironed the same with a strong siege, that in the end, bicause the duke came not to them (according to his promise) the siege was raised the morrow after New yeares daie, two moneths and foure daies after the same was first laid. The duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the siege of Naunts, in strengthening of the English host, but he could not persuade his lords to aid him in anie such enterprise. And therefore now that the earle of Buckingham had broken vp his siege, he caused him to be lodged in the citie of Vannes, & his men abroad in the countrie, some here, and some there, acquiting himselfe as well towards them as he might.

The siege at Naunts broken vp.

But suerlie the hearts of the Britains were wonderfullie changed, and in no wise would consent to haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie reasonable peace might be concluded. For manie that hated the father, bare good will and heartie loue towards the sonne, whose yoong yeares and great towardnesse allured the hearts of manie to wish him well. Hervpon was meanes made for a peace, which by the duke of Aniou his consent (who bare the greatest rule in France in that season) a finall accord was made, betwixt the yoong king and the duke of Britaine, so that the duke should come and doo his homage vnto the French king, and sweare to be true and faithfull vnto him: also that he should rid the Englishmen out of his countrie, and helpe them with ships and vessels to transport them home into England.

A peace betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine.

The articles of the peace.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderstood of this peace, was not a little displeased in his mind, considering that the duke of Britaine had delt so vniustlie with him and his nephue the king of England. But the duke still excused him by his subiects, as though if he had not thus agreed, he should haue beene in danger to haue lost his heritage of that countrie. Finallie, the earle after he had ships prouided for his passage, the eleuenth of Aprill departed out of Vannes, and came to the hauen where his ships laie, and so went aboord in like maner as other of his men did from other hauens, and shortlie after (when the wind serued) tooke the sea, and returned into England, sore displeased with the duke of Britaine for his great vntruth and dissimulation (as he tooke it) notwithstanding all excuses to cloake the matter by him alledged.

The earle of Buckingham returned into England.

Whilest the Englishmen were thus occupied in warres against the Frenchmen (as before

ye

ye haue heard) the Scots could not rest in quiet, but in reuenge for a ship, which the townesmen of Newcastell and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to doo what mischéefe they could vnto the English borders: for the losse of that ship grieued them, bicause it was esteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at seuen thousand marks. Herevpon the Scots entring by the west borders, inuaded & spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, and comming into the forrest of Inglewood, they tooke awaie with them such a number of beasts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and other. Besides this, they cruellie slue all such as they could laie hands vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, villages, and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the faire was kept there, slaieng, taking, and chasing awaie the people, and after gathering togither all the goods and riches there found, tooke it awaie with them, whereof there was such plentie as might haue satisfied the couetous desire of a most greedie armie. They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adioining, they durst not staie to make any attempt against that towne, but compassed their waie to escape with their booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they lost some of their companie as they passed by an ambushment of certeine archers of Westmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpose. When the earle of Northumberland would haue gone foorth to reuenge those iniuries doone to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his councell, to forbeare till the daie of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be doone in the matter.

The Scots inuade the English borders and spoile whole countries carrieng awaie great booties.

About Michaelmasse the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Warwike, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honor, hauing with them a great power of souldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and comming to the borders, they laie there till they had consumed no small summes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scotish armie had inuaded the same. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scotish commissioners, a truce was agreed vpon till Easter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoo. For the space of halfe a score yeares togither now last past, the Englishmen euerie yeare had one or two such treaties with the Scots about the incursions and rodes which they yearelie made into the English borders, sore indamaging the inhabitants of those north parts of the realme, notwithstanding any truce or abstinence of warre that might be concluded.

An armie lingering in the north parts greatlie impouerisheth the countrie.

Additions to *Adam Meri-muth.*

Whilest the armie (as ye haue heard) laie idle in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto the worthie citizen Iohn Philpot, who calling vnto him certeine other worshipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was conteined matter of high treason: and perceiuing by the seale that it belonged vnto sir Rafe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie councell, deliuered that letter with foure other letters closed with the same seale, first to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the seale knowne to be the said sir Rafe Ferrers his seale, manie greatlie maruelled that so ancient a knight, and one in whom so great trust was put, should go about any such treasons.

Treason in letters writt by sir Rafe Ferrers to certeine French lords.

One of the letters was directed to sir Bertram de Cleaquin, an other to the lord de la Riuer the chamberlaine of France, an other to the lord Clisson, and an other to the patrone of the gallies, and to the capteine of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the same time wasting alongst the coasts, did much hurt in diuerse places of the lands. Foorthwith the said Philpot and others were sent in post from the king to the duke of Lancaster, that for somuch as the said sir Rafe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he should arrest him and put him in safe keeping, which commandement the duke did accomplish, and committed him to be safelie kept in the castell of Duresme, but shortlie after in the next parlement he was set at libertie, foure

barons

barons being bound for his foorth comming, till time that he might more euidentlie declare his innocencie.

A parlement at Northampton.

About the feast of S. Martine, was a parlement holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bicause in that season of the yeare they were constreined to come where there was no store of fewell to make them fiers: and beside that, lodgings were verie streict for so great a multitude. But the cause that mooued the councell to appoint this parlement there, was to the end that they might the more fréelie procéed to the triall of Iohn Kirkbie a citizen of London, that had murthered the Genowais (as before ye haue hard) which Kirkbie was condemned at this parlement, and drawne and hanged in the sight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it should haue beene doone at London, the lords doubted least some tumult might haue béene raised by the citizens, who were reckoned in those daies verie rash and presumptuous in their dooings.

Iohn Kirkbie executed for murthering a merchant stranger.

A gréeuous subsidie.

But now to the effect of this parlement. There was a new and strange subsidie or taske granted to be leuied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie préest secular or regular six shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggers certenlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter cursse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischéefe rose thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Christmasse, Thomas Brantingham bishop of Exeter and lord treasuror, was discharged of his office of treasurorship, and sir Robert Hales lord of S. Iohns was aduanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

Twelue pẽce as some haue.

1381.

Thom. Wals.

Wicliffes opinion.

About this time did Iohn Wicliffe chieflie set foorth his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that it ought not in any wise to be worshipped in such sort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambassadors sent into Germanie, to treat with the emperour for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours sister. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinall, intituled of saint Praxed, and the duke of Tarsilia, and other nobles that came from the emperor, to treat with the king & his councell about the same marriage. This cardinall, whether he passed the bounds of his commission and authoritie to him granted by the pope (as some write) or whether he was furnished with such faculties, he was very liberall in bestowing of them abrode on all such as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vsed onelie to reserue for himselfe to bestow, this man granted the same liberallie, both biennals and triennals. He gaue also letters confessionall, to all those that would paie for them, admitting aswell beneficed men as other, to be the popes chapleins. He made notaries for monie, and denied not altars portatiue to anie that would pay for them.

The cardinall of Praxed.

Triennals.

All for monie.

He receiued fortie pounds, besides other gifts, of the moonks of the Cisteaux order, to grant to them a generall licence to eat flesh indifferentlie, as well abroad, as they had béene accustomed to doo at home within their monasteries. To those that were excommunicate he gaue absolution: those that had vowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to saint Iames, he would not first release them, till he had receiued so much monie, according to the true valuation, as they should haue spent in their iornies: and to be bréefe, nothing could be asked, but for monie he was readie to grant it. And when he was requested to shew by what power he did all these things, with great indignation he answered, that he would let them vnderstand at Rome, if they would needs know the authoritie which he had. At length his males were so filled with siluer, that his seruants disdained to make them anie answer, except they brought gold, saieng; "Bring vs gold, for

for we are full of your siluer." But at his departure he tooke all awaie with him, both gold and siluer in such abundance as was maruellous. This hath beene the practise of the Romanists from time to time, wherevpon grew this common byword (taxing the polling and shauing shifts of that execrable see, gaping gulfe, and insatiable sea)

Curia Romana non quærit ouem sine lana.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the state of the realme. After the returne of the earle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduise of the councell, that the duke of Lancaster should eftsoones go as ambassador from king Richard into Scotland, to see if he might renew the truce (which shortlie would haue beene expired) for three yéeres longer. Also whereas there was variance and open war mainteined, betwixt Iohn king of Castile, and king Iohn of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord William de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and sir Matthew Gournie, were sent into Portingale with fiue hundred armed men, and fiue hundred archers to aid the king of Portingale against the king of Castile, who was sonne to the bastard Henrie: for the duke of Lancaster reioised greatlie, that he might haue such a fréend as the king of Portingale, to ioine with him in aid against the king of Castile; meaning (as soone as opportunitie would serue) to go ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and pursue his claime to the crowne of Castile and Leon, against the vsurper, in right of his wife quéene Constance, eldest daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom Henrie the bastard as before (yée haue heard) did still persecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome.

An armie sent into Portingale to aid the king there against the K. of Castile.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lancaster could compasse his purpose, for the which he went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of the king and realme, then should he shortlie after follow his brother of Cambridge with a great power, to trie what chance God would send to him, against his aduersarie the king of Castile. ¶ In the meane time other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richard, sore to the disquieting of the same, and vtter disappointing for that time of the duke of Lancasters intent. The commons of the realme sore repining, not onelie for the pole grotes that were demanded of them, by reason of the grant made in parlement (as yée haue heard) but also (as some write) for that they were sore oppressed (as they tooke the matter) by their land-lords, that demanded of them their ancient customes and seruices, set on by some diuelish instinct & persuasion of their owne beastlie intentions, as men not content with the state wherevnto they were called, rose in diuerse parts of this realme, and assembled togither in companies, purposing to inforce the prince to make them frée and to release them of all seruitude, whereby they stood as bondmen to their lords and superiours.

The cõmons by reason of the great subsidie and other oppressions rise in diuerse parts of the realme.

Villaines.

Where this rebellion of the commons first began, diuerse haue written diuerslie. One author writeth, that (as he learned by one that was not farre from the place at that time) the first beginning should be at Dertford in Kent: for when those pole shillings, or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be collected, no small murmuring, cursing, and repining among the common people rose about the same, and the more indeed, through the lewd demenour of some vndiscréet officers, that were assigned to the gathering thereof, insomuch that one of those officers being appointed to gather vp that monie in Dertford aforesaid, came to the house of one Iohn Tiler, that had both seruants in his house, and a faire yong maid to his daughter. The officer there fore demanding monie for the said Tiler and for his wife, his seruants, and daughter, the wife being at home, and hir husband abroad at worke in the towne, made answer that hir daughter was not of age, and therefore the denied to paie for hir.

The beginning of the rebellion at Derford in Kent.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in common speech said to be due for all those that were vndergrowne, bicause that yoong persons as well of the man as of the womankind, comming to the age of fouretéene or fifteene yeares, haue commonlie haire growing foorth about those priuie parts, which for honesties sake nature hath taught vs to couer and keepe secret. The officer therefore not satisfied with the mothers excuse, said he

he would feele whether hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to misuse the maid, and search further than honestie would haue permitted. The mother streightwaies made an outcrie, so that hir husband being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this adoo at his house, came running home with his lathing staffe in his hand, and began to question with the officer, asking who made him so bold to keepe such a rule in his house: the officer being somewhat presumptuous, and highminded, would foorthwith haue flowne vpon this Tiler; but I. Tiler auoiding the officers blow, raught him such a rap on the pate, that his braines flue out, and so presentlie he died.

Great noise rose about this matter in the streets, and the poore folks being glad, euerie man arraied himselfe to support Iohn Tiler, & thus the commons drew togither, and went to Maidestone, and from thence to Blackheath, where their number so increased, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thousand. And the said Iohn Tiler tooke vpon him to be their cheefe capteine, naming himselfe Iacke Straw. ¶ Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fobhings was the first that procured the people thus to assemble togither: and that one of the kings seruants named Iohn Leg, with three of his fellowes, practised to féele yoong maids whether they were vndergrowne (as yée haue hard the officer did at Dertford) which dishonest and vnséemelie kind of dealing did set the people streight in such a rage and vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of such iniuries.

The commõs of Essex begin the commotiõ as *Hol.* saith.

But Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, that the first sparkes of this rebellion kindled in Essex, where the inhabitants of two townes onelie at the first, that were the authors and first stirrers of all this mischéefe, did send vnto euerie little towne about, that all manner of men, as well those that were aged, as others that were in their lustiest time and youthfull yeares, should come to them with speed, setting all excuses apart, in their best arraie and furniture for warre, threatning to such as came not, that their goods should be spoiled, their houses burnt or cast downe, and they to lose their heads when they were taken. The terror of this threatning caused the ignorant people to flocke to them by heaps, leauing all their businesse, letting plough and cart stand, forsaking wife, children, and houses, so that in a short time there were fiue thousand gotten togither of those commons and husbandmen, of which number manie were weaponed onelie with staues, some with rustie swords and billes, and other with smokie bowes, more ruddie than old yuorie, not hauing past two or three arrowes, and the same happilie with one feather a peece.

The armor of ye Essex rebels.

Among a thousand of those kind of persons, yée should not haue séene one well armed: and yet by reason of their multitude, when they were once got togither, they thought the whole relme had not beene able to resist them; and supposed that they could with facilitie (in respect of the aduerse part) make the states of the land stoope to them, and by their permission to reteine or compulsion to resigne their roomes of dignitie. But the fond conceited rowt considered not the euent of this insurrection, that the woorst would be their owne; for the old saieng is true, namelie,

Læditur a stimulo quicunq; fricatur abillo.

Moreouer, to make their part the stronger, these Essexmen sent ouer into Kent, aduertising the people there of their enterprise, and therefore willed them to make them readie to ioine with them for their obteining of libertie, and reforming of the euill customs of the realme. Whether the Kentishmen through persuasions of their neighbors of Essex, by occasion of that which had chanced at Dertford (as before yée haue heard) or (as it may be) the same chancing at that selfe time, they being mooued as well by the one as the other, vp they got (as yée haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioining by the like policie which had béene practised by the Essexmen, they stirred vp the most part of the countrie to ioine with them, and foorthwith stopping the waie that led to Canturburie, and arresting all such as passed by the same, they caused them to swere that they should be true to king Richard, and to the commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that should be called Iohn. And this was for the enuie which they bare to Iohn

The oth ministred by the rebels to all passengers.

of

of Gant the duke of Lancaster, who in right of his wife Constance, that was daugliter to king Peter of Castile, did name himselfe king of Castile.

Also they caused them to sweare that they should be readie to come to them whensoeuer they sent for them, and induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further, that they should neuer yéeld to anie tax to be leuied on the realme, except a fiftéenth onelie. Thus it came to passe, that after it was spred abroad what stur these Essex and Kentishmen kept; the commons also in the counties of Sussex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Norffolke, and other shires about, bustled vp and ran togither on heapes, so that the number of those vnrulie people maruellouslie increased, in such wise as now they feared no resistance, and therefore began to shew proofe of those things which they had before conceiued in their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices, and iurors, as they might catch, and laie hands vpon, without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience, alledging that the land could neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till all those sorts of people were dispatched out of the waie.

The commōs of other shires hearing of the stur in Kent & Essex, rise in like maner.

Lawiers, iustices & iurors brought to blockam feast by the rebels.

This talke liked well the eares of the common vplandish people, and by the lesse conneieng the more, they purposed to burne and destroie all records, euidences, court-rolles, and other minuments, that the remembrance of ancient matters being remooued out of mind, their landlords might not haue whereby to chalenge anie right at their hands. Their number still increased: for all such as were in debt or danger of law for their misdemeanors and offenses, came out of all coasts vnto them, so that when the Essexmen, and other of the hither side the Thames, were passed ouer and ioined with the Kentishmen, & those that were assembled on that side the riuer vpon Blackeheath; they were estéemed to be an hundred thousand, hauing diuerse capteins besides the said Iacke Straw, as William Wraw, Wat Tiler, Iacke Shéepheard, Tom Milner, and Hob Carter. Whilest they were lodged on Blackheath, the king sent to them certeine knights, to vnderstand of them the cause of their gathering thus togither, to whom answer was made, that they were come togither to speake with the king about certeine causes and businesse, & therefore they bad the messengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but he must needs come and speake with them.

The next way to extinguish right.

An huge number of y rebels. Fabian.

Capteins of the Essex and Kentish rebels.

The rebls send to the K. to come speak with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were some that thought it best that he should go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simon de Sudburie the archbishop of Canturburie, that was lord chancellor, and also sir Robert Hales lord of S. Iohns, and as then lord treasuror, spake earnestlie against that aduise, and would not by anie meanes that the king should go to such a sort of barelegged ribalds; but rather they wished that he should take some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals. After the commons vnderstood that the king would not come to them, by reason of the contrarie aduise giuen to him by those two persons, the lord chancellor and the lord treasuror, they were maruellouslie mooued against them, and sware that they would not rest till they had got them, & chopped off their heads, calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Ill counsell.

Neuerthelesse there be that write, that the king (to cut off the branches of such mischeefe now in the first budding thereof) to satisfie in part the desire of those rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to Rethereth, and there néere the shore keeping himselfe still on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer side. But forsomuch as he would not come foorth of his barge to them on land, which they seemed most to desire, they were in a great rage, and so for that they could not haue him amongst them (as they wished) in furious wise they ran to the citie, and at the first approach they spoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp the prisons of the Marshalsea, & the Kings bench, set the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their companie.

Froissard.

The rebels spoile Southwarke, and set all prisoners at large.

This was on Corpus Christi daie, as the same authors write, that the king should thus talke with them: but their first entring into Southwarke, was on Corpus Christi euen, as Thomas Walsingham saith, passing at their pleasure to and fro the bridge all that night: for although the lord maior, and other of the best citizens would gladlie haue closed the gates

The cōmons of London aiders of the rebels.

gates against them, yet they durst not doo it, for feare of the commons of the citie, who seemed to fauour the cause of the rebels so apparantlie, that they threatned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would take vpon them to shut the gates against the commons. The Londoners liked better of the commons, for that they protested the cause of their assembling togither, was not but to seeke out the traitors of the realme, and when they had found them foorth, and punished them according to that they had deserued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more credit to their saiengs, they suffered none of their companie to rob or spoile, but caused them to paie for that they tooke.

All rebels pretend reformatiō but indéed purpose destruction both of king and countrie.

On the morrow being Corpus Christi day, on the which day it is reported that the king should talke with them at Rethereth (as before ye haue heard) after that they saw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them on land, as they wished, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of such wines as they dranke in euerie mans cellar that was set open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd deuises, as of the apprehending of traitors, and speciallie concerning such misliking as they had of the duke of Lancaster, whom they hated aboue all other persons. And herevpon agréeing in one mind, after diuerse other of their outragious doings, they ran the same day to the said dukes house of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and statelinesse of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in despite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured vtterlie to destroie it.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house burnt by the rebels.

The shamefull spoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the zeale of iustice, truth, and vpright dealing which they would seeme to shew, was as nice and strange on the other part, speciallie in such kind of misgouerned people: for in that spoiling of the dukes house, all the iewels, plate, and other rich and sumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man should fare the better by it of a mite, but threw all into the fire, so to be consumed; and such things as the fire could not altogither destroie, as plate and iewels, they brake and crashed in péeces, throwing the same into the Thames. One of them hauing thurst a faire siluer peece into his bosome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was espied of his fellowes, who tooke him, and cast both him and the péece into the fire; saieng they might not suffer any such thing, sith they professed themselues to be zealous of truth and iustice, and not théeues nor robbers.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iustice of the rebels.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the celler of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines laie, dranke so much of such swéete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come foorth, but with stones & wood that fell downe as the house burned, they were closed in, so that out they could not get. They laie there showting & crieng seuen daies togither, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and so finallie they perished. Now after that these wicked people had thus destroied the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon. Also the house of saint Iohns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seuen daies togither. On Friday a great number of them, estéemed to 20 thousand, went to the manor of Heiburie that belonged vnto the lord of saint Iohns, and setting fire on it, sought vtterlie to destroie the whole buildings about it.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

They were now diuided into three parts, one vnder the leading of Iacke Straw, tooke in hand to ruinate that house, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the third companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not suffer anie vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him foorth togither with the lord treasuror, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads. There were also beheaded at the same time by those rude people, one of the kings seruants that was a sergeant at armes called

The lord chancellor and the lord treasuror drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

called Iohn Leg, who had vsed himselfe somewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole monie, as by one writer it appeareth. Also to make vp the messe, they beheaded a Franciscane Frier, whom they had taken there at the same time, for malice of the duke of Lancaster, bicause he was verie familiar with him. ¶ Some write that this frier was confessor, and other say that he was physician to the king; but whatsoeuer he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not sparing for anie respect that might be alledged in any of their behalfes. *Thom. Wals.*

On the same day also they beheaded manie others, as well Englishmen as Flemings, for no cause in the world, but onelie to satisfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome, for it was a sport to them, when they gat any one amongst them, that was not sworne to them, and séemed to mislike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer so little hatred to him, streightwaies to plucke of his hood, with such a yelling noise as they tooke vp amongst them, and immediatlie to come thronging into the stréets, and strike off his head. Neither had they any regard to sacred places; for breaking into the church of the Augustine friers, they drew foorth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; and out of the parish churches in the citie, they tooke foorth seuentéene, and likewise stroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

The raging rebels make a pastime to kill men.

No respect of place with the rebels.

But they continuing in their mischéefous purpose, shewed their malice speciallie against strangers, so that entring into euerie stréet, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houses, murthered them which they found within, and spoiled their goods in most outragious manner. Likewise they entered into churches (as before ye haue heard) into abbeies, monasteries, and other houses, namelie of men of law, which in semblable sort they ransacked. They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroied the books, and set prisoners at libertie, and also the sanctuarie-men of saint Martins le grand. And so likewise did they at Westminster, where they brake open the eschequer, and destroied the ancient bookes and other records there, doing what they could to suppresse law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is said,

The outragious dealing of the rebels.

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

They that entered the tower, vsed themselues most presumptuouslie, and no lesse vnreuerentlie against the princesse of Wales, mother to the king: for thrusting into hir chamber, they offered to kisse her, and swasht downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into such feare, that she fell into a swoone, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water side, and put into a barge, & conueied to the place called the quéenes wardrobe, or the tower riall, where she remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort hir. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen stood of the cruell proceedings of those rude & base people. For where there were six hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst gainesaie their doings.

Finallie, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning, and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduise of such as were then about him, vpon good deliberation of counsell, offered to them pardon, and his peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruinating of houses, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoo, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the same pardon. The Essexmen were content with this offer, as they that were desirous to see their wiues and children, being waxen wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were constreined to take. The king went foorth vnto Mile end, and there declared vnto the commons that they should haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all free. And further that euerie shire, towne, lordship and libertie should haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his grant. Herevpon they séemed well appeased, and the king rode

The king offereth the rebels pardon.

Froissard.

to

to the queenes wardrobe, otherwise called the tower roiall, to visit his mother, and so did comfort hir so well as he could, and taried with hir there all night.

The Essexmen satisfied with the kings promises, immediatlie departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine still and tarie for the kings charters. The Kentishmen also remained, and were as busie in maner the next day being saturdaie, in all kind of mischiefous dealings, as they had béene before, to wit, in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houses. The king therefore sent vnto them such as declared in what sort their fellowes were gone home well satisfied, & from thencefoorth to liue in quiet, and the same forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the same. Herevpon their chéefe capteine Wat Tiler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so, as the conditions might be indited to his purpose.

The wicked purpose of the rebels.

He was determined to driue off the king and his councell (bicause he was of greater force than they) with cauils and shifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more easilie haue compassed his resolution, which was, hauing all the poorer sort of the citie on his side, to haue spoiled the citie, and to set fire in foure corners of it, killing first the king and the lords that were about him: but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngratious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozzell to take place, but suddenlie disappointed his mischeefous drift. For whereas diuerse formes of charters had béene drawne according to the effect of the agréement with the Essexmen, and none of them might please this lordlie rebell, at length the king sent to him one of his knights called sir Iohn Newton, to request him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he stood vpon to haue inserted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commission to put to death all lawiers, escheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doo with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all those awaie that vnderstood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people. It was reported in deed, that he should saie with great pride the day before these things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come foorth of his mouth. The wretches had vtterlie forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwise they would haue béene content to liue vnder law, and to doo vnto others as they would be doone vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

The rebels would haue all law abolished.

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,
Sic potes in terris viuere iure poli.

Arrogant and proud words of a villen.

When therefore the said sir Iohn Newton called vpon him to come awaie to the king, he answered as it were with indignation: "If thou (saith he) hast so much hast to returne to the king, thou maist depart, I will come at my pleasure." When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indéed, but somwhat slowlie. And when he was come néere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the said sir Iohn Newton was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant. And bicause the knight came to him on horssebacke, & did not alight from his horsse, Wat Tiler was offended, & said in his furie, "that it became him rather on foot than horssebacke to approach into his presence." The knight not able to abide such presumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant person, shaped him this answer: "It is not amisse that I being on horssebacke, should come to thée sitting on horssebacke."

With which words Wat Tiler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to strike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight disdaining to be misvsed at the hands of such a ribald, told him that he lied falselie, and with that plucked foorth his dagger. Wat Tiler being among his men, shewed that he would not beare that injurie, and foorthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiuing the knight in danger, bad

bad him alight from his horsse, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tiler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would néeds flée vpon him, the maior of London William Walworth, and other knights and esquiers that were about the king, told him that it should be a shame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their presence before the eies of their prince so to be murthered: wherfore they gaue counsell to succor him foorthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arrest him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldnesse, foorthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore astonied him therewith: and streightwaies other that were about the king, as Iohn Standish an esquier, and diuers more of the kings seruants drew their swords, and thrust him through in diuerse parts of his bodie, so that he fell presentlie from his horsse downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

William Walworth maior of London a stout couragious man.

The death of Wat Tiler, capteine of the rebels.

When the commons beheld this, they cried out, "Our capteine is traitorouslie slaine, let vs stand togither and die with him: let vs shoot and reuenge his death manfullie:" and so bending their bowes, made them readie to shoot. The king shewing both hardinesse and wisdome at that instant, more than his age required, set his spurs to his horsse, and rode to them, saieng: "What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you shoot at your king? Be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, capteine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you shall haue all things that you can desire." This did the king, to the end he might appease them, least they should haue set fire on the houses there in Smithfield, and haue attempted some further mischéefe, in reuenge of the displeasure which they tooke for the death of their chéefe leader. They mooued with these the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet resolued whether they should set vpon the king and slea him, or else be quiet, and returne home with the kings charter.

The king persuadeth the rebels.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onelie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; "Oh yée good and vertuous citizens, come foorth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be slaine, & helpe me your maior standing in the same perill; or if yée will not helpe me for some faults committed by me against you, yet forsake not your king, but helpe and succour him in this present danger." When the worshipfull citizens and other, that in their loiall hearts loued the king, had heard these words, incontinentlie they put themselues in strong and sure armor, to the number of a thousand men, and gathering themselues togither into the streets, tarried but for some lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came vnto them sir Robert Knolles, whom all of them requested that he would be their leader, least comming out of arraie and order, they might the sooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certeine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour vnto the kings presence. The king with the lords, knights and esquires, not a little reioised at the comming of those armed men, and streightwaies compassed the commons about, as they had beene a flocke of sheepe that should haue béene closed within some fold, till it pleased the sheepheard to appoint foorth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels.

Vehement words of the maior of London to the citizens crieng for aid against the rebels.

An armie without a capteine.

There was to be seene a maruellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe staues, bils, axes, swords, bowes and arowes, humblie began to sue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the life of the king and his seruants wholie and altogither in their hands, power, and disposition. The poore wretches sought to hide themselues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and dennes, and wheresoeuer they might get out of the way, so to safe gard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladlie haue beene dooing with them, and requested licence of him to strike off the heads of some one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witnesse in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthood was able to

The rebels quite discouraged threw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in aid of the king.

to doo somewhat against the carters and ploughmen: but the king would not suffer them, alledging that manie of them were come thither by compulsion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to passe that those should die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there should be proclamation made in London, that the citizens should haue no dealings with them, nor suffer anie of them to come within the citie that night, but to cause them to lie without doores.

Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

¶ In the report of this commotion chronographers doo somewhat varie, as by this present extract out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceister abbeie, liuing at the time of this tumult may appeare: which Abraham Fleming hath faithfullie and trulie translated out of the annales of the said canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as followeth. Vpon a saturdaie, these malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the first mouuer but afterwards the principall leaders, Iacke Straw, Iacke Miler, Iacke Carter, Iacke Trewman, and their trecherous traine] met togither in Smithfield, whither also the king repaired in the morning, who although in yeares he was but yoong, yet in wisedome and discretion he was well growne. The ringleader of this tumultuous rowt, whose right name was Wat Tiler, which he had now changed into Iacke Strawe, approched neere the king, in so much that he might in a maner touch him, being the mouth of all the residue, and hauing in his hand a drawne dagger, which he tossed from hand to hand, boy-like plaieng with it, & watching due time therewith, if not to stab, yet suddenlie to smite the king, if he denied their requests. Wherevpon they that were next and about the king were greatlie affeard, least his pretended mischéefe should come to passe.

Now he craued of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods should be common, so that as well poore as rich might frèelie in any place wheresoeuer practise fishing in ponds, pooles, riuers, or any waters, and might hunt déere in forrests and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerse other requests, which he would haue granted without contradiction or gainesaieng, and exercise without controlment. Now when the king in the grant hereof by deliberation vsed some delaie, Iacke Straw drew neerer vnto him, and speaking vnto him certeine thretening words, tooke hold of the horsses bridle whereon the king rode, vpon what presumptuous enterprise I wot not. Which Iohn Walworth a burgesse of London beholding, and fearing present death to hang ouer the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therwith thrust Iacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an esquier, naine Rafe Standish did see, with his weapon also ran him through the sides; in so much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at last he gaue vp his vnhappie ghost.

Then a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while togither, saieng; Our guide is dead, our capteine is dead. And indéed so he was, being dragged by the hands and féet in a vile and contemptible sort into saint Bartholomewes church hard by. Then did manie of the vnrulie multitude withdraw themselues, and vanishing awaie betooke them to their héeles, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thousand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite receiued courtesie, knighted the said Iohn Walworth, & Rafe Standish, with foure burgesses more of the citie, namelie Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, Iohn Laund, and Nicholas Twifield, girding them about the wast with the girdle of knighthood, which was the maner of their graduating. Then the king hauing ordeined and made the foresaid six knights, commanded that the residue of the cursed crue should depart and get them into the field, that méeting togither in a companie, he might fall vnto a treatie of agreement with them.

The rowt being there assembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran rusling out of the citie, sir Robert Knols being their capteine, who with these his soldiers compassed & hedged in the poore catiues distressed in the field like shéepe that haue lost their shéepheard. Then the king of his accustomed clemencie, being pricked with pitie, would not that the wretches should die, but spared them being a rash and foolish multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne house; howbeit manie of them,

them, at the kings going awaie suffered the danger of death. In this miserable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thousand. Thus saith Knighton, not as an eie-witnesse, but as taught by heare-saie, whereby he compiled the greatest part of his annales, as he himselfe confesseth, seeming sorrie that he was so constreined, as by part of the octastichon at the foot of the first page, intituled Lamentum compilatoris, appeareth in maner and forme following:

Sum cæcus factus subita caligine tactus,
Nec opus inceptum iam corrigo forsan ineptum,
Me metuo dubium pro veris sæpe locutum,
Plus audita loquor quàm mihi visa sequor, &c.

All the foresaid villanies notwithstanding against the king and the state, tending wholie to the subuersion of law and ciuill gouernement, albeit the wretches deserued nô sparke of fauour, but extreame seueritie of iudgement to be executed vpon them; yet (as yee haue heard) besides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited vnto them in remitting their offense, and acquiting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gaue to them the charter, which they had requested, faire written and sealed, to auoid a greater mischiefe, & commanded it for a time to be deliuered them, knowing that Essex and Kent were not so pacified, but that if they were not the sooner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth.

The forme of the kings charter of Manumission.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis, ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia nostra speciali manumisimus vniuersos ligeos & singulos subditos nostros & alios comitatus Hertfordiæ, & ipsos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus, & quietos facimus per præsentes, ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subditis nostris omnimodas felonias, proditiones, transgressiones, & extortiones, per ipsos vel aliquem eorum quaslitercúnque factas siue perpetratas, ac etiam vtlagariam & vtlagarias, si qua vel quæ in ipsos, vel aliquem ipsorum fuerit vel fuerint hijs occasionibus promulgata vel promulgatæ, & summam pacem nostram eis & eorum cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei testimonium, has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud London 15 die Iunij. Anno regni nostri quarto.

The like there was granted to them of other countries as well as to these of Hertfordshire in ye same forme, the names of the counties changed.

The commons hauing obteined this charter departed home, but ceassed not from their riotous demeanour in sundrie parts of the realme, and especiallie at saint Albons, where after the townesmen were returned home, they kept such a coile against the abbat and moonks, to haue certeine ancient charters deliuered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue such new made and deliuered to them as might serue their purpose; that bicause such old charters as they requested were not to be had, the abbat and moonks looked euerie houre when their house should be set on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well moonks as laie men that were seruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of those misgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadlie, and therefore looked for no courtesie at their hands. They had obteined the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliuer vnto them such charters as they had giuen information to be remaining in his hands, so that vnder colour therof, they called for those writings in most importunate wise, threatning sore, if they were not brought to light, vtterlie to destroie the house by setting it on fire.

The townesmen of saint Albons not yet quieted.

But to speake of all the vnrulie parts of those vnrulie people, it were too long a processe: yet at length after they vnderstood how their grand capteine and chéefe ringleader

Wat

Wat Tiler was slaine, they began somewhat to asswage their presumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his house, and yet they were not so calmed, but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the infranchising them from bondage, whereby they that obteined such charters tooke themselues to be discharged of all seruices and accustomed labors, so that they meant not to doo any further works, nor yeeld such customes as before time they vsuallie had béene accustomed to doo and yéeld vnto their landlords.

Neither did the townesmen of S. Albons, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbeie of S. Albons, thus outragiouslie misdemeane themselues, but euerie where else the commons kept such like stur, so that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were such hurlie burlies kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of all good gouernment in this land. For euen the selfe same saturdaie after Corpus Christi day, in Suffolke there were got togither to the number of fiftie thousand men, by the setting on of Iohn Wraw, a naughtie lewd priest, that had beene first among the Essexmen at London, and was sent downe in all post hast from Wat Tiler, to stir the commons in those parts to commit the like mischéefe as he had séene begun about London. These fellowes therfore, after they were assembled togither, fell to the destroieng of the manors and houses of men of law, & such lawiers as they caught, they slue, and beheded sir Iohn Cauendish lord chiefe iustice of England, and set his head vpon the pillorie in the market place in S. Edmundsburie.

The hurling time.

The outragious dealings of the Suffolke rebels.

Sir Iohn Cauendish lord chiefe iustice beheaded.

The prior of S. Edmundsburie slaine.

Also sir Iohn of Cambridge the prior of saint Edmundsburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildenhale, and likewise beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man presuming to burie it, during the space of fiue daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was set vpon a pole, and caried before Iohn Wraw and other of those wicked people; the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a procession, when they came into the market place where the pillorie stood, as it were in token of the old friendship betwixt the lord chiefe iustice, and the said prior, they made sport with their heads, making them sometime as it were to kisse, other whiles to sound in either others eare. After they had taken their pastime inough herewith, they set both the heads againe aloft vpon the pillorie. After this, they beheaded an other moonke called Dan Iohn de Lakinghuith, whose hed was likewise set by the other two vpon the pillorie. Moreouer, they caused the moonks to come foorth and bring vnto them all such obligations, in which the townesmen stood bound vnto the monasterie for their good abearing; likewise such charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Cnute the founder of the said monasterie, and his successors had granted to the same: which writings when they had brought foorth, and protested that they knew of no more, the commons would scarselie beleeue them, and therefore called the townesmen foorth, and bad them sée if that there were all such writings as they thought stood with their aduantage to haue brought to light. The townesmen feigned as though they had beene sorie to see such rule kept against the moonks, where in déed they had set the commons in hand with all these things. To conclude, the commons tooke this order with the moonks, that if the townesmen might not obteine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of those writings, they should declare what the same liberties were, which they were woont to inioy, and the abbat of Burie, Edmund Brumfield, being then in prison at Notingham whom they purposed to deliuer (so that he should celebrat diuine seruice in his monasterie on Midsummer daie next) within fourtie daies after his comming home, should confirme with his seale such charter as was to be deuised and made concerning the same liberties of the said townesmen, and the conent should likewise put therevnto their common seale.

This Edmund Brumfield was committed to prison by the K. for his presumptuous intrusion into the abbacie of Burie.

Moreouer, they constreined the moonks to deliuer vnto the townesmen, a crosse and a chalice

a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbeie, being in value aboue the worth of a thousand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townsmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmund Brumfield being deliuered out of prison inioied the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his seale togither with the couent seale within the time limited, vnto a writing that should conteine the liberties of the towne, that then the same crosse, chalice, and other iewels should be restored vnto the monasterie, or else the same to remaine for euer to the townesmen as forfeited. Such were the dooings of those rebels in and about the towne of Burie: and the like disorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeshire, and in the Ile of Elie, resembling the others in slaughters of men, destroieng of houses, and all other sorts of mischéefe.

In like maner in Norffolke there was assembled an huge number of those vnrulie countrie people, which vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonlie called Iohn Littester, that had dwelt in Norwich, attempted and did all such vngratious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater also, putting foorth their hands vnto rapine and robberie. And whereas they were wholie conspired togither, and bent to commit all kind of mischéefe, yet estéeming their owne authoritie to be small, they purposed to haue brought William Vfford earle of Suffolke into their fellowship, that if afterwards they might happilie be impeached hereafter, for such their naughtie and most wicked dooings, they might haue had some shadow or colour, as it were through him, whie they had delt in such vnrulie sort. But the earle aduertised of their intention, suddenlie rose from supper, and got him awaie by vnknowne waies, still fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to S. Albons, and so from thence to the king.

Iohn Littester capteine of ye Norfolke rebels.

The earle of Suffolke escapeth from the rebels.

The commons missing of their purpose for the hauing of him, laid hold vpon all such knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houses, compelling them to be sworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrie, as the lord Scales, William lord Morlie, sir Iohn Brewes, sir Stephan Hales, and sir Robert Salle: which sir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not dissemble as the residue, but began to reprooue openlie their naughtie dooings, for the which he had his braines dasht out by a countrie clown, one that was his bondman, and so he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and strength with them in plaine battell, had beene able to haue put a thousand of those villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowesse was such. The residue taught by his example that they must either dissemble or die for it, were glad to currie fauour, praising or dispraising all things as they saw the commons affected, and so comming into credit with their chéefteine Iohn Littester, that named himselfe king of the commons, they were preferred to serue him at the table, in taking the assaie of his meats and drinks, and dooing other seruices, with knéeling humblie before him as he sat at meat, as sir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices assigned them.

The Norfolk rebels compell the noblemen & gentlemen to be sworne to them.

Sir Robert Salle slaine by one of his own villains.

The capteine of the Norfolke rebels forceth the noblemen and gentlemen to serue him at the table.

At length, when those commons began to wax wearie of taking paines in euill dooings, they tooke counsell togither, and agreed to send two knights, to wit, the lord Morlie, and sir Iohn Brewes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king; to obteine their charter of manumission and infranchising, and to haue the same charter more large than those that were granted to other countries. They deliuered great summes of monie vnto those whome they sent, to bestow the same for the obteining of pardon, and such grants as they sued for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to saue the citie from fire and sacking. These knights as they were on their iournie, at Ichingham not farre distant from Newmarket, not looking for anie such thing, met with sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, & better skilled (as may appéere) in arms than in diuinitie. This bishop had aduertisements at his manor of Burlie néere to Okam in the parties about Stamford, of the sturre which the commons in Norffolke kept, and therevpon resolued streightwaies to

A warlike bishop.

see what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not passing eight lances, and a small number of archers.

The bishop meeting thus with the knights, examined them streightwaies if there were anie of the traitours there with them. The knights at the first were doubtfull to bewraie their associats: but at last imboldened by the bishops words, declared that two of the cheefe dooers in the rebellion were there present, and the third was gone to prouide for their dinner. The bishop streightwaies commanded those two to be made shorter by the head, and the third he himselfe went to seeke, as one of his sheepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house, as he had well deserued (in the bishops opinion) sith he had so mischeefouslie gone astraie, and alienated himselfe from his dutifull allegiance. These persons being executed, and their heads pight on the end of poles, and so set vp at Newmarket, the bishop with the knights tooke their waie with all speed towards Northwalsham in Norffolke, where the commons were purposed to staie for answer from the king: and as he passed through the countrie, his number increased, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrie, hearing how their bishop had taken his speare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themselues with him.

Spenser bish. of Norwich goeth as capteine against the rebels.

The fortifieng of the rebels campe.

When therefore the bishop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie stronglie with ditches, and such other stuffe as they could make shift with, as doores, windowes, boords, & tables, and behind them were all their cariages placed, so that it seemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the bishop being chafed with the presumptuous boldnesse of such a sort of disordered persons, commanded his trumpets to sound to the battell, and with his speare in the rest, he charged them with such violence, that he went ouer the ditch, and laied so about him, that through his manfull dooings, all his companie found meanes to passe the ditch likewise, and so therewith followed a verie sore and terrible fight, both parts dooing their best to vanquish the other. But finallie the commons were ouercome, and driuen to seeke their safegard by flight, which was sore hindered by their cariages that stood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime and leape so well as they might. Iohn Littester and other cheefe capteins were taken aliue. The bishop therefore caused the said Littester to be arreigned of high treason, and condemned, and so he was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The bishop is the first man that chargeth the rebels in their campe.

The Norfolke rebels vanquished.

The bishop heard his confession, and by vertue of his office absolued him: and to shew some parcell of sorrowing for the mans mischance, he went with him to the galowes. But it seemed that pitie wrought not with the bishop, to quench the zeale of iustice: for he caused not Littester onelie to be executed, but sought for all other that were the cheefe dooers in that rebellion, causing them to be put vnto death, and so by that meanes quieted the countrie. ¶ To recite what was doone in euerie part of the realme in time of those hellish troubles, it is not possible: but this is to be considered, that the rage of the commons was vniuersallie such, as it might seeme they had generallie conspired togither, to doo what mischeefe they could deuise. As among sundrie other, what wickednesse was it, to compell teachers of children in grammer schooles to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art? Againe, could they haue a more mischeefous meaning, than to burne and destroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murther and dispatch out of the waie all such as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records? For it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side: for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life.

An. Reg. 5.

But to returne to saie somewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterprises, you must vnderstand, how after that Wat Tiler was slaine at London in the presence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlie decaied: and yet neuerthelesse, the king and his councell being not well assured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumission and infranchisement from all bond-

The capteine once slaine the soldiers faint.

age,

age, and so sent them awaie home to their countries: and foorthwith herevpon he assembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countries abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but such as were armed and had horsses, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to passe, that within thrée daies he had about him fourtie thousand horssemen, as was estéemed; so that in England had not béene heard of the like armie assembled togither at one time. And herewith was the king aduertised, that the Kentishmen began eftsoones to stir, wherewith the king and the whole armie were so grieuouslie offended, that they meant streight to haue set vpon that countrie, and to haue wholie destroied that rebellious generation. But thorough intercession made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrie, the king pacified his mood, and so resolued to procéed against them by order of law and iustice, causing iudges to sit and to make inquisition of the malefactors, and especiallie of such as were authors of the mischéefes.

An armie of fortie thousand horssemen.

The Kentishmen eftsoones rebell.

And about the same time did the maior of London sit in iudgement, as well vpon the offendors that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Essex, Southsex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and other counties, being found within the liberties of the citie; and such as were found culpable, he caused them to lose their heads, as Iacke Straw, Iohn Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and Iohn Sterling, that gloried of himselfe, for that he was the man that had slaine the archbishop. This fellow (as it is written by some authors) streight waies after he had doone that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and comming home into Essex where he dwelt, tied a naked sword about his necke, that hoong downe before on his brest, and likewise a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and so went vp and downe the lanes & stréets about home, crieng out, and protesting, that with those weapons he had dispatched the archbishop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he shuld receiue (as he said) the reward there of the act which he had committed: and so indéed, when he came thither, and boldlie confessed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbishop, he lost his head in steed of a recompense: and diuerse other both of Essex and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon the archbishop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being bewraied by their owne confessions.

Iack Straw and his adherents executed.

Here is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue heard) in respect of the great manhood, and assured loialtie which had appeared in the maior, and other of the aldermen, for some part of recompense of their faithfull assistance in that dangerous season, made the said maior William Walworth knight, with fiue other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bramble, Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Laundre, and Robert Gaiton, also Iohn Standish, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to slaie Wat Tiler. Moreouer, the king granted, that there should be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield, for an augmentation of the same armes, and for a remembrance of this maior his valiant act, as dooth appeare vnto this daie; for till that time, the citie bare onelie the crosse, without the dagger.

The maior and fiue aldermen knighted.

The armes of London augmented by additiō of the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to shew it selfe, to the terror of rebels; yet the commons of Essex eftsoones assembled themselues togither, not far from Hatfield Peuerell, and sent to the king to know of him if his pleasure was, that they should inioy their promised liberties: and further, that they might be as frée as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great léet, twise in the yeare. When the king heard such presumptuous requests, he was in a great chafe, & dispatched the messengers awaie, with a sore threatning answer, saieng that bondmen they were, and bondmen they should be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that should attempt any the like disorders: and foorthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were sent with an armie to represse those rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie

The cōmons of Essex rebell afresh.

The rebels of Essex are scattered & slaine.

verie stronglie, but with small adoo they were put to flight, & about fiue hundred of them slaine; the residue saued themselues as well as they might, by succour of the woods. There were eight hundred horsses also taken, which those rebels had there with them, to draw and carrie their baggage.

Those of the rebels that escaped, were not yet so tamed by that ouerthrow, but that assembling themselues togither in a rowt, they made towards Colchester: and comming thither, would haue persuaded the townesmen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpose to passe they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and sir Iohn Harleston, vnderstanding which waie they tooke, followed them with a companie of armed men, and suddenlie setting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, slue of them so manie as it liked them, and the other they saued, and suffered to depart, or else committed them to prison. After this, the king came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmisford, where he appointed sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement of the offendors and rebels of that countrie, wherevpon an inquest being chosen, a great number were indited, arreigned, & found giltie, so that vpon some one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged togither.

Fabian. The rebels executed in euerie lordship.

In euerie countrie were like inquiries made, and the chéefe offendors apprehended and put to death in euerie lordship through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in some places by fortie at once; so that the whole number grew to fifteene hundred and aboue. At the first, when the kings iustices began to sit in Essex, Kent, and at London, by reason of the multitude that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death seemed too close and secret for so open offenses, they proceeded according to the accustomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according thervnto they were executed. In the meane time, the king by the aduise of his councell, directed his letters reuocatorie into euerie countie there, to be proclaimed in euerie citie, borrow, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without; by the which letters he reuoked, made void and frustrate his former letters of infranchising the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that such as had the same letters, should without delaie bring them in, and restore them to him and his councell to be cancelled, as they would answer vpon their faith and allegiance which they owght to him, and vpon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatorie was at Chelmesford, the second daie of Iulie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

The king calleth in his letters of infranchising granted to the bondmen.

The king remoueth to S. Albons.

When the king had quieted the countie of Essex, and punished such as were the chéefe sturrers of that wicked commotion in those parts, he went to saint Albons, to sée iustice doone vpon such as had demeaned themselues most presumptuouslie against the kings peace in that towne, namelie against the abbat and his house, who sought to defend themselues vnder a colour of fréendship, that they trusted to find in some persons about the king. But that trust deceiued them, and procured the more displeasure against them, for that they would not sue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by submitting themselues vnto his will and pleasure. To be breefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and caused his iustice sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

Iohn Ball.

Thither was brought also to the king from Couentrie, Iohn Ball preest, whom the citizens of Couentrie had taken, and now here at saint Albons they presented him to the kings presence, wherevpon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and headed for such notable treasons as he was there conuicted of. He receiued iudgement vpon the saturdaie the first daie that the said sir Robert Trisilian sat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaie following. This man had beene a preacher the space of twentie yeares, and bicause his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the bishops maintained, he was first prohibited to preach in anie church or chappell; and when he ceassed not for all that, but set foorth his doctrine in the streets & fields where he might

haue audience, at length he was committed to prison, out of the which he prophesied that he should be deliuered with the force of twentie thousand men, and euen so it came to passe in time of the rebellion of the commons. John Ball his prophesie.

When all the prisons were broken vp, and the prisoners set at libertie, he being therefore so deliuered, followed them, & at Blackeheath when the greatest multitude was there got togither (as some write) he made a sermon, taking this saieng or common prouerbe for his theame, wherevpon to intreat,

When Adam delu'd, and Eue span,
Who was then a gentleman?

John Ball his sermon to the rebels.

and so continuing his sermon, went about to prooue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or seruitude came in by iniust oppression of naughtie men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who should be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to consider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might (if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof such euill wéeds as choke and destroie the good corne, they might destroie first the great lords of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, questmoongers, and all other whom they vndertooke to be against the commons, for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselues in time to come, if dispatching out of the waie the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrées of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and set foorth such kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and foolish toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the starres, affirming that he ought to be archbishop and lord chancellour, where he that then enioied that roome, meaning sir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthie to lose his head, wheresoeuer he might be apprehended. Manie other things are reported by writers of this Iohn Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kind of darke riddle he wrote to the capteine of the Essex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their pursses that was executed at London.

The tenor of the said seditious preests letter.

IOHN Scheepe S. Marie preest of Yorke, and now of Colchester, greeteth well Iohn namelesse, and Iohn the Miller, and Iohn Carter, & biddeth them that they beware of guile in Bourrough, & stand togither in Gods name, & biddeth Piers ploughman go to his worke, and chastise well Hob the robber, & take with you Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes, and no mo. Iohn the Miller Y ground small, small small, the kings sonne of heauen shall paie for all. Beware or yee be wo; know your freend from your fo, haue inough and saie ho, and doo well and better, flee sinne and seeke peace, and hold you therein, and so biddeth Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confessed himselfe to haue written, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had doone and committed, to the disquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at saint Albons, the fiftéenth of Iulie, being monday, in this fifth yeare of king Richards reigne. On the same daie, the kings iustice sir Robert Trisilian sat vpon the rebels of saint Albons, and other of the countrie of Hertford, afore whome, by such policie as he vsed, there were a great number indicted, and diuerse being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cadindon, Iohn Barbor, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number

John Ball executed at S. Albons.

ber of fifteene persons in all; diuerse chéefe men of the towne were committed to prison, as Richard Wallingford, Iohn Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor and others of the countrie about. There were committed to prison to the number of fourscore persons, the which neuerthelesse, by the kings pardon, were released and dismissed.

The hatred which the townesmen had conceiued against the abbat and conuent of S. Albons, was suerlie great, and manie deuises they had to haue saued those that were executed. And where as well the townesmen, as other of the abbats and conuents tenants, both of Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, had gotten of the abbat and conuent letters of discharge, from dooing anie bound seruice, the king directed his letters vnto certeine commissioners, as to Iohn Ludowicke, Iohn Westwicombe, Iohn Kenting, Richard Perers, Walter Saunford, Richard Gifford, Thomas Eidon, and William Eccleshall, commanding them to cause proclamation to be made in all such townes and places as were thought necessarie, through the whole countries of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euerie person and persons that ought and had beene accustomed to doo or yeeld anie manner of seruices, customes, or duties, whether they were bondmen or free, vnto the said abbat and couent of S. Albons, should doo and yéeld the same seruices, customes, and duties, in such like forme & manner, as they had beene vsed to doo, before the time of the late troubles, & not to chalenge or claime any libertie or priuilege which they inioied not before the same troubles, vpon their faith & allegiance in which they stood bound to him, and vpon paine to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in case anie were found to doo contrarie thervnto, the same commissioners had authoritie, and were commanded to arrest and imprison them, till for their further punishment, order might be taken and agreed vpon in that behalfe accordinglie.

The king calleth in by proclamation all such letters of manumission, as the abbat of saint Albons had granted to his bondmen.

On saint Margarets daie, the king being readie to take his iournie to Berkhamstéed, in the great court of the abbeie of S. Albons had all the commons of the countie of Hertford before him, that had summons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fiftéene and thréescore yéeres of age, where they tooke an oth togither from thencefoorth, to be faithfull subiects vnto him, and neuer to rise or make anie commotion, to the disturbance of his peace; and rather to die, than to consent vnto anie rebellious persons, whome they should to the vttermost of their powers do their best, to apprehend and deliuer them to the kings prison, that they might be foorth comming. After they had receiued this oth, they were licenced to depart, and the king rode to Berkhamsteed, where he remained for a time, and went to Esthamstéed to recreate himselfe with hunting, where he was informed, that those which were hanged at S. Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remooued a good waie from the same: with which presumption he was so stirred, that he sent foorthwith his letters to the bailiffes of the towne of S. Albons, commanding them vpon the sight of the same, to cause cheines to be made, and to bring the said bodies backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in those chaines vpon the same gallowes, there to remaine, so long as one peece might sticke to another, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The test of this writ thus directed to the bailiffes of saint Albons, was at Esthamstéed the third of August, in the fift yeare of this kings reigne, and in the yeare of our lord a thousand three hundred foure score and one.

The commõs of Hertfordshire sworne to the king.

The townesmen of S. Albons durst not disobeie the kings commandement, and so hanged vp againe in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors, greatlie to their shame and reproch, when they could get none other for anie wages to come néere the stinking carcasses, but that they were constreined themselues to take in hand so vile an office. And such was the end of the tumults at S. Albons, where as well as in other places, the vnrulie commons had plaied their parts. To conclude and make an end of these diuelish troubles, to the end it may appeare, in what danger as well the K. as the whole state of the realme stood, by the mischéefous attempts of the vnrulie people, I haue thought good to declare the confession of Iacke Straw one of their chéefe capteins (and next in reputation amongst

amongst them vnto Wat Tiler) when he came to be executed in London, according to iudiciall sentence passed against him.

¶ "At the same time (said he) that we were assembled vpon Blackeheath, and had sent to the king to come vnto vs, our purpose was to haue slaine all such knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, as should haue giuen their attendance thither vpon him: and as for the king, we would haue kept him amongst vs, to the end that the people might more boldlie haue repaired to vs, sith they should haue thought, that whatsoeuer we did, the same had béene doone by his authoritie. Finally, when we had gotten power inough, that we needed not to feare anie force that might be made against vs, we would haue slaine all such noble men, as might either haue giuen counsell, or made anie resistance against vs, speciallie the knights of the Rhodes; and lastlie we would haue killed the king and all men of possessions, with bishops, moonks, chanons, and parsons of churches, onelie friers Mendicants we would haue spared, that might haue sufficed for ministration of the sacraments. And when we had made a riddance of all those, we would haue deuised lawes, according to the which the subiects of this realme should haue liued, for we would haue created kings, as Wat Tiler in Kent, and other in other countries. But bicause this our purpose was disappointed by the archbishop of Canturburie, that would not permit the king to come to vs, we sought by all meanes to dispatch him out of the waie, as at length we did. Morouer, the same euening that Wat Tiler was killed, we were determined, hauing the greatest part of the commons of the citie bent to ioine with vs, to haue set fire in foure corners of the citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoile of the cheefest riches that might haue beene found at our pleasure. And this (said he) was our purpose, as God may helpe me now at my last end." The confession of Iacke Straw at the time of his death.

Thus you may see, after what sort they were conspired to the destruction of the realme, and to haue aduanced and inriched themselues; not considering or foreséeing the euill successe of their tumultuous broile, and that it would tend but little to their profit in the end, by a common spoile to amend their state, and to become mightie and rich with goods euill gotten, which though for a time (if lucke had serued them to haue possessed) they had enioied, yet could they not long prosper nor bring good vnto the possessors: for

Non habet euentus sordida præda bonos.

And lest this one mans confession might séeme insufficient, diuerse other of them confessed the same, or much what the like in effect, when they saw no remedie but present death before their eies. To declare the occasion whie such mischeefes happened thus in the realme, we leaue to the iudgement of those that may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age & behauiour of all states then, sith they that wrote in those daies, may happilie in that behalfe misse the trueth, in construing things according to their affections. But truelie it is to be thought, that the faults, as well in one degrée as an other, speciallie the sinnes of the whole nation, procured such vengeance to rise, whereby they might be warned of their euill dooings, and séeke to reforme the same in time conuenient. But as it commeth still to passe, when the danger is once quershot, repentance likewise is put ouer, and is no more regarded, till an other scourge commeth eftsoones to put men in remembrance of their duetie; so in like manner (as séemeth) it chanced in this kings daies, as by that which followeth may more plainelie appeare. The cause of the late tumults.

It this meane time that these troubles were at the hottest in England, the duke of Lancaster being in Scotland, so behaued himselfe (in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots) dissembling the matter so, as if he had not vnderstood of any trouble in England at all, that finallie before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to indure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for three yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agréed vpon and passed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwike, but at his comming thither, the capteine sir Matthew Redman would not suffer him to enter the towne, bicause of a commandement giuen to him from A truce with Scotland. *Tho. Walsi. Froissard.* The capteine of Berwike will not suffer the duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obteining licence of the Scots to remaine amongst them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Hervpon, the commons in England that fauored him not, tooke occasion to report the worst of him that might be deuised, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had ioined himselfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them against his owne natiue countrie.

The king indéed had sent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he should haue good regard to the safe keeping of all the townes & castels vnder his rule, & not to suffer any person to enter the same, hauing forgotten to except the duke of Lancaster being then in Scotland: whervpon the duke tooke no small displeasure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well shewed at his comming home. But before he returned foorth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderstand his plesure, in what sort he should returne, humbling himselfe in such wise, as he made offer to come with one knight, one esquier, and a groome, if it should please the king so to appoint him; or if it so were that by his presence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was readie to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if so be that through his absence the king and realme might inioy peace and quietnesse.

The king hearing such offers, wrote to him, that his pleasure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the same were not thought sufficient to gard him, he should take of euerie towne by the which he passed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his safegard, and so it was doone, the king sending him commission to that effect, and thus comming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his comming, he exhibited a grieuous complaint against the earle of Northumberland, for abusing him in diuerse sorts, in time of the late troubles, so as his honour was greatlie thereby touched, for which the earle was sent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamstéed, where all the lords in maner of the land were assembled in councell.

The duke of Lancaster chargeth the earle of Northumberland with sundrie crimes.

Here, after the duke had laid diuerse things to the earles charge, for his disobedience, vnfaithfulnesse, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbeare, breake out into reprochfull words against the duke, although he was commanded by the king to cease, where the duke kept silence in humble maner, at the first word, when the K. commanded him to hold his peace, so that by reason of the earles disobedience in that behalfe, he was arrested. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the next parlement, he was suffered to depart, and so the councell brake vp. About the feast of All saints the parlement began, to the which the duke of Lancaster came bringing with him an excéeding number of armed men, and likewise the earle of Northumberland with no lesse companie came likewise to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendship shewed towards him of the citizens, who promised to assist him at all times, when necessitie required, so that his part séemed to be ouerstrong for the duke, if they should haue come to anie trial of their forces at that time.

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland come to the parlement with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, fréends to the earle of Northumberland.

The duke laie with his people in the suburbs, and euerie daie when they went to the parlement house at Westminster, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of those that were wise and graue personages, fearing some mischiefe to fall foorth of that vnaccustomed manner of their going armed to the parlement house, contrarie to the ancient vsage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to auoid such inconueniences, as might haue growen of their dissention, the king tooke the matter into his hands, and so they were made fréends, to the end that some good might be doone in that parlement, for reformation of things touching the state of the realme, for which cause it was especiallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded,

The lords sit in armour in the parlement house.

The K. maketh an agréement betwéen the duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland.

concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne sister to the emperour Wenslaus, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, whervpon the parliament was proroged till after Christmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be solemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and foorthwith great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that she might be conueied with all honor vnto the kings presence.

The emperours sister affianced to K Richard, is receiued at Douer. A watershake.

Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a maruellous and right strange woonder happened; for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that foorthwith the water was so troubled and shaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer beene heard of: so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terriblie rent in peeces, and the residue so beaten one against an other, that they were scattered here and there after a woonderful manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the maior and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminster, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was ioined in marriage to the king, and crowned queene by the archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the said marriage, solemne iustes for certeine daies togither, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new queenes countriemen shewed proofe of their manhood and valiancie, whereby praise & commendation of knightlie prowesse was atchiued, not without damage of both the parties.

1382.

The kings marriage with the emperors sister.

After that the solemnitie of the marriage was finished, the parlement eftsoones began, in the which many things were inacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongst other things it was ordeined, that all maner manumissions, obligations, releasses, and other bonds made by compulsion, dures, and menace, in time of this last tumult and riot against the lawes of the land, and good faith, should be vtterlie void and adnihilated. And further, that if the kings faithful liege people did perceiue any gathering of the cõmons in suspected wise, to the number of six or seuen, holding conuenticles togither, they should not staie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but foorthwith it should be lawfull for them to apprehend such people, assembling togither, and to laie them in prison, till they might answer their dooings. These and manie other things were established in this parlement, of the which, the most part were set foorth in the printed booke of statutes, where ye may read the same more at large.

In time of this parlement William Vfford the earle of Suffolke, being chosen by the knights of the shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the commonwealth, certeine matters concerning the same: the verie daie and houre in which he should haue serued that turne, as he went vp the staires, towards the vpper house, he suddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his seruants, busie about to take him vp, whereas he felt no greefe of sickenesse when he came into Westminster, being then and before merrie and pleasant inough, to all mens sights. Of his sudden death, manie were greatlie abashed, for that in his life time, he had shewed himselfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement shortlie therevpon tooke end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a subsidie certeine customes of their wooles, which they bought and sold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scroope was made lord chancellor, & the lord Hugh Segraue lord treasuror.

The sudden death of the earle of Suffolke.

About the same time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this season, Wicliffe set forth diuerse articles and conclusions of his doctrine, which the new archbishop of Canturburie, William Courtneie, latelie remooued from the see of London, vnto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all shifts to suppresse, and to force such as were the setters foorth and mainteiners thereof, to recant, and vtterlie to renounce. What he brought to passe, in the booke of acts and monuments set foorth by maister I. Fox, ye may find at large.

The earle of March his good seruice whilest he was deputie in Ireland. Wicliffes doctrine.

Iohn Wraie.

The tuesday next after the feast of saint Iohn Port latine, an other parlement began, in which at the earnest sute and request of the knights of the shires, Iohn Wraie priest that was the chiefe dooer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Mildenhall, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although manie beleeued, that his life should haue béene redeemed for some great portion of monie.

A lewd fellow that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke and astronomie, caused it to be published thorough the citie of London, that vpon the Ascension euen, there would rise such a pestilent planet, that all those which came abroad foorth of their chambers, before they had said fiue times the Lords praier, then commonlie called the Pater noster, and did not eate somewhat that morning, before their going foorth, should be taken with sicknesse, & suddenlie die thereof. Many fooles beléeued him, and obserued his order;

A coleprophet serued aright.

but the next day, when his presumptuous lieng could be no longer faced out, he was set on horssebacke, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in stéed of a bridle, and so was led about the citie, with two iorden pots about his necke, and a whetstone, in token that he had well deserued it, for the notable lie which he had made.

Ships of Rie win a good price.

About the same time, certeine English ships of Rie, and other places, went to the sea, and meeting pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking seuen ships, with thrée hundred men in them. One of those ships had béene taken from the Englishmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good merchandize. This yeare the maior of London Iohn de Northampton, otherwise called Iohn de Comberton, did punish such as were taken in adulterie, verie extremelie: for first he put them in the prison, called the tunne, that then stood in Cornehill, and after caused the women to haue their haire cut, as théeues in those daies were serued that were appeachers of others, and so were they led about the stréets with trumpets & pipes going before them. Neither were the men spared more than the women, being put to manie open shames and reproches. But bicause the punishment of such offenses was thought rather to apperteine vnto the spirituall iurisdiction, than to the temporall, the bishop of London, and other of the cleargie, tooke it in verie euill part: but the maior being a stout man, would not forbeare, but vsed his authoritie héerein to the vttermost.

Iohn de Northampton maior of London, a streict punisher of adulterie in his time.

About the same time also, when the archbishop of Canturburie sate in iudgement vpon a processe that was framed against one Iohn Aston, a maister of art, that was an earnest follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the doores, where the archbishop with his diuines sate, and caused them to giue ouer, so that they durst procéed no further in that matter. The same yéere were the fishmoongers of London sore disquieted by the foresaid maior, who sought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to forreners to come and sell all manner of fish, as fréelie and more fréelie than any of the companie of fishmongers: for they might not buie it at the forreners hands to sell it againe by any meanes, and so that companie which before had beene accompted one of the chiefest in the citie, was now so brought downe, as it séemed to be one of the meanest, being compelled to confesse, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthie so to be accompted amongst other the crafts of the citie.

The Londoners fauorers of Wicliffes doctrine.

The fishmoongers sore troubled by the maior.

In this yeare, the one and twentith of Maie being wednesdaie, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after noone; it was so vehement, and namelie in Kent, that the churches were shaken therewith in such wise, that some of them were ouerthrowen to the ground. On the saturdaie after, being the foure and twentith day of Maie, earelie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, or (as some write) a watershake, being of so vehement & violent a motion, that it made the ships in the hauens to beat one against the other, by reason whereof they were sore brused by such knocking together, to the great woonder of the people, who being amazed at such strange tokens, stood a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and displeasure than before, for these

A great earthquake.

Churches ouerthrowne by the earthquake.

A waterquake.

SO,

so strange and dreadfull woonders thus shewed amongst them: howbeit when these terrors were forgotten, they followed their former dissolutenes, from the which for a time they were withdrawne through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like swine they wallowed afresh in their puddels of pollusions, & as dogs licked vp their filthie vomit of corruption and naughtinesse, for

Sordida natura semper sequitur sua iura.

About this season, the lord Richard Scroope lord chancellor was deposed from that roome, and the king receiuing the great seale at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and sealed therewith such grants and writings as it pleased him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibrooke bishop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cause why the lord Scroope was remooued from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine respects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and possessions that belonged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceassed (which he, during the time of their heires minorities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the realme) the said lord chancellor refused to seale such grants, alledging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to discharge, stood in need of such profits himselfe, and therefore (as he said) he tooke not them for faithfull seruants, nor dutifull subiects to his grace, that respecting their owne priuat commoditie more than his or the realmes, did sue for such grants at his hands, aduising them to hold themselues contented with such other things, as it had pleased or might please the king to bestow vpon them: for suerlie he would not consent, that they should inioy such gifts as those were. They that were thus reiected, made their complaint in such sort to the king, that he taking displeasure with the said lord Scroope, deposed him from his office, to the great offense both of the nobles and commons, by whose consent he was preferred vnto that dignitie.

An. Reg. 6.

The bishop of Londō made lord chancellor in the lord Scroope his roome.

About Michaelmasse this yeare, certeine naughtie disposed persons in Norffolke, not warned by the successe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murther the bishop of Norwich, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that countrie. And to bring their wicked purpose the better to passe, they determined to haue assembled togither at S. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all those that should haue béene present at the same faire, to haue taken part with them, or else to haue lost their liues: and this being doone, they would haue taken S. Benets abbeie at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortresse, to haue withdrawne into vpon anie force that had beene against them. But yer they could bring their purpose to passe, one of the conspiracie bewraieng the matter, they were taken, & lost their heads at Norwich, for their malicious deuises.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke is bewraied by one of the conspiracie before it burst out.

About the same time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commissioners from the countrie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agréements betwixt the king and realme, and the states of their countrie: but bicause those that came ouer at this time, seemed not sufficient to conclude such treatie as then was in hand, they were sent backe to fetch other more sufficient, as from euerie towne in Flanders some such as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agréements then in hand. In this parlement, the maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon suggestion by them made against the fishmongers, for vsing great deceit in vttering of their fishes, obteined to haue it inacted, that from thencefoorth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vinteners, butchers, grossers, or other that sold anie prouision of vittels, should be admitted maior of the citie; and so by this shift they sought to cut off all meanes from the fishmongers to recouer againe their old former degrée. And bicause it was knowne well inough of what authoritie sir Iohn Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured those whome the lord maior the said Iohn de Northampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not sit with them that were of the secret councell in the cities affaires, whereas neuerthelesse he had trauelled more for the preseruation of the cities liberties than all the residue. Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, receiued buls

The cōmissioners of Flanders reiected for want of sufficient authoritie.

An act against the fishmongers within the citie of London.

buls a little before this present from pope Vrbane, to signe all such with the crosse, that would take vpon them to go ouer the seas with him, to warre against those that held with the antipape Clement, that tooke himselfe for pope, and to such as would receiue the crosse in that quarrell, such like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Vrbane, as were accustomablie granted vnto such as went to fight against the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to wit free remission of sinnes, and manie other graces. The bishop of Norwich that had the disposing of the benefits granted by those buls, to all such as either would go themselues in person, or else giue anie thing toward the furtherance of that voiage, & maintenance of them that went in the same, shewed those buls in open parlement, & caused copies to be written forth, & sent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to passe of that he had in charge. And truelie it should appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accomplish the popes purpose: and on the other part yée must note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were passing large, so that as the matter was handled, there were diuerse lords, knights, esquires, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offered themselues to go in that voiage, and to follow the standards of the church with the bishop, and no small summes of monie were leuied and gathered amongst the people, for the furnishing foorth of that armie, as after yée shall heare.

Remission of sins granted to as manie as would fight against Clement the antipape.

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whither (as yee haue heard) he was sent the last yeare, and promise made, that the duke of Lancaster should haue followed him; but by reason of the late rebellion, and also for other considerations, as the warres in Flanders betwixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre should go foorth of the realme: and so the king of Portingale not able of himselfe to go through with his enterprise against the king of Spaine, after some small exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of certeine fortresses belonging to the king of Castile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one against the other by the space of fifteene daies without battell, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, sore against the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a set field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it so patientlie as he might, and returned home with his people, sore offended (though he said little) against the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwise in this matter than was looked for. He had affianced his sonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, sometime king of Castile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earnestlie requested of the said king, he would not leaue his sonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (togither with his mother) doubting the slipperie faith of those people.

The earle of Cambridge returneth out of Portingale.

The earle of Cambridge his son affianced to the king of Portingals daughter.

1383.

In the Lent season of this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the buls sent to the bishop of Norwich from pope Vrbane, concerning his iournie that he should take in hand against the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Vrbanists (that is, such as held with pope Vrbane) tooke for schismatikes. Diuerse there were, that thought it not good that such summes of monie shuld be leuied of the kings subiects, and the same togither with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnskilfull in warlike affaires. Other there were that would needs haue him to go, that the enimies of the church (as they tooke them) might be subdued.

Clementines.
Vrbanists.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper house, and likewise the knights and burgesses of the lower house were earnestlie bent against this iournie; yet at length those that were of the contrarie mind, preuailed; & so it was decreed, that it should forward, and that the said bishop of Norwich should haue the fifteenth granted to the king in the last parlement, to paie the wages of such men of warre as should go ouer with him; for soldiers without monie passed not much of par dons, nonot in those daies, except at

the verie point of death, if they were not assured how to be answered of their wages, or of some other consideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The tenth that was granted afore by the bishops at Oxford, was now in this same parlement appointed to remaine to the king for the kéeping of the seas, whilest the bishop should be foorth of the realme in following those wars.

These things being thus appointed, the bishop sent foorth his letters firmed with his seale into euerie prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all parsons, vicars, and curats, through this realme, power and authoritie to heare the confessions of their parishioners, and to grant vnto those that would bestow any parcell of their goods, which God had lent them towards the aduancing of the iournie to be made by the crossed souldiers against pope Vrbans enimies, the absolution and remission of all their sinnes by the popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull before mentioned. The people vnderstanding of so great and gratious a benefit (as they tooke it) thus offered to the English nation, at home in their owne houses, were desirous to be partakers thereof, and those that were warlike men, prepared themselues to go foorth in that iournie with all spéed possible. The residue that were not fit to be warriors, according to that they were exhorted by their confessors, bestowed liberallie of their goods to the furtherance of those that went: and so, few there were within the whole kingdome, but that either they went, or gaue somewhat to the aduancing foorth of the bishop of Norwich his voiage.

The crossed souldiers.

This bishop chose diuerse to be associat with him, as capteins that were expert in warlike enterprises. The first and principall was sir Hugh Caluerlie an old man of warre, and one that in all places had borne himselfe both valiantlie and politikelie; next vnto him was sir William Farington, who stoutlie spake in the bishops cause, when the matter came in question in the parlement house, touching his going ouer with his croisie. Besides these, there went diuerse noble men and knights of high renowme, as the lord Henrie Beaumount, sir William Elmham, and sir Thomas Triuet, sir Iohn Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser the bishops nephue by his brother, sir Matthew Redman capteine of Berwike, sir Nicholas Tarenson or Traicton, sir William Farington, and manie other of the English nation: & of Gascogne there went le sire de Chasteauneuf, and his brother sir Iohn de Chasteauneuf, Raimund de Marsen, Guillonet de Paux, Gariot Vighier, Iohn de Cachitan, and diuerse other. Sir Iohn Beauchampe was appointed marshall of the field, but bicause he was at that present in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to passe ouer when the bishop did. The duke of Lancaster liked not well of the bishops iournie, for that he saw how his voiage that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for the time disappointed, and he could haue béene better contented (as appeareth by writers) to haue had the monie imploied vpon the warres against the king of Castile that was a Clementine, than to haue it bestowed vpon this voiage, which the bishop was to take in hand against the French king, and other in these néerer parts. Herevpon there were not manie of the nobilitie that offered to go with the bishop.

The capteins that went with the bishop of Norwich against the antipape.

Froissard.

But to saie somewhat of other things that were concluded in this last parlement, we find, that the fishmongers, which through meanes of the late lord maior Iohn of Northampton and his complices were put from their ancient customes and liberties, which they inioied aforetime within the citie, were now restored to the same againe, sauing that they might not kéepe courts among themselues, as in times past they vsed, but that after the maner of other crafts and companies, all transgressions, offenses, and breaches of lawes and customes by them committed, should be heard, tried, and reformed in the maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touching the gathering of monie towards the croisie, was earnestlie applied, so that there was leuied what of the disme, and by the deuotion of the people for obteining of the pardon, so much as drew to the summe of nue and twentie thousand franks.

The statute against fishmongers repealed, they are restored to their liberties.

When the bishop therefore had set things in good forwardnesse for his iournie, he drew towards the sea side, and was so desirous to passe ouer, and to inuade his aduersaries, that

The bishop of Norwich setteth forward with his armie.

that although the king sent to him an expresse commandement by letters to returne to the court, that he might conferre with him before he tooke the seas; yet excusing himselfe, that the time would not then permit him to staie longer, he passed ouer to Calis, where he landed the 23 of Aprill, in this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne. The armie to attend him in this iournie, rose to the number of two thousand horssemen, and fifteene thousand footmen (as some write) though other speake of a far lesser number. But it should seeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as some before the bishop, some with him, and some after him.

Polydor.

Froissard. 500 speares, & 115 other.

Now when he and the capteins before named, were come ouer to Calis, they tooke counsell togither into what place they should make their first inuasion; and bicause their commission was to make warre onelie against those that held with pope Clement, the more part were of this mind, that it should be most expedient for them to enter into France, and to make warre against the Frenchmen, whom all men knew to be chiefe mainteiners of the said Clement. But the bishop of Norwich was of this opinion, that they could not doo better than to inuade the countrie of Flanders, bicause that a litle before, earle Lewes hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part expelled all Englishmen out of his dominions and countries, so that the merchants which had their goods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, susteined great losses. Howbeit there were that replied against the bishops purpose herein, as sir Hugh Caluerlie and others; yet at length they yeelded thereto, and so by his commandement they went streight to Grauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan it by assault. Wherevpon Bruckburge was yeelded vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great resistance entred the towne, and wan there exceeding much by the spoile, for it was full of riches, which the Englishmen pilfered at their pleasure. The earle of Flanders lieng at Lisle was aduertised how the Englishmen were thus entered his countrie, wherevpon he sent ambassadors vnto the English host, to vnderstand why they made him warre that was a right Vrbanist.

The bishop of Norwich inuadeth Flanders.

Ia. Meir. Dunkirke woon & sacked by the Englishmen.

The earle of Flanders sendeth to the bishop of Norwich to know the cause of his inuasion of Flanders.

The bishop of Norwich for answer, declared to them that were sent, that he tooke the countrie to apperteine to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a Clementine, or at the least he was assured that the countrie thereabouts was of the inheritance of the ladie of Bar, which likewise was a Clementine: and therefore, except the people of that countrie would come and ioine with him to go against such as were knowne to be enimies to pope Vrbane, he would suerlie seeke to destroie them. And whereas the earls ambassadors required safe conduct to go into England by Calis, to vnderstand the kings pleasure in this mater, the bishop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maister with that answer.

The Englishmen after the taking and spoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Grauelin and Bruckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garrisons in them, they went to Mardike, and tooke it, for it was not closed. In the meane time, the countriemen of west Flanders rose in armour, and came to Dunkirke, meaning to resist the Englishmen: whereof when the bishop was certified, with all speed he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of more than twelue thousand were ranged without the towne, he sent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderstanding what apperteined to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his approching to them, and slue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The herald of armes sent to ye Flemings by the bishop of Norwich is slaine.

The Englishmen herewith inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue five thousand fighting men in all, the bishop placed himselfe amongst the horssemen, and set the footmen in a battell marshalled wedgewise, broad behind and sharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the crosse was beaten. The archers were ranged

Thom. Walt. The order of the bishop of Norwich his battell against the Flemings.

ranged on either side: the standard of the church went before, the field gules, and two keies siluer, signifieng that they were souldiors of pope Vrbane. Moreouer, the bishop had his penon there siluer and azure quarterlie, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the siluer; and bicause he was yoongest of the Spensers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battels togither the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to shoot against the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themselues, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were so galled with arrowes which the archers shot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

They were diuided into two battels, a vaward, and a rereward. When the vaward began to shrinke, the rereward also brake order, and fled, but the Englishmen pursued them so fast, that they could not escape, but were ouertaken and slaine in great numbers. Some saie, there died of them in the battell and chase fiue thousand, some six thousand; and others write, that there were nine thousand of them slaine: and Thomas Walsingham affirmeth twelue thousand. Manie of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for succour, but the Englishmen pursued them so egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and slue them downe in the streets. The Flemings in diuerse places gathered themselues togither againe as they fled, and shewed countenance of defense, but still they were driuen out of order, and brought to confusion. The prests and religious men that were with the bishop fought most egerlie, some one of them slaieng sixteene of the enimies.

The Flemings discomfited by ye Englishmen.

Iac. Meir.
Froissard.

Tho. Walsi.
Prests and religious men hardy soldiers.

There died of Englishmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horssemen amongst them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they stood in such dread of English bowes, that they durst not come to anie battell with them, but keeping themselues out of danger, set the commons of the countrie in hand to trie what they against the Englishmen were able to doo without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the fifteenth of Maie. The countrie was put in a woonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, so that the townes and fortresses were in great doubt, and some yeelded themselues to the Englishmen, as Berghen and others; some were woone by force, as the castell of Drinchan, and the towne of S. Venant. To be short, the Englishmen became maisters of all the countrie alongst the sea side, euen from Grauelin to Sluis, and got such riches by pillage and spoile, as they could not wish for greater. They preuailed so much, that they wan in maner all the close towns within the bailiffeweekes of Cassell, of Popering, Messines, and Furneis, with the townes of Newport, Blankberke, and diuerse other.

Iacob. Meir.

The Englishmē subdue diuerse towns in Flanders, and spoile the countrie.

Also entring into the woods Nepse and Rutholt, they found a great bootie of sheepe and beasts, and tooke a great sort of prisoners of the countrie people, which were fled into those woods for feare of the enemies: but the Englishmen, plaieng the part of good bloudhounds, found them out, & sent all their booties and preie vnto Grauelin and Bruckburge. On the eight daie of Iune they came before the towne of Ypres, and laid siege thereto, whereat they continued the space of nine weekes. Thither came to their aid twentie thousand Gauntiners vnder the leading of Francis Akreman, Peter Wood, and Peter Winter: so that they within Ypres were streictlie besieged, but there were within it in garrison diuerse valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fensed with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plashed and woond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongst them in that countrie (as Strabo witnesseth.)

The towne of Ypres besieged.

The maner of fortifieing townes in old time.

During the time that the siege laie before Ypres, the Englishmen swarmed abroad in the countrie, for when it was once knowne what good successe the first companie that went ouer had found, there came dailie foorth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir Iohn Philpot that fauoured the bishops iournie, prouided them of vessels for their passage, till the bishop vnderstanding that the more part of those that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie swords, bowes and

Hope of gaine incourageth the soldier.

and arrowes, did write vnto the said sir Iohn Philpot, that he should suffer none to passe the seas, but such as were men able and likelie to doo seruice: where a great number of those that were come to him, were fit for nothing but to consume vittels, much like the popish shauelings and the Romish rascalitie, of whome the like is spoken thus:

Nos numerus sumus & fruges consumere nati.

The multitude of Englishmen and Gauntiners at this siege was great, so that diuerse skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and such as were appointed by the earle to lie in garrisons against them: but still the victorie abode on the English side. Also there was an English préest, one sir Iohn Boring that went to Gaunt with fiue hundred English archers, by whose aid Arnold Hans one of the capteins of Gaunt ouercame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a castell neere to the hauen of Allost, and stopped that no vittels might safelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Englishmen were thus entred into his countrie, and therefore earnestlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie (that had married his daughter, and should be heire of all his dominions and seigniories after his deceasse) to find some remedie in the matter.

Ia. Meir.

An. Reg. 7.

The duke, whome the matter touched so néere, did so much with his nephew the French king, that eftsoones he raised his whole puissance, and came downe into Flanders, so that the Englishmen perceiuing themselues not of power to incounter with this huge and mightie armie, were constreined after a great assault, which they gaue the eight of August, to raise their siege from Ypres the mondaie after, being S. Laurence daie, and to withdraw into Bruckburge, Berghen, Dixmew, Newport, Cassell, Dunkirke, Grauelin, and other places which they had woon. But at Newport the townesmen set vp the earles banner, and assailing those that were come into the towne, slue diuerse of them. The Englishmen being sore offended therewith, came running thither with certeine Gauntiners, and made great slaughter of them that had so murthered their fellowes. The towne was sacked, and all the goods aswell church iewels as other were sent awaie, partlie by sea into England, and partlie by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they set fire in more than thirtie places of the towne, so that there remained nothing vnburnt. The Englishmen & Gauntiners that were withdrawne into Berge, got togither all the waggons in the countrie about, placing the same vpon the diches and rampiers, to fortifie the same against their enemies.

The siege at Ypres broken vp.

Newport sacked and burnt by the Englishmen and Gauntiners.

Thom. Wals. A couragious & warlike bishop.

Some write, that after the breaking of the siege at Ypres, the bishop of Norwich would gladlie haue persuaded the lords and knights that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offered the French king battell, before his whole puissance had beene assembled: but sir Thomas Triuet and sir William Elmham with other, would in no wise consent therevnto, so that the bishop taking with him sir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forsake him, bad the other farewell; and first making a road into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelin, whiles the other went to Bruckburge. But by Froissard, and other writers it appeareth, that sir Hugh was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpose to defend it against the French king, who still followed them, and recouered diuerse places out of their hands by force, as Mont Cassell, the castell of Crincham, and other. Also at his comming to Berghen, the said sir Hugh Caluerlie, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it against such a puissance as the French king had there with him, being greater than euer sir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine wold haue thought that France had béene able to haue set foorth, departed, and left the towne to be spoiled of the Britons, and other French souldiers, which executed there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the Englishmen went to Bruckburge, but sir Hugh Caluerlie went to Grauelin, and so to Calis, as one sore displeased in his mind, for that his counsell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had béene followed, would haue brought it to a better issue than now it was, as was supposed.

The

The French king following the tract of good fortune, that guided his sterne, marched foorth to Bruckburge, so that the vaward of his armie came before that towne on Holie rood daie in September, vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of Britaine, the lord Oliuer de Clisson high constable of France, and the lord Valeran earle of S. Paule, the which demeaned themselues in such sort, that although the Englishmen within valiantlie defended the Frenchmens assault; yet the third daie after the Frenchmens comming thither, the Englishmen by composition that they might depart with bag and bagage, yeelded vp the towne, which on the nineteenth of September being saturdaie, as that yeare came about, was abandoned to the French souldiers, to rifle and spoile at their pleasure, in the which feat the Britons bare the bell awaie, dooing more mischeefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with toong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to make the composition, that the Englishmen might depart in safetie: for the which dooing he was in great hatred and obloquie of the souldiers, who affirmed that he was not onelie a friend to the Englishmen, but an enimie to his countrie, and a traitour to the common-wealth.

The French king with his huge armie driueth the Englishmen out of Flanders.

Bruckburge yéelded to the French.

The duke of Britaine a friend to the Englishmen.

The Englishmen comming to Grauelin, set it on fire, and departed streight to Calis, leauing the countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and so returned into England, where they were not greatlie commended for their seruice, but were put so farre in blame, that sir Thomas Triuet, & sir William Elmham were committed to prison within the tower of London, as men suspected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Bruckburge and Grauelin to the Frenchmens hands: for immediatlie after that they had left Grauelin, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified it for a countergarison to Calis. ¶ There be that write how the French king offered to giue the bishop of Norwich fiftéene thousand marks to race the towne of Grauelin, and so to leaue it vnto him, the bishop hauing libertie with all his people and goods to depart in safetie. The bishop required to haue libertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and deliberate answer; which was granted, and in the meane time he sent into England to aduertise the king in what state he stood, and how the French king laie before him with a mightie armie: and therefore if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen, now was the time.

Grauelin fortified by the Frenchmen for a countergarison to Calis. *Thom. Wals.*

In the same summer, the king with the queene went abroad in progresse, visiting in their waie the rich abbeis of the realme, as Burie, Thetford, Norwich, & other; going about a great part of the realme. And when these newes came to him from the bishop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamptonshire, and being the same time at supper, he put the table from him, and rising with all hast, got him to horsbacke, and rode in post that night, changing horsse diuerse times, with such spéed that he came to S. Albons about midnight, and making no staie there longer than he had borowed the abbats gelding, hasted foorth till he came to Westminster: so that it appeared he would neuer haue rested till he had passed the sea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after his comming to Westminster, wearied with that hastie iournie, he got him to bed, and liked so well of ease, that he thought good to send a lieutenant in his stead to passe the seas, to deliuer the bishop from danger of his enemies.

The king & quéene in progresse.

A great head soone cooled.

Herevpon was the duke of Lancaster sent for, that he might with such power as was readie to passe the seas, go ouer with the same, and giue battell to the French king: but he protracted time, till the respit granted to the bishop to make answer was expired, and so the bishop when he saw no succour come foorth of England, raced the towne as the couenant was: but monie he would not or did not receiue, bicause he thought in so dooing he should offend the councell. At his comming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaster at the sea side with a great power of men readie to haue come ouer: although some thought that he deferred time of purpose, for that he misliked of the bishops whole enterprise; and now bicause it had thus quailed, he blamed the bishop for his euill gouernement therein: but sir Hugh Caluerlie he reteined with him a time, dooing

The bishop of Norwich returned into England out of Flanders.

him all honour, by reason of the old approoued valiancie, that had béene euer found in him. And this was the end of the bishop of Norwich his iournie.

Warke castell burnt by the Scots.

The Scots in the meane while sate not still, but made roades into England, tooke and burnt the castell of Warke. Moreouer, whilest the siege laie before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certeine vessels, and sent them to the sea, namelie fiue balengers, as well to intercept such as should passe betwéene England and Flanders, as also to stop such as were appointed to go ouer into Gascoine, that were soldiers also of the croisie, appointed thither vnder the leading of the lord Britrigale de la Bret, and certeine others. When they of Portesmouth vnderstood that these fiue ships were abroad, they made foorth to the sea, and meeting with their aduersaries, fought with them a sore & cruell battell, and in the end slue all the enemies, nine excepted, and tooke all their vessels. An other fleet of Englishmen tooke eight French ships, which had aboord 1500 tuns of good wines, that comforted the Englishmen greatlie.

Dinerse French ships taken by the Englishmen.

A parlement at London.

About the feast of All saints was a parlement holden at London, in which was granted to the king one moitie of a fifteenth by the laitie, and shortlie after a moitie of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreouer, the king tooke into his hands the temporalties that belonged to the bishop of Norwich, bicause he obeied not the kings commandement when he was sent for at the time when he tooke the seas to passe into Flanders. The knights also that had not shewed such obedience to the bishop as was requisit in that iornie, were committed to prison; but shortlie after they were set at libertie vpon suerties that vndertooke for them.

The temporalties of the bishoprike of Norwich seized into the kings hands for the bishops disobedience.

¶ It was also decréed in this parlement, that the erle of Buckingham the kings vncle should go to the borders against Scotland, with a thousand lances, and two thousand archers, to represse the presumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertised thereof, sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but they were dispatched home againe, without obteining that which they came to sue for.

At the motion and instance of the duke of Britaine, immediatlie vpon the returne of the English armie out of Flanders, there was a méeting of certeine commissioners in the marches of Calis, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaster, and his brother the erle of Buckingham, sir Iohn Holland brother to the king, sir Thomas Percie, and a bishop. For the French king, thither came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the bishop of Laon, and the chancellor of France. There were also the duke of Britaine, and the earle of Flanders. Also there came a bishop with other commissioners from the king of Spaine; for the Frenchmen would doo nothing, except the king of Spaine might be also comprised in the treatie and conclusion. They were thrée wéekes in commoning of an agreement: but when nothing else could be brought to passe, they concluded a truce to indure till the feast of S. Michaell, which should be in the yeare 1384.

A treatie of peace betwéen England and France.

A truce taken betwéene England and France.

The earle of Flanders was iudged most in blame, for that no peace could be accorded, bicause he would not that the Gauntiners should be comprised therin, but the Englishmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gauntiners, as their frends and alies. The kings of Spaine and Scotland were comprised in this truce as confederats to the Frenchmen, which should haue signified the same into Scotland, but did not, till great harme followed through negligence vsed in that matter, as after yée shall perceiue. ¶ The same yeare in the night of the feast of the Purification of our ladie, great lightenings and thunders chanced, which put manie in no small feare, so huge and hideous was that tempest. Shortlie after, there rose no small adoo in the citie of London about the election of their maior: for such as fauoured the late maior Iohn de Northampton, otherwise called Iohn de Comberton, stood against sir Nicholas Brambre knight that was chosen to succéed the said Iohn de Northampton, insomuch that a shoomaker who was one of the same Iohn de Northamptons partakers, presumed through a number of voices that were readie to fauour him, to take vpon him as maior: but

Tho. Walsin.

Great contention about the election of the maior of London.

but through the counsell of sir Robert Knolles knight, he was suddenlie apprehended, drawne, and beheaded, as a rebell and troubler of the kings peace. *Sir Robert Knolles.*

In the lent season, the duke of Lancaster with his brother the earle of Buckingham went towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, esquiers, and archers, and after he had remained a certeine time vpon the borders, about Easter he entered Scotland, and comming within thrée miles of Edenburgh, he staied there three daies, in which meane time the Scots conueied all their goods out of the towne ouer the water of Firth: so that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which gréeued the soldiers not a little. The Scots would not come foorth to giue anie battell to the Englishmen, but got them into woods and mounteines, or else passed ouer the riuer of Firth, suffering the Englishmen to fight with the vehement cold wether that then sore annoied those parts, in so much that on Easter daie at night, through snow that fell, and such extreame cold and boisterous stormes, as sore afflicted the armie, being incamped within the compasse of a marish ground for their more suertie: there died aboue fiue hundred horsses, to let passe the losse of men that perished at the same time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude, after the duke and his brother the earle had remained a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine townes, they returned into England. *The duke of Lancaster inuadeth Scotland with an armie. Edenburgh left desolate. Great death of horsses and men in the English host, by reason of extreme cold.*

About the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Easter, a parlement of the nobles was holden at Salisburie, during the which an Irish frier of the order of the Carmelits, being a bacheler in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill against the duke of Lancaster, charging him with heinous treasons: as that he meant vpon a sudden to destroie the king, and to vsurpe the crowne, shewing the time, the place, and circumstances of the whole contriued matter. The king being yoong both in yeares and discretion, when he had heard the the friers information, called two of his chapleins vnto him, one sir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and asked their aduise what they thought good to be doone in such a weightie cause. Now as they were busie in talke about the same, the duke of Lancaster came into the kings chamber after his woonted manner, not vnderstanding anie thing of the matter whereof they were in talke. The king with a sterne countenance beheld the duke, not dooing him the honor that he was accustomed. The duke suspecting that the king had somewhat in his head that touched his person, withdrew. In the meane time those two that were thus in counsell with the king, fearing happilie the dukes power, or else vpon good will they bare towards him, persuaded the king that in anie wise he should call him, to see and heare what was laid to his charge. *A parlement at Salisburie. An Irish frier appeacheth the duke of Lancaster of treason.*

The duke, after he had read the bill of his accusation, made such answer, and so excused himselfe in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credit to his words, and receiued his excuse. Herewith the duke besought the king, that the frier might be kept in safe gard, till the time came that he might purge himselfe of that he had charged him with; and that the lord Iohn Holland the kings halfe brother might haue the custodie of him, till the day appointed that the duke should come to his full triall. The night before which day, the said lord Holland, and sir Henrie Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord about his necke, tied the other end about his priuie members, & after hanging him vp from the ground, laid a stone vpon his bellie, with the weight whereof, and peise of his bodie withall, he was strangled and tormented, so as his verie backe bone burst in sunder therewith, besides the straining of his priuie members: thus with thrée kind of tormentings he ended his wretched life. On the morow after, they caused his dead corps to be drawne about the towne, to the end it might appeare he had suffered worthilie for his great falshood & treason. Which extreame punishment and exquisite kind of execution, had it not béene meritoriouslie inflicted vpon so impudent an offendor, had deserued perpetuall record of vnaccustomed crueltie, with this vehement exclamation, *A miserable & cruell torture.*

O fera

O fera barbaries æuo non nota priori,
Sed nec apud sæuos inuenienda Scythas.

But now to the parlement. At length, when the K. had obteined of the laitie a grant of an halfe fiftéenth the same parlement was dissolued. In the summer following the borderers of England and Scotland made rodes ech into others countries, to the great disquieting of both the realmes. Among other rodes that the Englishmen made, shortlie after Easter (as Froissard saith) the earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, raising an armie of 2000 speares, and six thousand archers, entered Scotland by Rockesburgh, burnt the countrie euen to Edenburgh, and so returned without damage. In the meane time came messengers from the French king, to aduertise the Scots of the conclusion of the truce. But the Scots prouoked with this last inuasion made by the Englishmen into their countrie, would not heare of any truce, till they had in part reuenged their displesure vpon the Englishmen: and so with certeine men of armes of France, that latelie before were come thither, not yet vnderstanding of any truce, they roded into Northumberland, doing what mischiefe they might: so that for the summer season of this yeare, either part sought to indamage other (as Walsingham saith) though Froissard writeth, that through the earnest trauell of the messengers that came to intimate the abstinence of war taken, the parties now that their stomachs were well eased with the interchange of indamaging either others confins, agréed to be quiet, and so the truce was proclamed in both realmes, and accordinglie obserued.

A rode into Scotland.

One mischief asketh another.

An. Reg. 8.

The duke of Lancaster sent into France to treat of a peace.

About the beginning of August in the eighth yéere of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaster went ouer againe into France, to treat of peace; but after he had remained there a long time, & spent no small store of treasure, he returned with a truce, to indure onelie till the first daie of Maie then next insuing. While the duke of Lancaster was foorth of the relme, Iohn de Northampton, that had borne such rule in the citie of London, whilest he was maior, and also after (as partlie ye haue heard) was accused by a chapleine (that he had in his house) of seditious sturs, which he went about, so that being arreigned thereof, he was in the end condemned to perpetuall prison, and the same not to be within the space of one hundred miles at the least of the citie of London. All his goods were confiscated, and so he was sent to the castell of Tintagill in Cornewall, and the kings officers seized vpon his goods & cattels. ¶ About the feast of saint Martine, a parlement was called at London, in which, monie was demanded of the cleargie and temporaltie, towards the maintenance of the kings wars.

Iohn de Northampton late maior of London cõdemned to perpetuall prison and all his goods confiscated.

A combat.

During this parlement also, a combat was fought within lists betwixt an English esquier, named Iohn Walsh, and an esquier of Nauarre that accused the said Walsh of treason, though not iustlie, but mooued through displeasure, conceiued of an iniurie doone to him by the same Walsh, whilest he was vnder capteine or vicedeputie (as we may call him) of Chierburgh, in abusing the Nauarrois wife. Wherevpon when the Nauarrois was vanquished and confessed the truth, he was adiudged by the king to be drawne vnto the place of execution and hanged, notwithstanding that the queene and diuerse other made sute for him. ¶ Henrie Knighton maketh report hereof in somewhat a differing maner: but the issue of his tale falleth out to be like to the other. On a wednesdaie (saith he) at S. Andrews tide, Iohn Wallise of Grimsbie fought in lists with Martilet of Nauarre esquier, at Westminster, in presence of K. Richard & of Iohn the good duke of Lancaster: in so much that the said Iohn Wallise slue his aduersarie, whervpon at the kings cõmandement being made knight, he was inriched with manie gifts, as well of the kings and the dukes bestowing, as also of other great men and peeres of the realme. As for Martilet, after he was slaine, he was presentlie drawne, hanged, and headed.

The appellan being vanquished, is adiudged to be hanged. *Abraham Fleming* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

Furthermore before the said parlement was dissolued, newes came foorth of the north parts, that the Scots had woone the castell of Berwike: for which the earle of Northumberland, that was capteine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he had not committed the kéeping thereof to more circumspect persons. The duke of Lancaster, who bare no good

Berwike castell woone by the Scots.

good will to the said earle, was well appaid that he had so good matter to charge his aduersarie withall, so that through his meanes the earle of Northumberland was sore accused, and had much adoo to escape the danger of being reputed a traitor. Wherevpon great occasion of malice and displeasure grew betwixt those two noble personages, as after it well appeared. But howsoeuer the matter was handled, the earle was licenced by the king to go into his countrie, and séeke to recouer possession of the castell thus latelie lost. Wherevpon raising an armie, & besieging the Scots that were within the castell, he so constreined them, that for the summe of 2000 marks they surrendred the fortresse into his hands, their liues and goods saued: and so the earle of Northumberland recouered the castell out of the Scotishmens hands, being taught to commit it to more warie keepers than the other before.

Berwike castel recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

The king being incensed against the duke of Lancaster, meant that he should haue béene arrested and arreigned of certeine points of treason before sir Robert Trissillian cheefe iustice (as Thomas Walsingham saith) and peraduenture there might be some such report, that such was the kings meaning: but yet how this may stand, considering he was to be tried by his peeres, in case that any the like matter had beene pretended, I sée not. But how soeuer it was, he being warned thereof by some of the councell, got him to his castell of Pomfret, which he fortified, and banded himselfe so with his frèends, that it appeared he would defend his cause with force of armes, rather than to come to his triall by order of law afore such a iudge: and by reason hereof, it was greatlie doubted, least some ciuill warre would haue broken foorth. But through the earnest labour of the kings mother, that (notwithstanding hir indisposition of bodie to trauell, by reason of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agréement betwixt the king hir sonne, and the duke, to hir great comfort and contentation of mind, and no lesse suertie of quietnesse to the whole realme. 1385.

The duke of Lancaster getteth him to his castell of Pomfret, and fortifieth it.

The princesse of Wales maketh an attonement betwéene the king and the duke of Lancaster.

About the same time the French king had a great flèet of ships in Flanders, so that it was doubted least he meant some inuasion into England. Wherevpon there was sent to the sea the lord of S. Iohns, and sir Thomas Percie with a strong nauie, but they did no good, suffering the French flèet diuerse times to passe by them, and not once offering to set vpon them. But the ships of Portesmouth & Dertemouth, bestirred themselues better: for entering into the riuer of Saine, they drowned foure of their enimies ships, and tooke other foure, with a barke of the lord Clissons, one of the fairest that was to be found either in France or England. In these vessels the Englishmen had a rich preie of wines, and other merchandizes. ¶ The king vpon some occasion tooke great displeasure against William Courtnie archbishop of Canturburie, so storming against him, as few durst speake anie thing in his excuse. The lord chancellor Michaell de la Poole seeming to fauour his cause, was likelie to haue run in high displeasure. Sir Thomas Triuet, and sir Iohn Deuereux intreating for him, were sore rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbishop was withdrawne, and had kept him close for a time, he was thorough mediation of some frèends reconciled to the kings fauour.

The ships of Portsmouth & Dartmouth did better seruice than the kings great nauie.

Iac. Méir. Froissard.

About the same time the French king sent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thousand men of armes, knights, and esquiers, besides crossebowes and other to ioine w th the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots incouraged with this new aid, sent to them out of France, leuied a power, & so togither with the Frenchmen, entered into the English confines, and began to rob & spoile, and further tooke certeine castels and houses of defense. The king of England aduertised hereof, assembled an huge power of men of warre, and first sent before him the duke of Lancaster with part of the armie, and afterward followed himselfe, with all conuenient spéed that might be. At his comming into the parts about Yorke, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon the duke Lancasters approch towards them, but the king thought to kéepe on his iournie. Whilest he was lodged in those parts, a great mischance happened, by reason of variance that fell betwixt certeine persons of the retinue of sir Iohn Holland brother vnto the earle of

The French king aideth Scots against Englishmen.

The Scots inuade the frontiers of England.

An. Reg. 9.

The K. goeth with an armie against the Scots.

Variance betwéene sir Iohn Hollands seruãts and the lord Richard Stafford.

of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford sonne to the earle of Stafford.

The cause of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called sir Miles, that was come to see the queene. This knight kept companie most an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of sir Iohn Hollands seruants, there came two archers perteining to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were so about to misuse the stranger in words, as they tooke it: the strife hereby grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers shot at one of sir Iohn Hollands seruants, and slue him.

The lord Richard Stafford slaine by sir Iohn Holland.

This mishap being reported to sir Iohn Holland, set him in such a furie (by reason of the loue which he had to his seruant) that immediatlie he rushed foorth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through misfortune méeting with the lord Stafford, slue him, and doubting in what sort his déed might be taken, fled straight vnto Beuerlie, and there tooke sanctuarie. The earle of Stafford tooke this misaduenture right heauilie, as reason was: yet bicause he would not trouble the host, nor disappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promise that he would doo vpright iustice in the matter, as should be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his gréefe so patientlie as he might, so that he wan himselfe much praise for his wisedome therein shewed.

Hect. Boetius.

The king aduancing forwards with his armie, came to the borders, and entring into Scotland, passed thorough Mers and Louthian, wasting and spoiling all the townes, houses and villages in his waie. The abbeies of Melros, Driburgh, and Newbottell were burnt, and those moonks and other people that were found in the same were slaine. At his comming to Edenburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houses and buildings he consumed with fire, togither with the church of saint Giles. At the humble sute of his vncle the duke of Lancaster, Holie rood house was preserued from hurt, for that the same duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that house, and found much gentlenesse and fréendship in the abbat and conuent; so that he could doo no lesse than requite them with kindnesse, at whose hands he found kindnesse; for we are bound in conscience to tender them by whome we haue béene benefited (vnlesse we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Edenburgh burnt by king Richard.

Arbor honoretur cuius nos vmbra tuetur.

Thus when the king had reuenged the displeasure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edenburgh fiue daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable incounter. The admerall of France was earnestlie in hand with the Scotish lords to persuade them to haue giuen battell to the English armie, till he and diuerse other knights of France were brought to the top of a mounteine, from whence they might behold all the English armie, as the same passed vnderneath them by a passage that laie by the foot of that mounteine: for after that they had viewed the puissance of the Englishmen, and (as neere as they could) numbered them, they had no such eger minds to fight with them as before, for they esteemed them to be six thousand men of armes, and threescore thousand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not past a thousand speares, and thirtie thousand of all other sorts, and the most part of those but euill armed. Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was to inuade England in an other quarter, whilest the Englishmen burnt vp their countrie, and so they set forward towards the west borders, and passing ouer the mounteins that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, dooing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Mowbraie, to the earles of Notingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Graistocke, and to the Musgraues.

The French admerall persuadeth the Scots to fight with the English host.

Cumberland sore spoiled by the Scots.

Lastlie, they came to Carleill, and boldlie assalted the citie: but sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Thomas Musgraue, Dauie Holgraue, and diuerse other worthie capteins being within it, so defended the walles and gates, that their enimies got small aduantage: and finallie hearing that the English armie was returning homewards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be inclosed by the Englishmen, as they had béene in deed,

Carleill assalted by the Scots.

if

if the duke of Lancaster and his brethren (vncles to the king) might haue béene beleeued, who counselled the king to pursue the enimies, and stop the passages through which they must needs passe in their comming backe. But the earle of Oxenford being most in fauour and credit with the king in those daies as one that ruled all things at his pleasure, did aduise him to the contrarie, by putting him in beléefe (as was said) that his vncles went about to bring him in danger to be lost and surprised of his enimies, wherevpon he tooke the next way home, and so brake vp his iournie. Good counsell neglected.

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scotish king hauing conceiued a iust displeasure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had susteined such damage in that season, caused him and his Frenchmen to be despoiled of the most part of their goods, and sent them so awaie out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue some comfort by those warres. In this yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where king Iohn of Portingale discomfited a great host of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Englishmen which he had there with him, vnder the leading of two esquiers Norberie and Hartell. There were slaine diuers earls & great lords of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spanish names, but write them corruptlie as strangers vse to doo, we here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obteined against his enimies) sent six gallies vnto the king of England to aid him against his aduersaries, the which were well receiued and highlie made of by the Londoners and other, so that the Portingales had no cause to repent of their comming hither. *Polydor.* A noble reuenge. There were 600 Englishmē who with their bowes did great seruice as by one author it appeareth. The king of Portingale sendeth six gallies to K. Richards aid.

The French king this yeare besieged and wan the towne of Dam, after he had béene at great charges about it. Whilest his nauie returned from Scluis, where the same had laien at anchor a long time, the ships by tempest were scattered & wether-driuen, so that in the feast daie of the exaltation of the crosse, two of their gallies, a great ship, a barge, and seuen balengers were cast on shore about Calis, & the Calisians tooke fiue hundred Frenchmen and Normans that escaped to land. An other day 72 French ships (as they were comming from Scluis, to passe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themselues so manfullie, that they tooke 18 of those French ships, and a great barke, in which thrée score armed men were slaine before it could be taken. Within three daies after this, the Calisians met 45 other French ships, and after six houres fight obteined the victorie, taking thrée of the most principall vessels, whereof one being a hulke of Eastland was hired by the Normans, to gard the residue. The other two that were taken were of such mold, that they could not enter into the hauen at Calis, and therefore were sent to Sandwich, the one of them being a new ship, which the lord Clisson had bought at Scluis, paieng for hir 3000 franks. ¶ Henrie Knighton saith it was prised or valued at 20000 florens, it was so tall, big, and large a vessell; and therefore of great capacitie. A good victorie of them of Calis against the French fléet. *Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

On saint Denise daie the soldiors of Calis and other English fortresses thereabouts, made a secret iournie into France, and got a bootie of foure thousand shéepe, and three hundred head of great cattell, which they droue towards their holds; and as the lord de Rambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recouered the preie, he was vnhorssed with the rencounter of an English speare, and being relieued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himselfe, not attempting to trie any further masteries, and so the Englishmen safelie passed foorth with their bootie of cattell, and aboue a hundred good prisoners which they had taken at this rode. In this 9 yeare about the feast of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which amongst other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and fiue earles. First Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings vncle was created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke his other vncle earle of Buckingham was created duke of Glocester, Robert Véere earle of Oxford was made marques of Deuelin, Henrie of Bollingbrooke sonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was created earle of Derbie: Edward Plantagenet sonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Poole chancellor. The Calisians & others make a rode into France & win great booties. *Fabian.* Creation of dukes and earles at the parlement. Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derbie afterwards king.

cellor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & sir Thomas Moubraie earle of Notingham was made earle marshall.

The lord Mortimer erle of March proclamed heire apparant to the crowne.

Also by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and of the ladie Philip eldest daughter and heire vnto Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and shortlie after so proclaimed. The which earle of March, anon after the end of the same parlement, sailed into Ireland to his lordship of Vlster, whereof he was owner by right of his said mother: but whilest he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Irish, a great number of them togither assembled, came vpon him and slue him, togither with the most part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two sonnes died without issue, and Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of Yorke, and father to king Edward the fourth; also a daughter named Isabell, afterwards married to the lord Bourcher. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift, as after ye shall heare.

The earle of March slaine by the wild Irish.

The issue of the foresaid earle of March.

Moreouer, in this yeare Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derbie married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whose right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by hir he had issue Henrie that after him was king of this realme, the ladie Blanch duches of Bar, and the ladie Philip married to the king of Denmarke: also Thomas duke of Clarence, Iohn duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Glocester. ¶ The Gauntiners still mainteined warre against the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his deceasse against Philip duke of Burgogne, by such aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finallie this yeare about the eighteenth daie of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the said duke and the towne of Gaunt: and sir Iohn Bourchier that had laine a long season there, as capteine vnder the K. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chéefe capteins of the Gauntiners (before the concluding of this peace) was safelie conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his safe conduct, and so they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pension of an hundred marks sterling, yearelie to be paid to him out of the staples of the woolles in London.

Froissard.

The king of Armenia cõmeth into England for aid against the Turks.

This yeare king Richard holding his Christmasse at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whose countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into those west parts of christendome for aid and succour at the hands of the christian princes here. The king honorablie receiued him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gaue him great summes of monie and other rich gifts, with a stipend (as some write) of a thousand pounds yearely to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths space, he tooke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefest point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but destinie would not permit so good a purpose to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not suffer their loftie minds to yeeld in any one point, further than seemed good in their owne opinions.

Thom. Wals.

Thom. Wals. Froissard. Ia. Meir. 1386.

The duke of Lancaster goeth into Spaine with an armie.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it should séeme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaster with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Constance, & a daughter which he had by hir named Katharine, and two other daughters which he had by his former wife. He had béene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture necessarie for this iournie two or three yéeres before, and therefore hauing now seauen gallies and eightéene ships sent to him out of Portingale (which arriued at Bristow) he caused all such vessels as he had prouided to resort likewise thither, where making his generall assemblie, when all his men of warre were come togither, he bestowed them aboord, with all their horsses

horsses and purueiances, and causing sailes to be hoissed vp, set forward on his long wished iournie. This was in the moneth of Maie, when the seas were calme, the aire swéet, and the winds pleasant and agréeable to his purpose. He appointed for admerall of his whole fléet sir Thomas Percie; and sir Iohn Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordeined constable of the hoast; and sir Thomas Moreaux hauing married his bastard daughter was one of his marshals.

There were that attended him in this iournie manie other lords and knights of honor, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradston, the lord of Pōmiers a Gascoigne, the lord Yonne fitz Warren, Henrie lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, sir Richard Burlie that was another of the marshals of the armie, sir Hugh Spenser, sir William Windsore, sir Iohn Daubreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir William Farrington, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Mauburin de Liniers, sir Thomas Worcester, sir Iohn Sowtrie, sir Robert Clinton, sir Philip Tirrell, sir Lewes Rochester, Huguelin Caluerlie, Dauid Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beaucester, and diuerse other: they were in all to the number of fifteene hundred men of armes, whereof a thousand at the least were knights and esquiers, besides foure thousand archers, and other men of warre, so perfectlie appointed and arraied, as could be thought méet and conuenient. Of this chosen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaster, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the said C. Okland speaketh no lesse trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honorablie:

In Angl. prælij.

Ocyus instructa pro bello classe futuro,
Milite stipatus generoso traijcit æquor
Fluctisonum, cum vxore pia natisq; duabus, &c.

¶ Henrie Knighton reporteth of this voiage as followeth, in somewhat a differing sort from this alreadie laid downe. On Easter daie (saith he) Iohn the duke of Lancaster with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the quéene likewise gaue an other crowne of gold to the duchesse. Besides this, the king commanded his people that they should call him king of Spaine, and doo him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 chosen men; of which number noted in the marshals bill or scrool, 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

As they passed by Britaine, they landed at Brest, the capteine whereof, at that time named sir Iohn Róoche, finding himselfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two bastides erected before the castell, declared to the duke in what state he stood. Wherevpon he caused the said bastides to be assailed, which was doone by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themselues so manfullie, that the bastides were woone, broken downe, and a great preie with prisoners obteined, although not without losse of diuerse valiant personages. Thus were they within Brest castell deliuered of their vnfreendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaster and his people. Who hauing doone their feat tooke the seas, and sailed foorth till they came on the coasts of Gallis, where on S. Laurence eeuen, they arriued in the hauen of Groigne, otherwise called Coron, and there they vnshipped all their prouisions, determining to inuade the countrie on that side. ¶ Héere, bicause it is not vnprofitable to know the absolute truth of things doone, by the collection of writers, I haue translated the beseeging of Brest, as the same is set downe by Henrie Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample sort, with a fuller certificat of circumstances than hath hitherto béene declared. At the same time (saith he) the duke of Britaine had laid siege both by sea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time subiect to the king of England, which was called Brest, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the kalends of Iulie, he began to build a fort before the said towne of Brest, of a woonderful bignesse, the walles thereof being ten

Thom. Wals. The duke of Lancaster landeth at Brest and winneth two bastides from the Frenchmen.

An. Reg. 10. The duke of Lancaster landeth at Groigne.

Froissard. Le Groigne Corone.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

ten foot thicke, and seauen towres about it. A thousand workmen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the said workemen (that they might not be hindered in their businesse by the citizens) ten thousand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in ninetéene daies space, and called the Doouehouse, bicause a dooue house stood in the same place before. Furthermore he stored this fort with all necessaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engins, and he placed therein as capteine of the warriors the lord Iohn Maletret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other soldiors, the whole number being thrée hundred.

The good duke of Lancaster hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fléet or nauie towards the hauen of Brest, where when he had arriued, they all fled from the siege, both by sea and land, those onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. Iames in Calis desired the good duke that he might giue the first assault against the fort; who taking the repulse with his retinue, he ceased and gaue ouer. In like sort did manie more giue the assault to the same for the space of two daies and more: in so much that some digging vnder the wals, and vndermining the foundations of one towre, the same fell downe vpon sir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordshire, and manie more, among whome was Iohn de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an esquier by degree of Yorkeshire. As for those that were vpon the towre, they also came tumbling downe, and were presentlie slaine.

In the meane time the lord Maletret gardian of the fort, sent word to the duke of Lancaster, that he would yeeld and surrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might freelie depart with such armour, goods, chatels and victuals as they had reposed and laid vp in store for their necessarie prouision: wherevnto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agréed; vpon condition also, that before their departure, they should ruinate the said fort, and laie it eeuen with the ground; and should likewise allow and paie him towards his costs and charges defraied in the siege of the same, twentie thousand scutes of gold. Then might you sée the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, some with beires, some with cabbins, some with carts, and some with crutches to fetch awaie the dead and the wounded: in so much that there was not one, either slaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whome his freends did not mone and lament. Yea, the lord Maletret himselfe was so mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens shoulders, and was borne vp on either side. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of salt, to the end that the Englishmen should not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the slaine, of whome [in sight] the number amounted to aboue 150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whose report giueth no small light to the matter vnder hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Groigné, he went to Compostella, and there soiourned for a season, during the which, his constable sir Iohn Holland woone diuerse townes and fortresses which the enemies kept: diuerse yeelded to the duke with better will, for that the duchesse his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritour to the realme. ¶ At Mouson a towne on the confines betwixt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaster met, where they communed and tooke counsell togither for the more spéedie proceeding in their enterprise against their aduersaries of Castile. *Also* there was a mariage concluded betwixt the said king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the said duke, which marriage shortlie after was wholie consummated, the said ladie being first married by procuration at Compostella, and after sent into Portingale right honorablie accompanied.

Philip the duke of Lancasters daughter married to the king of Portingale.

The duke continued at Compostella all the winter season, till towards March, and then (according to appointment taken betwixt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being togither at Mouson, for their iournie to be made into Castile) the said king assembled an armie of a thousand men of armes, and ten thousand other souldiers, with the which entring the confines of Castile, hs first tooke the towne of Feroule, and after

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaster ioin.

ioining

ioining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marshall taken the townes of Ruelles, Ville Lopes, Pounceuoide, Dighos, Baionne in la Maroll, Ribadan, Maures, Basanses, and Orens, with others in the countrie of Gallis, they marched foorth with their whole powers both togither, and passing ouer the riuer of Dure, entered into the countrie de Campo. ing their armies togither inuade Castile.

¶ Here the English writers make mention of a battell, which the constable of Castile should giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes side, and the Spaniards chased out of the field. But Froissard (who liued in those daies, and learned that which he wrote of those that were with the duke in his iournie) maketh no remembrance of any such thing, but that contrarilie the king of Castile folowing the aduise of such Frenchmen as were sent into Spaine to aid him, caused all the riches of the countrie to be brought into the walled townes and fortresses, which he stuffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Englishmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their vitels, and to keepe them from hauing forage abroad in the countrie, vnlesse such as were sent were garded with the greater troops for their suertie and defense. Variance amongst writers.

Thus bestowing the most part of all such men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places most conuenient for that purpose, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enimies had wearied themselues in keeping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he dailie looked for. By which means it came to passe, that the Englishmen not vsed to such hot aire as they found in those parts in that season of the yeare (for it was about Midsummer) fell dailie into manie perillous diseases, whereof no small number died; and other became so faint, that they were not able to helpe themselues, that to consider the miserie in which they were, it would haue rued the harts of their verie foes. Herevpon was the duke constreined to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this instant. Great death in the English host in Spaine by reason of the great heat of that countrie.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in such wise as it might be at the Englishmens choise to returne into their countrie, either by sea or by land, thorough France. Such as passed through Spaine to France, had safe conducts sealed and signed by the king of Spaine; but scarse the halfe of those that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died so fast, aswell after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongst other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greatest barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Ville Arpent, there died (as Froissard saith) three great barons of England, and men of great possessions: sir Richard Burlie a knight of the garter, who had beene as it were high marshall of the armie, the lord Poinings, and sir Henrie Percie cousine germane to the earle of Northumberland. *Froissard.* The lord Fitz Walter. I thinke that none of these three were barons but onlie the lord Poinings.

In the towne of Noie deceassed sir Mauburin de Liniers a Poictouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and so here and there (saith Froissard) there died in all all twelue great lords, foure score knights, two hundred esquiers, and of the meaner sort of souldiers aboue fiue hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaster and the duchesse his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a season, and then taking the sea, sailed to Baionne in the marshes of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. The duke of Lancaster returneth out of Portingale into Gascoigne.

¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to be had betwixt the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, and of the duchesse his wife the ladie Constance.

When the king of Spaine vnderstood of that treatie, he began to doubt, least if that marriage tooke place, it might turne to his disaduantage; and therefore to be at quietnesse with the duke of Lancaster, whose puissance he doubted, and whose wisdome he perfectlie vnderstood, by politike meanes and earnest sute, at length concluded a peace with him on this wise. That his eldest son Henrie should haue in mariage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, begot on his wife the duchesse Constance, and A marriage concluded betweene the prince of

Spaine, and the duke of Lancasters daughters. *Fabian.*

be intituled price of Austurgus. In consideration of which marriage to be had, and all claimes to ceasse, which the duke in right of his wife might chalenge or pretend; it was agreed, that the said duke should receiue yearelie the summe of ten thousand marks, to be paid to him, or to his assignes in the citie of Baionne in Gascoigne, during the terme of the liues of the said duke and duchesse; and further to haue in hand the summe of two hundreth thousand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this composition betwéene these persons of great estate, dooth say, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancasters owne houshold, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spanish king did send seuen and fortie mules loden with coffers full of gold for the second paiment wherevpon they were agréed. As touching the first paiment (saith Knighton) I asked no question of the partie. So that (besides the annuitie, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 thousand marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortuned that the dukes daughter should suruiue and outliue hir husband) it should séeme there were other large allowances, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right roiall munificence. And to this report of Knighton dooth Ch. Okland make a kind of allusion, who speking of the conditions of peace betweene the duke of Lancaster, and the king of Spaine, saith:

b. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbie.

In Angl. prœlijs sub Rich. 2.

Causæ diffidens extemplò Hispanus, agebat
De pace, acceptis & conditionibus, offert
Argenti ac auri plaustrorum protinùs octo
Iustum onus, argentique decem soluenda quotannis
Millia nummorum, &c.

The aforesaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, so that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places shall be touched, as to purpose serueth.

Iacob. Meir. Froissard.

And first it is not to be forgotten, that the Frenchmen neuer shewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, since the linage of the Capetes began first to rule in France. All the ships that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongst the coast, they assembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made so great preparation for the warre, that the like had not béene heard of (meaning, as they boasted, and made their vants) to passe ouer into England, and to deuoure the whole countrie, in dooing sacrifice to the soules of their elders with the bloud of the English people. Howbeit these words were wind, & to them accorded the prouerbe,

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

A mightie great nauie of French ships at Sluis purposing to inuade Englād.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in Britaine by the constable, who had caused an inclosure of a field to be made of timber, like railes or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their field, and so lodge more at suertie, and when they remooued, it was so made with ioints, that they might take it vp in péeces and easilie conueie it with them.

The description of the inclosure.

This inclosure or wall of wood was twentie foot in height, and conteined in length or in compasse, when it was set vp, three thousand pases, and at the end of euerie twelue pases stood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the rest of the wall by ten foot at the least. There were appointed to haue passed ouer in those ships twentie thousand men of armes, twentie thousand crosbowes, and twentie thousand other men of warre. To haue séene the great apparell, furniture and prouision, the shipping, trussing, bearing, and carrieng to and fro of things needfull for this iournie, a man might haue marueiled; for suerlie the like hath sildome beene remembred. All that was doone there on that side the sea by the Frenchmen, was notified into England so that the Frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themselues to inuade England, than the Englishmen were to make themselues readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enimies; so that

Thom. Wal.

Tho. Walsi. The prouision of ye Englishmen to resist ye great power of Frenchmen.

that euerie hauen towne, especiallie alongst the west, south, and east coasts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

¶ Notwithstanding the great confidence which the French king reposed in the fortification which he had imbarked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great woonders, to the discomfiture of the English: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it so fortuned, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capteine of Calis tooke two ships; whereof one was loden with a péece of the said inclosure or wall of wood, and in the same ship was the maister carpenter of the inclosure, being an Englishman borne, but banished his countrie before that time for some offense. He also tooke another ship, wherein were engins, guns, gunpowder & other instruments of war. Not long after this, two more ships were taken likewise, whose burthen was parcels of the foresaid frame or inclosure: so that three ships were met withall and seized vpon, each of them loden with one kind of stuffe. Whereof king Richard hearing, he caused the said inclosure to be reared and set vp about Winchelsie towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foresaid armie came into Flanders, and arriued at the hauen of Sluis, intending to make their progresse into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were driuen to great distresse and want of vittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, sold in England for a penie, was sold there for eighteene pence, and a hens eg for a penie: so that in the end of Nouember they returned to France, missing their purpose as much as if they had neuer ment it. *Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.*

There were readie within the realme at that season, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thousand men of armes, besides those that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaster. All this preparation lasted for the more part of the summer, euen till the beginning of winter: and still the French king that was come downe into Flanders, staied for the comming of his vncle the duke of Berrie: who at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpose, that he might by the excuse of winter, cause this iornie to be put off till another season. Wherein he shewed more wit than all the councellors which the French king had about him: for if he had not politikelie shifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his person and losse of his people. And yet if we shall beléeue writers that liued in those daies, by reason of the brute that was spred through the realme, of that huge preparation which the French king made to inuade this land, no small feare entered into the hearts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enimies had beene alredie landed) were stirred them, in making what prouision they might for their defense, though it séemed by their manner of dooings, they stood in doubt least the whole realme had not béene able to make sufficient resistance. *The Londoners speciallie afraid of the Frēch forces.*

In déed diuerse were the more afraid, for that they percieued how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themselues, and so being not of one mind, the wiser sort doubted least through their disagréeing in that troublesome time, some danger might grow to the state of the whole realme. Notwithstanding, no small number of others wished nothing more, than that the French king in going forward with his purpose, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he should haue found such a welcome, as would haue beene liefe to his ease. About the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march foorthwith against the enimie whensoeuer it chanced them to land. Thus all the townes and villages twentie miles in compasse round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lieing as it had been in campe; and wanting both vittels and monie, they were driuen to spoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to small purpose a long season, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the first summons. Manie of them were constreined through necessitie, to sell their horsses, and armour, and some *Dissention among the noblemen.* *Froissard.* *Tho. Walsin. A parlement at London.*

to

to spoile and to rob as they went homewards, not sparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were dismissed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords still remained at London, hearkening still for the French kings comming.

Robert Véer marquesse of Dubline created duke of Ireland.

The lord Robert Véer earle of Oxenford, whome the king in the last parlement had made marquesse of Dubline, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords sore enuieng so high preferment in a man that so little deserued, as they tooke it. For by reason of the kings great affection which he bare not onelie to this noble man, but also to the lord Michael de la Poole, whom he had latelie created earle of Suffolke, and after aduanced him to the office of lord chancellor (as before ye haue heard) not onelie the lords, but also the commons sore grudged at such their high preferrement, in somuch that in this present parlement, the knights & burgesses in the lower house, exhibited a bill against the lord chancellor, of diuerse crimes which they laid to his charge, and so vsed the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in some respect they had their willes against him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare.

And where the king had demanded a reliefe of monie towards the maintenance of his estate, and charges of the warres, it was answered, that he néeded not any tallage of his subiects, sith he might furnish himselfe with such a summe at the hands of the said earle, that was iustlie indebted vnto him therein, as they were able well to prooue. But the king was nothing herewith contented, conceiuing no small displeasure, aswell against them of the lower house, as against the lords in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went so sore against his mind. Herevpon (as was said, whether trulie or otherwise, the lord knoweth) by a conspiracie begun betwixt the king & such as were most in fauour with him, it was deuised, that the duke of Glocester (as principall) and such other lords as fauored the knights and burgesses in their sute, against the earle of Suffolke, and were otherwise against the king in his demand of monie, should be willed to a supper in London, there to be murthered.

But the duke comming by some meanes to vnderstand of this wicked practise, had no desire to take part of that supper, where such sharpe sauce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the residue, that they likewise should not come there, but to content themselues with their owne suppers at their lodgings. It was said, that sir Nicholas Brember, who had béene maior the yeare before, had promised his assistance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough the commendable constancie of Richard Exton that was maior this yeare being mooued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng flatlie to consent to the death of such innocent persons, that heinous practise was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to such councellors of the king greatlie increased, and the duke of Glocester and such as withstood the king, dailie grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Richard Exton iustlie cõmended.

A subsidie granted and appointed to be spent according to ye discretion of the nobilitie.

Howbeit at length, through the earnest sute of some of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a fiftéenth, which should not be spent at the pleasure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the said lords, & so at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furnish him with a nauie to the seas. But before this paiment might be granted, there was much adoo, & hard hold: for where the said earle of Suffolke then lord chancellor, at first had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure fiftéens (for with lesse (said he) the king could not mainteine his estate and the warres which he had in hand) the whole bodie of the parlement made answer thereto, that without the king were present (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no answer at all: and herewith they tooke occasion at length to say further, that except the said earle of Suffolke were remooued from the office of chancellorship, they would meddle no further with any act in this parlement, were it neuer of so small importance.

The

The king being aduertised hereof, sent againe to the commons, that they should send vnto Eltham (where he laie) fortie of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minds. And then the house was in no small feare, by reason of a brute that was raised, how the king sought meanes to intrap and destroie them that followed not his purpose. Herevpon aswell the lords of the vpper house as the commons of the lower assembled togither, and agréed with one consent, that the duke of Glocester, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie, should in the name of the whole parlement be sent to the king vnto Eltham: which was doone, and the king was well contented that they should come. When they came before his presence, with humble reuerence they declared their message, which consisted in these points: That the lords and commons assembled at that present in parlement, besought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

Dissention betweene the king and the parlement house.

The duke of Glocester and the bishop of Elie sent to ye K. at Eltham fō the whole bodie of the parlement.

Their requests to the king.

They further declared, that one old statute and laudable custome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfullie summon his high court of parlement, and call the lords and commons therevnto, as to the highest court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to shine as the sunne being at the highest, whereof poore and rich may take refreshing; where also reformation ought to be had of all oppressions, wrongs, extortions, & enormities within the realme; and there the king ought to take counsell with the wise men of his realme, for the maintenance of his estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowen that any persons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie; there must also be deuised how such euill weeds may be destroied. There must also be studied and foreséene, that if any charge doo come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorablie borne and discharged.

And oftener if néed require.

The causes & conditions of a parlement.

Further, they declared that till that present, his subiects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themselues towards him, in aiding him with their substance to the best of their powers, & that their desire was to vnderstand how those goods were spent. And further they said, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king should absent himselfe fourtie daies, not being sicke, and refuse to come to the parlement, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfullie returne home to their houses: and therefore sith he had béene absent a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatlie to their discomfort. To this the king (as we find) made this answer: "Well, we do perceiue that our people and commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot doo better than to aske aid of our cousine the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him than to our owne subiects."

Absence of the king from the parlement for the space of 40 daies.

The kings answer.

The lords answered, that it should not be good for him so to doo, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, sith it was plaine inough, that the French king was his ancient enimie and greatest aduersarie, who if he might once set foot in the realme of England, he would rather despoile and dispossesse the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they said) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitour king Edward the third, his grandfather, and prince Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguish and troubles incessantlie, to make a conquest of France, that rightfullie apperteined vnto them, and now to him, in which warres he might likewise remember how manie lords, noble men, and good commons of both realmes had lost their liues, and what charges both the realmes likewise bare in maintaining those warres: and now (the more pitie) greater burthens were laid vpon the necks of the English subiects for the supportation of his charges, by reason whereof, they were so low brought (said they) that they haue not to paie their rents, and so by such meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hand, and all his people sore impouerished. And as that king cannot be poore that hath rich people, so cannot he be rich that hath poore

Wealth of the people is the glorie of the prince and suertie of his reigne.

poore commons. And as he tooke hurt by such inconueniences chancing through euill councellors that were about him, so the lords and noblemen susteined no lesse hurt each one after his estate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme must needs fall in ruine, and the default should be imputed to him and to those his euill councellors.

By these and the like persuasions the king was induced to come to the parlement, and according to his appointment he came indeed. Soone after his comming was Iohn Fortham bishop of Durham discharged of his office of lord treasuror, and in his place was appointed one Iohn Gilbert bishop of Hereford, that was a frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as some reported of him. Also the earle of Suffolke was discharged of his office of lord chancellor, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie placed in his roome, by whole consent of parlement. The same earle of Suffolke was charged with manie & verie great enormious crimes, frauds, falshoods, and tresons, which he had practised, to the great preiudice of the king and realme, and therevpon was committed to ward in the castell of Windsore. Notwithstanding they adiudged him not to death (as some write) nor disgraded him of the honor of knighthood, but condemned him to paie a fine of twentie thousand marks, and also to forfeit one thousand pounds of yéerelie rents which he had purchased.

Change of officers by the parlement.

The earle of Suffolke greeuouslie charged by the parlement house for sundrie offenses.

But other write, that notwithstanding the king was sore offended for the accusations brought against the said earle of Suffolke and others, whome he loued, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he was constreined at length, after he had shifted off the matter by sundrie deuises, to appoint certeine persons with full power and authoritie to heare, and in iudgment to determine those matters. The duke of Glocester therfore, and the earle of Arundell were appointed as iudges; which (whilest the king as yet was absent, who got him foorth of the waie of purpose, bicause he would not be present at the condemnation of those whome he most entierlie loued and fauoured) went earnestlie in hand with their businesse, and so at length (as Walsingham saith) the earle of Suffolke was conuicted, & found giltie of sundrie crimes, trespasses, and naughtie parts: for which it was thought that he deserued to lose his life & goods, but yet he was suffered (as the same Walsingham saith) to go abroad vnder suertie, certeine great men being bound for him in great sums of monie. But what order soeuer was taken for the punishment of him, sure it is he was displaced from his office of chancellorship, as before yée haue heard.

Furthermore, the lords, and other estates in this parlement, considering that through couetousnesse of the new deposed officers, the kings treasure had béene imbezeled, lewdlie wasted, & prodigallie spent, nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement thirteene lords chosen, to haue ouersight vnder the king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of this king it dooth in the booke of statutes at large appeare. Of those thirteene there were three of the new officers named, as the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, the bishop of Hereford lord treasuror, and Nicholas abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priuie seale: the other ten were these, William archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Edmund Langlie duke of Yorke, Thomas duke of Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Excester, Richard earle of Arundell, Richard lord Scroope, and Iohn lord Debereux. But this participation of the gouernement fell out to be inconuenient, as by processe of the storie shall appeare, euen to those vnto whome it was allotted: so that no small a doo happened among them and their partakers: according to the old prouerbe, which saith;

Thirtéene lords appointed by parlement to haue the gouernementofthe realme vnder the king.

Væ sibi quándó canes veniunt os rodere plures.

Moreouer, at the kings instance and earnest sute it was granted, that Robert de Veer late marquesse of Dubline, and now newlie created duke of Ireland, should haue and receiue to his owne vse thirtie thousand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue for the

heires

heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times past chalenged as his righfull inheritance the dutchie of Britaine, against the earle of Montfort. This grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condition, that being furnished with this monie, he should passe ouer into Ireland, before the next Easter, there to recouer such lands as the king had giuen to him. For aswell the lords as the commons were so desirous to haue him gone, that they wished the realme rather to spare so much treasure, than to haue his presence about the king, to allure him to follie. The same time the king of Armenia sued for a safe conduct to come againe ouer into this land, to speake with the king as it had been about the mooning of some peace betwixt the two realms of England and France; but sith his meaning was suspected to be to no good end, but to benefit himselfe by receiuing of some great gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his sute was not granted.

The king of Armenia suth for a safe conduct to come into England which is denied him.

In this meane time also, whilest the French king with such a companie of dukes, earls and other lords, as had not béene heard of, still continued in Flanders, staieng as well for a conuenient wind, as for the comming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that certeine English ships, as they wafted the seas, met with two of the French ships, that were sailing towards Sluis, and fighting with them, tooke them, and brought them both to Sandwich. There was found aboord the same ships, a maister gunner, that sometime had serued the Englishmen at Calis, when sir Hugh Caluerlie was lieutenant there; also diuerse great guns and engins to beat downe wals were found and taken in the same ships, with a great quantitie of powder that was more worth than all the rest.

Two of the Frēch kings ships taken with a great price in them. Guns were inuented little more than six yeares before this time, to wit, An. 1380.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the Englishmen also tooke certeine hulks and six cariks of the Genowais, laden with great riches: but bicause they were merchants, they found such fauor at the kings hands through means of Michaell de la Poole then lord chancellor (whome they had made their frēend) that they had their vessels and all their goods restored, and streightwaies they passed with the same vnto Sluis, where the enimies laie, to make sale of their wares there. Wherevpon much murmuring rose among the kings subiects, taking it in euill part, that they should be suffered so to go their waies to releeue the enimies of the realme, with such goods as were once brought into the Englishmens possession, and speciallie the lord chancellor was verie euill thought of, for shewing so much fauour vnto those strangers.

Restitution of merchants goods taken.

The French king still remaining in Flanders, tarieng for the comming of the duke of Berrie, and also for a conuenient wind, at length on the euen of All saints, the wind came about very fauourablie for the Frenchmens purpose: wherevpon they weied anchors, and lanched from the hauen of Sluis, but they were not past twentie miles forward on their way, when the wind suddenlie turned contrarie to their course againe, and brought them backe with such violence, that diuerse of them as they should enter the hauen, were broken and brused, and so by this occasion, and the counsell of the duke of Berrie togither, the French king brake vp his iournie for that yeare, and returned into France. ¶ Ye haue heard what was doone by the states assembled in parlement against the earle of Suffolke, whom the most part of the realme so greatlie hated, but yet neuerthelesse, the king had such an affection towards him, that immediatlie after the parlement was dissolued, he vndid all that had béene enacted against him, receiuing him into more familiaritie than before, and caused him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, which two lords trauelled most earnestlie to moque the king against the other lords, and to disannull all that had béene doone in the last parlement.

The French fléet setting forward towards England is driuen backe by contrarie winds.

The kings inordinate affection towards the duke of Ireland and the earle of Suffolke.

There increased therefore in the king an inward hatred, which he conceiued against the lords, these men putting into his eare, that he was like no king but rather resembled the shadow of one; saieng, it would come to passe that he should be able to doo nothing of himselfe, if the lords might inioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them. The king gaue credit to these tales, and therefore had the lords in great gelousie, notwithstanding they were thought to be his most true and faithfull subiects, and the other craftie, deceitfull,

deceitfull, and vntrustie; but such an affection had the king to them, that no informations, nor accusations, though neuer so manifestlie prooued, could bring them out of his fauour, in so much as at the feast of Christmasse next following, he caused the earle of Suffolke to sit with him at his owne table, in robes accustomablie appointed for kings to weare, and not for meaner estates, which was much noted, and no little increased the enuie against him.

1387.

The earle of Arundell goeth to the sea with 300 men of armes and a thousand archers as *Froissard* noteth.

About the beginning of March in this tenth yeere, Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord admerall, & Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham, the earle of Deuonshire, and the bishop of Norwich (as Froissard saith) went to the sea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, so well trimmed and appointed as was possible. For the lord admerall vnderstanding that the duke of Glocester, and manie other noblemen would see the muster of his men, vsed all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the most choisest and pikedst fellowes that might be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times past, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and reserued the residue to their pursses. And when to the aduancement of the realms commoditie they should haue incountered the enimies, they shifted off all occasions thereto, and onelie prolonged time, without atchiuing any enterprise auaileable, to the end they might receiue the whole wages, and keepe themselues from danger, which they should hardlie haue auoided, when they had not about them such able men as were like to match the enimies: but the earle of Arundell contrarilie got the ablest men he might, not sparing his owne purse, to the end that by their seruice he might atchiue some worthie enterprise, to redound vnto the commoditie of his countrie.

A great abuse in choise souldiers.

After the duke of Glocester had beheld so faire and chosen a power of men of warre, they were streightwaies appointed to get them on shipbrood, & so being imbarked, the whole nauie passed foorth to the Thams mouth, where they staied to watch for the fleet of Flanders, that was readie to come from Rochell with wines. At length, vpon a sundaie, being the euen of the Annuntiation of our ladie, the Flemish fleet was discouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the tops of a ship of the English fleet. The earle of Arundell greatlie reioising at those newes, foorthwith with his whole fleet made to the sea. When the Flemings approched neere to our nauie, they made saile, as if they would set vpon the same; and our men of purpose made countenance as if they would haue retired, as mistrusting themselues to be able to match their aduersaries, who coueting rather a safe passage than battell, passed by: but the Englishmen hauing once got the wind fit for their purpose, suddenlie set vpon the Flemish ships, and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after a sore conflict which indured foure houres, the victorie fell to the Englishmen.

A good policie.
A great victorie of the English nauie against the Flemish fleet.
Ia. Meir.
Tho. Walsi.

There were taken fourescore ships, with diuerse capteins and men of armes, namelie their chiefe admerall, named Iohn Buicke, a perfect good seaman, and one that had afore-time doone much hurt to the English nation. Diuerse of their ships were bouged, and some escaped from the battell. But the earle of Arundell pursued them so egerlie for the space of two daies togither, that at length he tooke them, and brought them backe to his nauie, so that what in the battell and in the chase, there were taken of great and small, to the number of an hundred vessels, all fraught with wines, so that there was found aboord the same nine thousand tuns, or rather (as other saie) ninetéene thousand, which togither with the vessels were streight sent vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroad in the realme, beside that which fell to the kings share, as due to him by his prerogatiue. Part of the Flemish fleet escaping (as before ye haue heard) was pursued vnto the hauen of Sluis and Blankerke.

Ia. Meir.
Thom. Wals.

The citizens of Middleburgh came to the earle, and requested him that they might buie those wines of him, and paie for the same after the rate of an hundred shillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings frends, and stood in need of wines: but the earle of Arundell, thinking it more reason that those which had borne the charges of his iournie,

to wit, the commons of the realme of England should haue the commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their sute. But yet to shew them some pleasure as his frēends, he gaue them twentie tuns to make merrie with. As for that which fell to the earles share, he vsed such bountifulnesse in bestowing it among his frēends, that he left not to himselfe so much as one tunne. He wan therefore no small praise, that forbearing his owne commoditie, which he might haue reaped in selling those wines to strangers, he had more regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they might vnderstand, that that which they had laid foorth towards the setting forward of his iournie, was not altogither lost nor cast awaie. By this meanes (besides the commendation which he drew to himselfe) he also wan the harts & good will of the people, whose freendship is purchased by gifts and good dēeds, sith they make profit the metrod of amitie, & bound in beneuolence with receiued benefits, as the poet saith,

The liberalitie of the earle of Arundell.

Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders neere to the sea coasts, was in great feare: for the Englishmen landed, and euerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning diuerse townes and villages, as Mude, Osiburge, Houckam, Monachacedam, & others. And at length, after they had taken their pleasure in the countrie, for the space of ten daies togither, they hoissed vp sailes, and returned with all their preie and booties, which being sold, and vttered abroad in the realme, made wine so plentifullie here in England, that it was sold for thirtēene shillings foure pence the tun, and twentie shillings the best and choisest. The earle of Arundell not satisfied with his happie atchiued enterprise, but minding to doo more seruice to the benefit of his countrie, gathered his ships together, and hiring new souldiers to supplie the roomes of them that were hurt, maimed, or slaine, turned his sailes towards the castell of Brest, which seemed to be a keie to the lesse Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Englishmens possession, the Frenchmen were about to raise vp and build farre greater and stronger bastillions, than those were that the duke of Lancaster had taken and destroied, as he sailed forward on his iournie toward Spaine.

Diuers rodes made into Flanders by the Englishmen, & great spoile doone.

Wine sold for thirtēene shillings foure pence the tun.

The earle of Aurundell saileth into Britaine with a great power.

One of these two new bastiles the earle of Arundell woone by force from them that kept it: and bicause it sēemed necessarie to be kept for a defense to the castell, if it were in the Englishmens hands, he committed it to the custodie of certeine Englishmen. The other being not yet finished, but begun in sumptuous wise to be builded, he set on fire and burned. This doone, furnishing the garison with sufficient vittels and munition to serue them for one whole yeare, he returned home into England, with great praise and commendation of the commons for his dooings. But the duke of Ireland the earle of Suffolke, sir Simon de Burlie, and sir Richard Sturrie, that still continued about the king, sēemed rather to enuie the earle of Arundels good name, than otherwise to commend him and others to the king, that had bēene foorth in that iournie, in so much that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwise called earle Marshall, that had bēene euer the kings plaifellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receiue great thankes at the kings hands, he had no good countenance shewed vnto him, neither of the king, nor of the duke of Ireland, who disdaining once to talke with him, sēemed to enuie the worthie prowesse in other, which he knew defectiue and wanting in himselfe.

Enuie ye follower of vertue & prowesse.

Shortlie after, by the counsell of those lords and knights that remained about the king, the lord Henrie Percie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, was sent to the seas, to beate backe the attempts of the enimies, but he was slenderlie appointed to atchiue anie great enterprise. This was doone of some enuious purpose, bicause he had got a name amongest the common people, to be a verie hardie and valiant gentleman, as well among Englishmen, as Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waieng of that which they craftilie had imagined against him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the businesse inioined him, and hauing remained abroad, during the whole time of his appointed seruice, returned

The lord Percie sent to the seas.

ed safelie home. ¶ About the same time, a frier Carmelite, named Walter Disse, that had béene confessor to the duke of Lancaster, obteined in fauour of the same duke, at pope Vrbans hands, certeine faculties, to be distributed to such as would praie & paie for them. Among other of those faculties, one was, to make all those whom he thought good, the popes chapleines, according to forme of law, and the custome vsed in the court of Rome.

Frier Pateshull forsaking his profession, preacheth openlie against his owne order.

Now bicause such as obteined this fauour, inioied great liberties, manie were glad to bestow largelie, to be so preferred, the frier being redie to admit those that offered most. Among other, one Peter Pateshull, a frier of the Augustines order, was made by him the popes chapleine, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and therevpon forsaking his priuate profession, gaue himselfe to a publike trade of life, which might séeme to him more holie, commendable, and sure. Herevpon, he tooke vpon him to preach against his owne order, namelie in a sermon which he made in saint Christophers church in London. He inueied so earnestlie against the abuses and heinous crimes which the friers, sometimes his brethren, vsed to put in practise, that it was an horror to heare. There were present an hundred at the least of Wicliffes opinion at his sermon. Now in the meane while that he so laid foorth what he knew against his late brethren, some persons there were that ran to the Augustine friers, and declared the whole matter; wherevpon a dozen of the hardiest and lustiest fellowes among them came to the church, where this Pateshull was preaching, and hearing what was said, they began to be sore mooued, insomuch that one of them more zealous in his religion than the other, stepped foorth, and gainesaid those things which the preacher proponed.

Wickleuists.

When the Wicleuists perceiued this, they set vpon him that so disquieted the congregation, and laieng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder their féet, and lent him manie a good buffet: and chasing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie bent to haue killed them, and set their house on fier, crieng out with lowd voices; "Let vs destroie these murtherers, let vs burne these Sodomits, and hang vp such traitors of the king and realme." And running thus with such a furious noise and outrage, they purposed verelie to haue set fire on the friers lodgings, but that through the humble praier of frier Thomas Ashborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were staied. The comming also of one of the shirifes of London holpe much to appease them, so that by his persuasion, they returned home to their houses. But Peter Pateshull, being mainteened among them, was counselled, sith he was interrupted in his sermon, to set downe in writing all such matters as he was about to intreat of, & what he knew further. He therefore deuised a libell, in which he accused diuerse of his brethren, of murthering sundrie of their fellowes.

A libell by frier Pateshull against his brethren.

And for more proofe to be giuen to his saiengs, he told the names of them that were made awaie, and the names also of the murtherers, and shewed where those that were murthered were buried. He affirmed further, that the said friers his brethren of late, were Sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme, and manie other things he declared (too too bad) in that his writing or libell which he fastned vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, that the more confusion might thereby redound vnto his late brethren, the friers aforesaid. In the beginning of the same libell he protested, that he was got foorth of the diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God escaped from amongst wicked and filthie persons; by reason whereof, and for that he was an auoucher of the veritie, he said, he was sure to suffer great aduersities at the friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he thanked pope Vrbane, for that through his grant he had obteined such libertie, that by help of his fréends, he might lawfullie withdrawe himselfe from the hands of his enimies.

There were diuerse men of good worship that mainteined this Pateshull, and caused a transcript

transcript of this libell to be written foorth, affirming all to be true that was therein mentioned. Amongst other that thus fauoured this cause, were diuerse knights, as sir William Neuill, Sir Lewes Clifford, sir Iohn Clanbowe, sir Richard Sturrie, and sir Thomas Latimer, and the chéefest of all was one sir Iohn Montacute, who caused all the images to be taken downe and set aside in corners, which Iohn Aubreie, and his successour sir Alane Buxhull, or any their ancestors had set vp in their chappell of Cheneleie. ¶ About the same time, the duke of Ireland sought to be diuorsed from his lawfull wife, a trim yoong ladie, daughter to the ladie Isabell, that was one of king Edward the third his daughters; and tooke to wife one Lancegrone a Bohemer one of the quéenes maids; by reason whereof, great occasion of slander and reproch grew, and diuerse lords, speciallie the duke of Glocester, that was vncle to the ladie that was forsaken, tooke great displeasure herewith. But sith the king allowed of all the duke of Irelands dooings, the duke of Glocester dissembled such iniuries doone to his neece for the time, till opportunitie might serue to reuenge the same. The fauourers of frier Pateshull.

The duke of Ireland vnderstood all these things, and therefore was the more circumspect for his owne safetie, and studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the duke of Glocester out of the waie, as the man whom he most feared; least his life should be his destruction, by one meanes or other. Easter was now past, the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland should haue transported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not set forward. But least somewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of some stir to be raised by the lords of the realme, that wished him gone, according to the order prescribed at the last parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water side, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might deuise how to dispatch the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, Derbie, and Notingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, beside the duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and diuers other, which doubtfull of their owne safegards did what they could (as writers report) to mooue the king forward to the destruction of those noblemen. After the king had remained in those parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe so that it seemed his voiage into Ireland was now quite forgotten. Dissention betwixt the king & the nobles. 1388. An. Reg. 11.

About the same time, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England, came to Couentrie, and indicted there two thousand persons. The king and the quéene came to Grobie, and thither came by his commandement the iustices of the realme. There were also with him at the same time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian, & his fellowes; of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the last parlement, to the which he had giuen his consent in manner by constraint; and they made answer that he might. Then were the iustices commanded to come vnto Notingham, where the king appointed to meet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a solemne counsell in the castell of Notingham, the morrow after S. Bartholomews day. *Grafton.* Certeine questions in law demanded of the iustices. A councell holden at Notingham.

In this councell were the aforesaid archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian iustice, Robert Bramble iustice, and sundrie other, all which iustices were commanded to set their hands vnto the question vnder written, that by meanes thereof, those persons that were about the king thought they might haue good occasion to put the duke of Glocester, and other lords that were his complices vnto death, which in the last parlement were ordeined to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all such as were consenting to the same. Diuerse of the iustices refused to subscribe, but yet they were constreined to doo as the rest did, among the which was Iohn Belknap, who vtterlie refused, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had persisted in the refusall, he had not escaped their hands, and yet when he had Iustice Belknap cõpelled to subscribe.

Iustice Belknaps words.

had set to his seale, he burst out into these words; "Now (said he) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my desert, and I know, if I had not doone this, I might not haue escaped your hands, so that for your pleasures and the kings I haue doone it, and deserued thereby death at the hands of the lords." Which indéed shortlie followed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

An act of councell touching this matter, in manner as followeth.

Additions to *Polychron.*

MEMORANDUM that on the fiue and twentith day of August, in the 11 yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, at the castell of Notingham aforesaid, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iustice of the cõmon plees, Iohn Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borough, knights and associats of the said Robert Belknap, and Iohn Lockton one of the kings sergeants at the law, being personalie required in presence of the lords and other witnesses vnder written by our said souereigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they should trulie answer to certeine questions vnderwritten, and vpon the same by their discretions, to saie the law.

Questions in law demãded of the iustices.

1 First, it was asked of them, whether the new statute, ordinance, and commission made in the last parlement held at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Wherevnto all of one mind answered, that they were hurtfull, and speciallie bicause they be against the kings will.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said statute, ordinance, and commission to be made. Wherevnto with one assent they answered, that they deserued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be punished, which moued the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission. Wherevnto they answered, that vnlesse the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to lose their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what punishment they deserued, that compelled the king to the making of that statute, ordinance and commission. Wherevnto they gaue answer, that they ought to suffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be punished that interrupted the king so, that he might not exercise those things that apperteined to his regalitie and prerogatiue. Wherevnto answer was made, that they ought to be punished as traitors.

6 Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cause of the calling togither of the states of the parlement, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalfe limited vpon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed; if the lords neuertheles would proceed vpon other articles, and not meddle with those articles which the king had limited, till time the king had answered the articles proponed by them, notwithstanding the king inioined them to the contrarie: whether in this case the king might rule the parlement, and cause them to proceed vpon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further? To which question it was answered, that the king should haue in this part the rule, for order of all such articles to be prosecuted, vntill the end of the parlement. And if any presumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be punished as a traitor.

7 Item, it was asked, whether the king when soeuer it pleased him might not dissolue the parlement, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not? Wherevnto it was answered that he might.

8. Item,

8 Item, it was inquired, that for somuch as it was in the king to remoone such iustices and officers as offend, and to punish them for their offenses; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the same officers and iustices, vpon their offenses in parlement or not? To this answer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to suffer as a traitor.

9 Item, it was inquired, how he is to be punished, that mooued in the parlement, that the statute wherin Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be sent for; by inspection of which statute, the said new statute or ordinance and commission were conceiued, and deuised in the parlement?

To which question, with one accord, as in all the residue they answered, that as well he that so summoned, as the other, which by force of the same motion, brought the said statute into the parlement house, be as publike offendors and traitors to be punished.

10 Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgment giuen in the parlement against Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, were erronious and reuocable, or not?

To which question likewise with one assent they said, that if the same iudgement were now to be giuen, the iustices and sergeant aforesaid would not giue the same: bicause it seemed to them, that the said iudgment is reuocable and erronious in euerie part.

In witnesse of the premisses, the iustices & sergeant aforesaid to these presents haue set their seals, these being witnesses; Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Robert archbishop of Dubline, Iohn bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chester, Iohn bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, Iohn Ripon clearke, and Iohn Blake.

Thom. Wals.

Now beside these iustices and sergeant, there were called at that present vnto Nottingham, all other iustices of the realme, and the shiriffes. Also, diuerse of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that some of them, hauing aforetime confessed treason against the king by them imagined, and obteining pardon for the same, were readie at his commandement, to recompense such fauour, in the accomplishment of whatsoeuer they knew might stand with his pleasure. Herevpon, they being impanelled to inquire of certeine treasons that were supposed to be committed by the lords, which in the last parlement had so caused things to passe, contrarie to the kings pleasure, indicted the same lords of manie crimes informed against them. ¶ The Londoners indeed were euill reported of in those daies, by some writers, for their vnstablenesse, one while holding on the kings part, and with such as were chéefe in counsell about him; and an other while on the lords side that were of a contrarie faction: according as the streame of their affections draue them, and as they were carried awaie perforce by the floud of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing passions, as they were assaulted by sundrie and vncerteine desires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, saieng:

The lords indicted of diuerse offenses.

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

But now, as concerning the cause whie the shiriffes were called hither, it was chéeflie to vnderstand what power of men they might assure the king of, to serue him against the lords and barons, whome he tooke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie shortlie, they should so vse the matter, that no knight might be chosen, but such as the king and his councell should name. But answer was made herevnto by the shiriffes, that the lords were so highlie beloued of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to assemble any great forces against the lords; and as for choosing the knights of the shires, they said that the commons would vndoubtedlie vse their ancient liberties, and priuileges, in choosing such as they thought meetest. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the desire of the king and his councellors, and that those which had béene called about this matter, were licenced to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland sent messengers into euerie part of the realme, to reteine men of warre to assist them

Why the shiriffes of all shires were sent for to the court.

Soldiers reteined on all sides by the king against the lords.

them in the quarell against the lords, if néed were. Manie made answer, that sith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to studie, to deuise, and to doo all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour against them. But a great number of other, that tooke it that they were reteined for a good and necessarie purpose, promised to be readie, whensoeuer it should please the king to send for them.

The lords being in this meane while aduertised of these dooings, were striken with great heauinesse, for that not knowing themselues (as they tooke it) giltie of anie offense, the king should thus seeke their destruction. Herewith the duke of Glocester, meaning to mitigate the kings displeasure, receiued a solemne oth before the bishop of London, and diuerse other lords, protesting by the same oth, that he neuer imagined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hinderance, but to his power had alwaies doone what he might to aduance the kings honor, prosperous state and good liking, except onelie that he had giuen no good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom the king so much loued. And suerlie for that the said duke had dishonored his kinswoman, and the kings also, he was firmelie determined to reuenge that iniurie vpon him; and herewith he besought the bishop of London to declare what his words were vnto the king.

The duke of Glocesters protestation vpon his oth.

The bishop comming to the king, made report of the duke of Glocesters protestation, confirmed with his oth, in such wise, as the king began somewhat to be persuaded that it was true. But when the earle of Suffolke perceiued that, fearing least the reconciliation of the king and the duke his vncle should turne to his vndooing, he began to speake against the duke, till the bishop bad him hold his peace; and told him, that it nothing became him to speake at all. And when the earle asked why so; "Bicause (said the bishop) thou wast in the last parlement condemned for an euill person, and one not worthie to liue, but onelie it pleaseth the king to shew thée fauour." The king offended with the bishops presumptuous words, commanded him to depart & get him home to his church, who foorthwith departed, and declared to the duke of Glocester what he had heard and séene. Herevpon, the great misliking that had beene afore time betwixt the king and the lords, was now more vehementlie increased, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, the archbishop of Yorke, the lord chiefe iustice Robert Trisilian, and others, still procuring, stirring, and confirming the kings heauie displeasure against the lords.

Stout words of the bishop of London.

The duke of Glocester considering to what conclusion these things tended, came secretlie to conference with the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derbie, who were in like danger, if they prouided not more spéedilie for their safetie, wherevpon he discouered to them the perill wherein they all stood in common, so that when they weied what was the most expedient meane to safe gard their liues, they gathered their power togither, determining to talke with the king with their armour vpon their backes, for their more suertie, as well concerning his preteuse to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour which he bare to those whom they reputed to be traitors, both to him, and to the whole state of the realme, whereby the same could not auoid spéedie ruine, if remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king on the other part tooke aduise, how he might apprehend these lords (whom he tooke to be plaine traitors) ech one apart, before they might gather their strengths about them; and first, he sent the earle of Northumberland and others, vnto the castell of Reigate, to take the earle of Arundell, who laie there at that present. But howsoeuer it fortuned, the earle of Northumberland came backe, and failed to accomplish that which he had in commandement.

The lords confer how to preuēt the perils pretended against them.

The earle of Northumberland sent to apprehend the earle of Arundell.

After this, a great number were sent by night, to haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to the kings presence; or in case he resisted, to haue slaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he being warned by a messenger, that came to him from the duke of Glocester, conueied himselfe awaie, and with such bands as he had got togither, rode all that night, so that in the morning hauing passed thirtie miles, not without great trauell, and

The earle of Arundell ioineth with the other lords.

all speed possible, he was in the morning aduanced to Haringie parke, where he found the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Warwike, with a great power of men about them. ¶ At the same time the king was about to set forward towards Canturburie, there to performe some vow of pilgrimage, which he had vndertaken to make vnto the shrine of Thomas Becket. But a brute was raised, and a slander (belike) contriued, to bring him in further hatred of his subiects, that he meant to steale ouer into France, vnto the French king, hauing promised to deliuer vp into his hands the towne of Calis, with the castell of Guines, and all the fortresses which his predecessors had possessed in those parties, either by right from their ancestors, or by warlike conquest.

Howbeit this his iournie to Canturburie was suddenlie staied, vpon knowledge had of the gathering togither of the lords in Haringie parke, wherewith the king being sore amazed, called togither such as he trusted, to vnderstand what their opinion was of the matter; and vnderstanding that the purposed intention of the lords, for which they were so assembled, was to this end (as they pretended) to bring him vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernement, he was streight striken with no small feare, demanding of them their aduise, what was best for him to doo in such troublesome state of things. Some were of this mind, that it should be best to sécke to appease the lords with faire promises, assuring them, that they should haue their desires. Other thought it better to assemble the kings friends, and ioining them with the Londoners, to go foorth and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among them that were of this mind, the archbishop of Yorke was the chiefest. But other that were thought to vnderstand more of the world than he did, iudged it not wisedome so to doo, considering that if the king lost the field, then should great harme and dishonor follow; and if the victorie fell to his side, yet could he gaine naught, but lose a great number of his subiects.

Councell taken how to deale against the lords.

This was in Nouember, at what time the king, vpon his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue holden a parlement; but through those stirs, neither his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went forward: yet he caused order to be giuen, that no citizen of London should sell to the duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or matter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a great paine. But notwithstanding, the lords went forward with their businesse; and before they approched the citie of London, they sent to the king the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord Iohn Louell, the lord Cobham, and the lord Iohn Deuereux, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him, that were traitors and seducers both of him and the realme, that sought nothing else, but to trouble both poore and rich, and to sow discord and variance betwixt the king and his nobles. And further, they declared that their comming was for the honor and wealth both of the king and realme.

The lords send messengers to the king.

But the king being ruled altogither by the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or three other, was fullie persuaded that the lords intended to bring him vnder their gouernement, and therfore he was counselled to make the French king his sure friend in all vrgent necessities. And to be assured of him, it was reported, that those councellors aduised him to render vp into the French kings hands the towne of Calis, and all that he had else in possession, on the further side of the sea. Howsoeuer this matter went, truth it is, that the king sent for the maior of London, requiring to know of him how manie able men they thought the citie could make. The maior answered, that he thought verely the citizens might make in time of need, fiftie thousand men, within an houres respit. Well said the king, then I beseech you go and prooue what will be done. But when the maior began to attempt the matter, he was answered generallie, that they would neuer fight against the kings freends, and defenders of the realme (as indeed they tooke the lords to be) but against the enimies of the king and realme they would alwaies be readie to fight, and shew what resistance they were able. This answer the maior reported to the king.

A rash answer of the maior of London.

The Londoners refuse to fight against the lords.

At the same time there was about the king the lord Rafe Basset, who said thus to the king flatlie and plainelie: "Sir, I haue béene, and euer will be your true liege man, and my bodie and goods shall euer be at your graces commandement, in all iustice and trueth. But neuerthelesse, hereof I assure you, that if my hap be to come into the field, I will without faile alwaies follow the true part; and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken for the duke of Irelands pleasure." Likewise, the earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the court, spake these words to the king; "Sir, there is no doubt but these lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue beene your true and faithfull subiects, and yet are, not intending to attempt anie thing against your state, wealth, & honor. Neuerthelesse, they féele themselues sore molested and disquieted, by the wicked deuises of certeine persons about you, that seeke to oppresse them. And verilie without faile, all your realme is sore greeued therewith, both great and small, as well lords as commons; and I sée not the contrarie, but they mind to aduenture their liues with the lords that are thus in armes, speciallie in this case, which they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And sir, now yée be in the cheefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, order your selfe now therefore wiselie and like a king. Send to them to come before your presence in some publike place, where they may declare vnto you the intent and purpose of their comming, accompanied with so great a number of people into these parts, and I beléeue it verelie, they will shew such reasons that you will hold them excused."

The earle of Northumberlands and the lord Bassets words to the king in the behalfe of the lords.

The archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord chancellor bishop of Elie, and other of the bishops also there present, affirmed the earles aduise to be good. And the king considering wiselie the case as it stood, began to be appeased, and accorded to follow their aduise, desiring the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, to aduertise them of his plesure, which was, that he willed them to come to him to Westminster, on sundaie then next following; and so they repairing to the lords, made report to them of the kings mind and purpose. But the duke of Glocester, and the other lords, were so fullie bent in their opinion, that they swore all whole togither, that they would neuer giue ouer their enterprise, so long as they had a penie to spend, in maintenance of their cause: and if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the ouerliuers should persist therein, vntill the time that they had brought their purpose to some good effect.

The lords take an oth togither, to prosecute their purposed enterprise.

And bicause they doubted least the king might stirre the citie of London against them, they determined first to aduertise the maior and the citie, how their comming was onlie to reforme certeine great enormities, which they set downe in writing, & sent it to the maior and citizens, beseeching them of their fauour and counsell therin. This doone, they determined yet to kéepe their daie on the sundaie following, to appeare before the kings presence: but this was not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with diuerse other noblemen of good credit, had vndertaken vpon their oths for the kings behalfe, that no fraud nor deceipt, no perill nor euill pretense should be put in practise against the lords, wherby they might come to losse either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwise, through the kings means; but that if he should go about anie such things, the said lord chancellor, and other the mediators should forwarne the lords therof.

The lords séeke the fauour of the Londoners.

Thom. Wals.

When therefore the lords were readie, according to couenant, to come vnto Westminster, they were secretlie aduertised, that there was an ambush laid in a place called the Mewes, and so they staied, and came not at the appointed houre. Wherevpon, when the king demanded, how it fortuned that the lords kept not promise, the bishop of Elie lord Chancellor made him this answer; "Bicause" saith he, "there is an ambush of a thousand armed men or more laid in such a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull of your word." The king hearing this, was astonied, and said with an oth, that he knew of no such thing, & withall sent to the shiriffes of London, commanding them to go to the Mewes, and (vpon search made) if they found anie force of men there assembled, to take and kill all such as they could

An ambush at Mewes.

could laie hands vpon. But sir Thomas Triuet, and sir Nitholas Brambre, knight, that had in déed assembled such a number of men, when they vnderstood what order the king had giuen therein, they sent their men backe to London.

The lords, after this, receiuing a safe conduct from the king, and perceiuing all to be safe and cleare, came vnto Westminster with a strong power of men about them. The king, when he heard they were come, apparelled himselfe in his kinglie robes, and with his scepter in hand came into the great hall at Westminster. The lords as soone as they had sight of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went foorth till they came to the nether steps, going vp to the kings seat of state, where they made their second obeisance; & then the king gaue them countenance to come néerer to him, & they so did, kneeling downe before him, & foorthwith he rose from his place, and louinglie welcomming them, tooke each of them by the hand, and that doone sate him downe againe. Herewith the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto these lords in effect as followeth. "My lords (said he) our souereigne lord the king, hearing that you were assembled in Haringie parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not foorthwith run vpon you with force to destroie you, as he might easilie haue doone, if he had not wished your safetie; for no man doubteth, but if his pleasure had béene to gather an armie, he might haue had more people than you could haue got to haue taken part with you against him, and so happilie much bloud might haue béene spilt, which thing certeinlie our souereigne lord the king vtterlie abhorreth: and therefore vsing patience and mildnesse, he hath rather chosen to talke with you in peaceable wise, that he may vnderstand the cause whie yée haue assembled so great a number of people togither."

The lords for answer héerevnto said, that "they assembled their forces togither, for the profit both of the king and realme, and speciallie to take awaie from him such traitors as remained continuallie about him; to wit, Robert de Veer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole erle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian that false iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre, that disloiall knight of London: for so they tearmed them all. And to prooue their accusations true, they threw downe their gloues, protesting by their oths to prosecute it by battell." "Naie (saith the king) not so, but in the next parlement, which we doo appoint before hand to begin the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, both they and you appearing, shall receiue (according to law) all that which reason shall appoint. And now to you my lords I speake, by what meane or by what reason durst you so presumptuouslie take vpon you within this my land to rise thus against me? Did you thinke to feare me with such your presumptuous boldnesse? Haue I not armed men sufficient to haue beaten you downe, compassed about like a sort of deere in a toil? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no more account of you, than of the vilest skullions in my kitchen."

When he had said these words, with much more, he lift vp the duke of Glocester that all this while knéeled afore him, and commanded the residue to rise also. After this he led them courteouslie to his chamber, where they sate and dranke togither. And finallie it was concluded, that they should all méet togither againe at the next parlement, and ech one to receiue according to iustice; and in the meane time the king tooke aswell the duke of Glocester, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, so that neither part in the meane time should hurt the other, nor presume to make any gathering of people vntill the time prefixed: and so this councell brake vp, and the lords departed. These things yet were doone in absence of the forenamed persons whom the lords accused, for they durst not appeare in presence of the lords; for if they had béene espied, they had smarted for it, as was thought, without any respect that would haue béene had of the kings presence. And now, for somuch as it should be well knowne through all the citie, that these lords had nothing offended him with their comming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

The lords come before the kings presence in Westminster hall.

The lord chancellor speaketh for the king to the lords.

The answer of the lords & their gréefes.

The king reprooueth the lords doings.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.

Grafton.

A proclamation

A proclamation clearing the lords of treason.

RICHARD by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowne to all our liege people throughout our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Glocester, Richard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle of Warwike, haue beene defamed of treason by certeine of our councellors; we as it apperteineth diligentlie searching the ground & cause of this defamation, find no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof: wherfore we declare the same defamation to be false, and vntrue, and doo receiue the same duke and earles into our speciall protection. And bicause these accusors shall be notoriouslie knowne, their names are Alexander archbishop of Yorke, sir Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like case shall remaine till the next parlement and there shall stand to their answers. But in the meane time we likewise take them into our protection, streictlie charging and commanding, that no maner of person charge any of the forenamed, either priuilie or apertlie, in word or deed, to hurt them, or or cause any hurt to be doone to them, but all quarels & demands against them to be remitted, vntill the next parlement prefixed.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readinesse and remembrance when the estates should be assembled, certeine of the lords were appointed to sit in the meane time, to deuise how they might procéed orderlie in redresse of such matters, as séemed to require some spéedie reformation: neither did they thinke it good to depart in sunder, for feare to be intrapped through the malicious practise of their aduersaries. Which doubt of theirs seemed afterwards to stand them in stéed of great wisedome. For immediatlie after, their said aduersaries came to the king, and declared how they were dailie in danger of their liues, by reason of the malice which the lords had conceiued against them onelie for the kings sake, and not for any matter of their owne. And whereas the king had promised that they should appeare at the next parlement, which was at hand, they told him plainelie that they neither durst nor would put their bodies in such manifest danger. The king considering hereof, withdrew himselfe from the companie of the lords that were assigned to sit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to be talked of and ordered in the parlement; and so that councell was deferred and laid aside: and the kings councellors that stood in danger of their liues through the malice of the lords confederated with the duke of Glocester, got them from the court, and withdrew some into this place and some into that.

The earle of Suffolke fléeth ouer to Calis.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calis in secret wise, by the helpe of a knight called sir William Hoo, who holpe to conueie him thither. He had changed his apparell, and shauen his beard, and so disguised, counterfeited himself to be a poulter, and to sell certeine foule which he had gotten, by which means he was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the castell (wherof his brother sir Edmund de la Poole was capteine) he discouered to him (scarselie knowing who he was, by reason he was so disguised) the whole occasion of his repairing thither, requiring him to keepe his counsell, and that he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a time, till he might heare more how things went in England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the bloudie hands of his enimies, that sought his life. His brother doubting what might be laid to his charge if he shuld conceale this matter from the lord William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne, streightwaies aduertised him thereof, who tooke order that the earle should foorthwith be sent backe againe into England to the king, who receiued him with small thanks to them that brought him ouer, so that (as some write) his brother being one, was committed to prison for disclosing him. But yet bicause it should not séeme that he imprisoned

Grafton.

prisoned him for that cause, he was shortlie after set at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle was also permitted to go whither he would, although the king had vndertaken to present him and others at the next parlement to answer their offenses, as the same might be laid to their charge.

¶ But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calis, before the iournie at Ratcote bridge, or after. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is certeine that since the time that the lords had forced the king to promise to exhibit him and others at the next parlement to abide their trials, he durst not openlie remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the king departed from him. Whervpon the king being out of quiet for the absence of him and other his best beloued councellors, whom he so much estéemed, and namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the said earle of Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Molineux constable of the castell of Chester, a man of high valiancie, and great power in the parties of Cheshire and Lancashire, to raise an armie of men, with the assistance of the shiriffe of Cheshire, to whom his commission of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great seale was directed, to the end that they might conueie the duke of Ireland in all safetie vnto the kings presence.

A commission to the shiriffe of Cheshire to safe conduct the duke of Ireland to the kings presence.

The shiriffe hauing receiued this commission, togither with the foresaid Thomas Molineux raised a power, and such as refused to serue, in respect of such good will as they bare to the lords, he committed to prison, commanding the gailors to kéepe them streict in irons with bread and water till his returne. Moreuer, the king sent to sir Rafe Vernon, & sir Richard Ratcliffe, willing them to assist the other. And so thus they set forward with the number of fiue thousand men. When the lords vnderstood that the duke of Ireland was marching towards London, with such a power of men, meaning to ioine with the Londoners, and so to make as it had beene an inuincible armie, they bestirred themselues, and fell in hand to arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now they should not be negligent in their owne defense, but make hast for the dispatching of those that craftilie had gone about to conspire their deaths. And so these lords, to wit, the duke of Glocester, the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, assembled their powers out of all quarters, to incounter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got their companies togither, they forelaid all the waies by which he was thought to come.

The lords séeke to stop the passage of the duke of Ireland.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, rode forward in statelie and glorious araie, with an armie (as ye haue heard) of fiue thousand men, supposing that none durst come foorth to withstand him. Neuerthelesse when he came to Ratcote bridge, not past foure miles from Cheping Norton (which bridge if he could haue passed, he had béene out of the danger of all enimies) he suddenlie espied where the armie of the lords laie, not far distant from him, readie in the midst of a vallie to abide his comming. Some of the earle of Derbies companie had broken the bridge, & so stopped his passage. He therefore perceiuing his enimies intention, staied, and caused the kings banner to be spred, and began to set a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to shew themselues valiant; and herewith caused the trumpets to sound. But when it appeared that as some were readie to fight in his quarell, so there were other that quite forsooke him, and said flatlie they would not fight against so manie noble men, in so vniust a cause: he being thereof aduertised, began to wax faint-harted, and to prepare himselfe to escape by flight; and declaring no lesse openlie vnto them, said: "Before we come to ioine, I will séeke to withdraw my selfe out of the waie, and saue my selfe if I can; for me they onlie seeke, against you they haue no quarell, so that I being shifted awaie, you shall easilie be preserued." Herewith one of the knights said to him; "You haue brought vs out of our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our promise, you haue caused vs to take this iournie in hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the victorie with you, if our hap be such; or if fortune will not so fauour us, we are readie to spend our liues with you." "No" said he, "ye shall not so doo," and forth-

The duke of Ireland his souldiers reuolt frō him.

The duke of Ireland flieth fro his armie. *Virg. Aeneid.* 9.

forthwith striking his horsse with spurs, he fled from them for feare which had set wings on héeles, as one saith:

——pedibus timor addidit alas.

Herevpon manie that were with him, cursing this his demeanour, prepared to yeeld themselues to the lords. But Thomas Molineux determined to fight it out, sith the lords were nót yet all come togither to that place, but onelie the earle of Derbie and certeine others. Neuerthelesse, after he had fought a while, and perceiued it would not auaile him to tarie louger, as one despairing of the victorie, betooke him likewise to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him the waie: and plunging into the riuer, which was at hand, it chanced that sir Thomas Mortimer being present amongst other at the same place, willed him to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would not, he threatened to shoot him through with arrowes in the riuer where he stood. "If I come (said Molineux) will ye saue my life?" "I will make thée no such promise (said sir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithstanding, either come vp, or thou shalt presentlie die for it." "Well then (said Molineux) if there be no other remedie, suffer me to come vp, and let me trie with hand-blowes, either with you or some other, and so die like a man." But as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & streight-waies drawing foorth his dagger, stroke him into the braines, and so dispatched him. This was the end of sir Thomas Molineux, which through his bold and rash aduenture, in a most dangerous and desperat case, he pulled vpon himselfe; and might as well haue auoided as incurred, if the same prouident care of safetie had taken him in the head that mooued the duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie: wherein he séemed to remember that there is no safe attempting of any perilous enterprise without dread of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be feared, can tell in like sort when it is to be vndertaken; as the wiseman verie sententiouslie saith:

Thomas Molineux slaine.

Animus vereri qui scit, scit tutò aggredi.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) séeking to escape by flight, came to the riuers side; but finding the bridge broken, he galoped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to stop his passage. When he saw that he was thus inclosed with his enimies on the one side, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture; and casting awaie his gantlets, and sword (to be the more nimble) gaue his horsse the spurres, and lept into the riuer; but missing the foord, and not able to land with his horsse on the further side, he forsooke him, and swimming ouer so well as he might, got to the banke, and so escaped. It was now night, and therefore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him not; but his horsse, helmet, curasses, gantlets, and sword being found, it was thought verelie that he had béene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was that he had passed the seas, and was got into Holland, where he had no great freendlie welcome, by reason that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that countrie, bare such good will to his coosins of England, the dukes of Lancaster, Yorke, and Glocester, that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart foorth of his countrie, as immediatlie therevpon he did, from thence resorting to the bishoprike of Vtreict, and after into other countries, till finallie he ended the course of his life, as after in place conuenient shall appeare.

The duke of Ireland flieth into Holland.

But now to returne to the armies where we left them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Molineux slaine (as before ye haue heard) the armie of the lords set vpon the people that were come with the duke of Ireland (as hath béene said) foorth of Chesshire, Lancashire, and Wales; and taking them as enimies, spoiled them of their horsse, armor, bowes and arrowes. The knights and esquiers had their armor and horsses againe to them restored, and were feteined with the lords to serue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon were sent home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were found in his trunkes or males, which the king had written to him, exhorting him with all spéed to repaire vnto London, with what

Letters foũd in the duke of Irelands trunks.

what power he might make, and there he should find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the conclusion of this battell, which happened néere vnto Burford, fast by Ba- Burford.
blake, to the great reioising of manie through the realme, for that the enimies thereof (as they tooke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the escaping awaie of the duke of Ireland did somewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncerteine. After this the duke of Glocester, and the other lords went to Oxford, being sorie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

At the same time, or rather before, the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord chiefe iustice sir Robert Trisilian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durst not be séene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bridge, *Tho. Walsi.*
were come (as ye haue heard) to Oxford; we find that the same time a brute was raised A brute raised that king Richard meant to yéeld vp Calis into the French kings hands.
(whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie) how there was a messenger taken being sent from the French king with letters, in which was conteined a licence of safe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bulongne, with a certeine number limited, where they should find the French king come downe thither readie to receiue them, to the end that for a certeine summe of monie, which the French king should giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortresses in those parts, which were in the Englishmens hands, should be deliuered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England should doo his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gascoigne, and so to haue acknowledged himselfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got these letters, and taken counsell togither how to procéed in their businesse, to bring the same to good end, remoued from Oxford, and on Christmas euen they came to S. Albons, and there staied that daie and the next.

On saint Stephans daie they tooke their waie to London with an armie of fortie thou- The lords come to London with a great armie.
sand men, as some write; & comming into the fields besides Clerkenwell, mustered their men, being diuided in thrée seuerall battels verie well appointed with armor and weapon, that it was a beautifull sight to behold them. The king kept his Christmas, not at West- K. Richard kéepeth his Christmas in the Tower of London.
minster, but in the Tower; not douting but there to be defended what chance soeuer should happen. The lords mistrusting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the suburbs. They sent yet two knights, and two esquiers, vnto the Maior and Alder- The lords send to the Maior and citizens of London to vnderstand their meaning.
men of the citie, to vnderstand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they tearmed them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no small feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was best for them to take, weieng diuers perils; as first the kings displeasure, if they opened their gates vnto the lords; and if they shut them foorth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were readie to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer so little prouoked. Besides this, they stoode most in doubt, least if the wealthiest citizens should not giue The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.
their consent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner sort, and such as wished rather to sée some hurlie burlie than to continue in peace, would séeke by force to set open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and spoile whatsoeuer might be found of value in the rich mens houses.

These doubts with all the circumstances being well weied and considered, the Maior The Londoners incline to the lords.
Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe men in the citie, went foorth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleasure, with all things necessarie as they should deuise. The Maior caused also wine, ale, bread, and chéese, to be distributed among the armie, so as ech one had part, which courtesie turned greatlie afterwards to the commoditie of the citie. The lords vpon search made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laieng of men in ambushes within the citie to intrappe them, or otherwise, but that all was sure inough and cleare without anie such euill meaning, they entred the The lords enter into London.
citie and there abode quietlie. Then went the archbishop of Canturburie and others betwixt

the

the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the first seemed little to estéeme the matter, saieng to the archbishop; Well let them lie here with their great multitude of people hardlie till they haue spent all they haue, and then I trust they will returne poore inough and néedie, and then I doubt not but I shall talke with them, and vse the matter so as iustice maie require.

The kings words touching the lords proceédings.

The lords being informed hereof, were maruelouslie mooued, and sware that they would not depart till they had spoken with him face to face, and foorthwith they sent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king should scape their hands, and then laugh them to scorne. When the king then perceiued himselfe to be inclosed on ech side, he talked eftsoones with the archbishop and his associats that were messengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reasonable order; wherevpon they required that he should on the morow next insuing come vnto Westminster, where he should vnderstand their demands. When the king heard that, he refused to come vnto Westminster, but willed that they should come to him there in the Tower. The lords sent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be suspected, for that they might there be surprised by some guilefull practise deuised to intrap them. The king herevnto made answer, that they might send some two hundred men, or so manie as they should thinke good, to make a through search, whether they néeded to feare anie such thing; and this accordinglie was doone: they hauing the keies of the gates and of all the strong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower sent vnto them.

The lords refuse to come into ye Tower but after search made they come thither to the kings presence.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Wals.

On the fridaie, the duke of Glocester, the earls of Derbie, and Notingham, came to the king, where he was set in a pauillion richlie arraied; and after their humble salutations done, and some talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings request with him into his chamber, where they recited vnto him the conspiracie of their aduersaries, through which they had béen indicted. They also shewed forth the letters which he had sent to the duke of Ireland, to leauie an armie vnto their destruction. Likewise the letters, which the French king had written to him, conteining a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminishing of his honor, to the decaie of his power, & losse of his fame. ¶ During the time of this communication also, the earle of Derbie desired the king to behold the people that were assembled in sight before the Tower, for the preseruation of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to sée such a goodlie armie and strength, as he declared to them no lesse, the duke of Glocester said vnto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing subjects that haue risen to destroie those false traitors, that haue misled you with their wicked and naughtie counsell.

The lords open their gréefes to the king.

The king being brought to his wits end, aswell with those things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwise with the sight of that great multitude of people, seemed greatlie amazed. Wherevpon the lords, vnder condition that the next daie he should come to Westminster to heare more of their minds, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue of him, meaning so to depart: but the king desired them to tarrie all night with him and the quéene. The duke thinking to make all sure, made excuse that he durst not be absent from all those folks, which they had brought with them, for feare that some disorder might arise, either in the armie, or in the citie; yet at the kings instance, the earles of Notingham and Derbie taried there all night. The king before his going to bed, was quite turned concerning his determination and promise made to go the next daie to Westminster, through such whispering tales as was put into his eares, by some that were about him, telling him that it stood neither with his safetie, nor honour, so lightlie to agree to depart from the tower, vnto such place as the lords had thus appointed him, to serue more for their purpose than for suertie of his person.

R. Grafton.

The. Walsing.

The inco.stancie of the king.

When the lords therefore vnderstood that he would not keepe promise with them, they were greatlie offended, insomuch as they sent him flat word, that if he would not come

(according to promise) they would suerlie choose another king, that would and ought to obeie the faithfull counsell of his lords. The king with this message being touched to the quicke, to satisfie their minds, and to auoid further perill, remooued the next morning vnto Westminster, where the lords comming before his presence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aswell in respect of his owne honour, as the commoditie & wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull, that such traitors, and most wicked & slanderous persons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtfull to him and his louing subiects, should be remooued out of his court; and that other that both could and would serue him more honorablie and faithfullie were placed in their roomes. The king, although sore against his mind, when he saw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted power to withstand their pleasures, condescended to doo what they would haue him.

The K. is cõpelled to condescend to the lords request.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Iohn Fourdham bishop of Durham lord tresuror, Thomas Rushoke, a frier of the order of the preachers, bishop of Chichester, and confessor to the king, were worthie to be auoided the court. But the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Chichester would abide no reckonings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Burnell, the lord Beaumont, Albrey de Véer, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Aderburie, Iohn Worth, Thomas Clifford, and Iohn Louell knights. These were dismissed out of the court, and remooued from the king, but not discharged, for they were constreined to put in suerties to appeare at the next parlement. There were also certeine ladies expelled the court, as those that were thought to doo much harme about the K. to wit, the ladie Poinings, wife to Iohn Worth of Mowen, and the ladie Moulinge, with others, which also found suerties to answer at the next parlement, to all such things as might be obiected against them. Moreouer there were arrested and committed to seuerall prisons, sir Simon Burlie, William Elinham, Iohn Beauchampe of Holt steward of the kings house, sir Iohn Salisburie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Iames Barneis, sir Nicholas Dagworth, and sir Nicholas Brambre knights. Also Richard Clifford, Iohn Lincolne, Richard Mitford the kings chapleins, and Nicholas Sclake deane of the kings chappell, whose word might doo much in the court. There was also apprehended Iohn Blake an apprentise of the law: all which persons were kept in streict ward till the next parlement, in which they were appointed to stand vnto their triall and answers.

Certeine persons put out of the court.

Certeine ladies expelled the court.

Shortlie after, to wit, the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, the parlement began, the which was named the parlement that wrought woonders. The king would gladlie haue proroged the time of this parlement, if by anie meanes he might. The lords came to the same parlement, with a sufficient armie for their owne safeties. On the first day of this parlement, were arrested as they sat in their places, all the iustices (except sir William Skipworth) as sir Roger Fulthrop, sir Robert Belknap, sir Iohn Carie, sir Iohn Holt, sir William Brooke, and Iohn Alocton the kings sergeant at law, all which were sent to the tower, and there kept in seuerall places. The cause whie they were thus apprehended, was for that, where in the last parlement, diuerse lords were made gouernours of the realme, both by the assent of the same parlement, and also by the aduise and counsell of all the iustices then being, and indentures tripartite thereof made, of the which one part remained with the king, an other with the lords so chosen to gouerne the realme, and the third part with the iustices: and yet notwithstanding, the said iustices at a councell holden at Notingham (as yee haue heard before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Wherevpon it was now determined, that they should make answer to their doings.

The parlemẽt that wrought woonders. *R. Grafton.*

Thom. Walsin. *R. Grafton.*

The iustices arrested & sent to the tower.

Why the iustices were apprehended.

Moreouer, in the beginning of this parlement, were openlie called Robert Véer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, sir Robert Trisilian lord cheefe iustice of England, to answer Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Glocester, Richard earle of Arundell, Henrie earle of Derbie, and Thomas earle of Notingham, vpon certeine articles of high treason, which these lords did charge them with.

The duke of Ireland & his associats attainted of treason by this parlement.

And forsomuch as none of these appeared, it was ordeined by the whole assent of the parlement, that they should be banished for euer, and their lands and goods mooueable and vnmooueable to be forfeit and seized into the kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted.

Trisilian chéefe iustice descried by his owne man is executed at Tiburne.

Shortlie after was the lord chéefe iustice, Robert Trisilian found in an apothecaries house at Westminster, lurking there, to vnderstand by spies dailie what was doone in the parlement: he was descried by one of his owne men, and so taken and brought to the duke of Glocester, who caused him forthwith the same daie to be had to the tower, and from thence drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

On the morrow after, sir Nicholas Brambre, that sometime had beene maior of London, was brought foorth to iudgement and condemned, although he had manie fréends that made sute to saue his life. This man had doone manie oppressions within the citie of London (as was reported.) In his maioraltie, he caused great & monstruous stocks to be made to imprison men therein, and also a common axe to strike off the heads of them which should resist his will and pleasure, for he was so highlie in the kings fauour, that he might doo what he would. And the report went, that he had caused eight thousand or more to be indicted, which before had taken part with the lords, intending to haue put them all to death, if God had not shortened his daies. Manie other euill fauoured reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to haue changed the name of London, and to haue named it little Troie, of which citie baptised with that new name, he purposed to be intituled duke. But these were forged rumors deuised and spred abroad in those daies, as manie other were, partlie by the vaine imagination of the people, and partlie of purpose, to bring those whome the king fauoured further out of the peoples liking. But now touching sir Nicholas Brambre: in the end being thus called to answer his transgressions,

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an axe of his owne deuise.

he was found giltie, and had iudgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuised: seruing him heerein as Phalaris the tyrant sometime serued Perillus, the inuentor of that exquisite torment of the brasen bull, wherein the offendor being put (and the counterfet beast by force of fier made glowing hot) hauing his toong first cut out, through extreamitie of paine made a bellowing alwaies as he cried, as if it had béene the verie noise of a naturall bull. Of which strange torment Perillus himselfe first tasted, suffering death by an engine of his owne deuising, which he thought should haue purchased him a good liuing, whereof the poet saith:

Ouid. li. 1. de art.

Vt Phalaris tauro violentus membra Perilli
Torruit, infelix imbuit autor opus.

Diuerse that stood against the lords executed.

After this, sir Iohn Salisburie, & sir Iames Berneis, both knights and lustie yoong men, were by iudgement of parlement drawne and hanged. Then folowed Iohn Beauchampe of the Holt, lord Steward of the kings house, that had serued king Edward the third, and his sonne Lionell duke of Clarence: who likewise by decrée of this parlement was drawne and hanged. Also Iohn Blake esquier, who in an infortunate houre stood against the lords in the councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and so was one Thomas Vske. Last of all (or as some hold, first of all) was sir Simon Burlie beheaded, although the earle of Derbie did what he could to saue his life, by reason whereof, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle, and the duke of Glocester: for the duke being a sore and a right seuere man, might not by any meanes be remooued from his opinion and purpose, if he once resolued vpon any matter. Some spite he bare (as was thought) towards the said sir Simon Burlie, both as well for the faithfull fréendship, which was growne betwixt the duke of Ireland, and the said sir Simon, as also for that he looked to haue had such offices and roomes which sir Simon inioied, by the kings gratious fauour and grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenship of the cinque ports, and constableship of the castell of Douer, and the office of high chamberleine.

The duke of Glocester a seuere man.

Sir Simon Burlie.

¶ But now, bicause of all these which were condemned and executed at this parlement, in our common chronicles there is least written; and in Froissard, and diuerse private pamphlets I haue read most of this sir Simon, I haue thought good to set downe some

part

part of his life, so largelie as this volume may well beare, although a great deale more briefe than where I found it. This sir Simon was the son of sir Iohn Burlie knight of the garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinsman doctor Walter Burlie, who (as in the latter end of king Edward the third you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vp of the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to the said king Edward. By this occasion he grew into such fauour with the prince, that afterwards the said prince committed vnto him the gouernance of his sonne Richard of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue so great loue and liking towards him, that when he came to the crowne and was king, he aduanced him highlie to great honours and promotions, in somuch that at one time & other he was made knight of the garter, constable of Douer, lord Warden of the cinque ports, lord chamberleine,* earle of Huntington, and also one of the priuie councell to the king.

*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton fol. 191.

Neither was there any thing doone concerning the affaires apperteining vnto the state without his counsell, appointment, and direction, wherein he so much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the duke of Ireland, that he was sore enuied, and greatlie hated of diuerse of the rest of the nobilitie, speciallie of the kings vncle the duke of Glocester, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not so much for his owne demeanour, as for his alies, and peraduenture for desire of his roomes, more than of his life, caused him to be accused of diuerse offenses against the crowne, realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they surmized against him) spoiled and wasted the kings treasure, and withholden the paie of the souldiers and men of warre, wherevpon he was arrested, called to account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make vp the same, was found in arrerages 250000 franks. And although for one part thereof he demanded allowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings marriage, and for the residue desired daies of paiment, yet he could obteine neither. Further, he was accused that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great summes of monie, conueied the same to Douer, and from thence sent it in the night by sea into Germanie.

Lastlie, the archbishop (forsooth) and the moonks of Canturburie charged him that he sought the means to remooue the shrine of the archbishop Thomas, otherwise called Thomas Becket, from Canturburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, least the Frenchmen being assembled in Flanders to inuade England, should land in Kent and take Canturburie, and spoile it, where indeed (as they surmized against him) he meant to send it ouer the seas vnto the king of Boheme. Herevpon he was first committed to the tower, and before the king or his other friends could procure his deliuerance, he was without law or iustice, before any of the residue (as some hold) brought foorth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commandement of the duke of Glocester, and other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, in somuch that when he vnderstood it, he spake manie sore words against the duke, affirming that he was a wicked man, and worthie to be kept shorter, sith vnder a colour of dooing iustice, he went about to destroie euerie good and honest man. The king was also offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers presumptuous doings, though the said duke of Yorke being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that the state of the common-wealth might haue beene redressed without losse of any mans life, or other cruell dealing: but the duke of Glocester, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, the lesse that they passed for the kings threatening speach, so much more were they readie to punish all those whom they tooke to be their enimies. In deed the said sir Simon Burlie was thought to beare himselfe more loftie, by reason of the kings fauour, than was requisite, which procured him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be in any condition their equals in authoritie.

Froissard.

Thom. Wals.

It should appeare by Froissard, that he was first of all, in the beginning of these stirs betwixt the king and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwithstanding all the shift that either the king, or the duke of Ireland, or anie other of his freends could make for him, by the duke of Glocesters commandement he was cruellie beheaded, so greatlie to

the offense of the king, and those that were his trustie councellors, that therevpon the king caused the duke of Ireland the sooner to assemble an armie against the said duke and his complices, therby to restraine their presumptuous proceedings. But whether he was thus at the first or last executed, to please the king the better, now at this parlement, amongst others that were condemned in the same: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards disposed to diuerse men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the act of atteindor of the said sir Simon was repealed: and at an other parlement holden in the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vngranted and vnsold, were restored to sir Iohn Burlie knight, sonne and heire of sir Roger Burlie, brother to the said Simon, of whom lineallie is descended Thomas Eins esquier, now secretarie to the queenes maiesties councell in the north parts. And thus far touching sir Simon Burlie, of whom manie reports went of his disloiall dealings towards the state, as partlie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other slanderous tales that were spred abroad of him, one was that he consented to the deliuering of Douer castell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, so (no doubt) manie things that the persons aforesaid, which were executed, had béene charged with, at the least by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although happilie the substance of those things, for which they died, might be true in some respect.

Grafton. Sir William Elmham that was charged also for withdrawing of the soldiers wages, discharged himselfe therof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iustices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but such meanes was made for them vnto the queene, that she obteined pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certeine portion of monie to them assigned for their dailie sustentation: the names of which iustices so condemned to exile were these, Robert Belknap, Iohn Holt, Iohn Craie, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and Iohn Lokton. Finallie, in this parlement was an oth required and obteined of the king, that he should stand vnto and abide such rule and order as the lords should take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but also of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In these troubles was the realme of England in these daies, and the king brought into that case, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vncles, and other to them associat.

The iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

The earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie, in aid of the duke of Britaine.

Peraduenture Maluere, it may be Mongomerie.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie of ships and men of warre. There went with him in this iournie, of noble men, the earles of Notingham & Deuonshire, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morieux, sir Iohn Daubreticourt, sir William Shellie, sir Iohn Warwike or Berwike, sir Stephan de Liberie, sir Robert Sere, sir Peter Montberie, sir Lewes Clanbow, sir Thomas Coque or Cooke, sir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerse others. There were a thousand men of armes, and three thousand archers. The purpose for which they were sent, was to haue aided the duke of Britaine (if he would haue receiued them) being then eftsoones run into the French kings displeasure, for the imprisoning of the lord Clisson constable of France.

An. Reg. 12. But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agréement with the French king, the earle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongst the coasts of Poicton, and Xaintonge, till at length he arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, spoile, and fetch booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell issued foorth to skirmish with the Englishmen, but they were easilie put to flight, and folowed euen to the bariers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perot le Bernois a capteine of Gascoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limosin, and lay in the fortresse of Galuset, came foorth the same time, and made a roade into Bernie with foure hundred spears.

The

The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Marrant fiftéene daies, returned to his ships, and finallie came backe into England, and Perot le Bernois likewise returned to his fortresse. ¶ About the same time was a truce taken betwixt the parties English and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the first daie of August, and to indure till the first of Maie next insuing.

The earle of Arundell returneth out of France.

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the westerne borders, & what with killing as also with burning they did much mischiefe. Moreouer they shewed extreme crueltie against young children and sucklings, against women bigge with child and in trauell, against weake and weerish men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gil-disland, within the lordship of the lord Dacres, gathering them togither into houses, and shutting them vp, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was said) of two hundred and aboue.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leceister abbeie. O Scotish crueltie and more than barbarous bloudthirstinesse.

This yeare in August, the Scots inuaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Englishmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his sonnes had leuied against them. In this battell the earle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was slaine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother sir Ralfe, sonnes to the said earle of Northumberland, were taken prisoners, as in the Scotish chronicles ye may read more at large. After the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerse statutes were ordeined; as For the limiting of seruants wages; For punishment of vagarant persons; For the inhibiting of certeine persons to weare weapons; For the debarring of vnlawfull games; For maintenance of shooting in the long bow; For remouing of the staple of woolles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; For labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder seale of the hundred where they dwell. There was also an act made, that none should go foorth of the realme, to purchase anie benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obteined of the king; and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie. Moreouer, during the time of this parlement, as sir Thomas Triuet was riding towards Barnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horsse too much with the spurs, the horsse fell with him so rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were so burst and perished, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioised at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be excéeding haultie and proud; as also for that he was suspected not to haue dealt iustlie with the bishop of Norwich, in the iournie which the bishop had made into Flanders: but speciallie men had an ill opinion of him, for that he stood with the king against the lords, counselling him in the yeare last past to dispatch them out of the way. ¶ Sir Iohn Holland, the kings brother on the mothers side, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had béene with the duke of Lancaster, was now made earle of Huntington.

An ouerthrow giuen to the Englishmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

Fabian. Caxton. A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Triuet slaine with the fall of his horsse.

¶ In Iulie, whiles the king was at Shéene, there swarmed togither in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, insomuch that in maner of skirmishing they incountered ech other; and making great slaughters on both sides, were in the end swept awaie from the place where they lay dead, with brushes and béesoms by heaps. This was deemed an vnluckie prognosticat of some mischiefe like to fall vpon the necke of the land. 1389.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie. Battell and slaughter betwéene flies.

Also in this twelfth yeare, were commissioners appointed to méet at Balingham, betwixt Calis and Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter Skirlow bishop of Durham, that had béene latelie before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from whence Iohn Fordham had béene translated vnto Elie, was sent as head commissioner for the king of England, and with him were ioined sir Iohn Clanbow, and sir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Richard Rowhale clearke, a doctor of law. By Froissard it appeareth that the earle of Salisburie was one, & sir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis appointed likewise as an assistant with them.

Commissioners sent to treat a truce betwéene England, France, and Scotland. *Froissard.*

The bishop of Baieux, the lord Valeran earle of S. Poule, sir Guillam de Melin, sir Nicholas Bracque, and sir Iohn le Mercier came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scots there appeared the bishop of Aberdeine, sir Iames and sir Dauid Lindsey, and sir Walter Sankler, knights. After long treatie, and much a doo, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years after.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leccister abbeie

Scholers of Oxford togither by the eares.

¶ In this yeare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time, there sprang a pitifull strife in Oxford, the variance in the yeare before being not fullie allaied, but both sides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welsh scholers being euermore quarelous, and hauing the southerlie scholers taking their parts, rose against the scholers of the north, so that to and fro manie a deadlie mischiefe happened betweene them. In the end, this strife did so increase, that there was a daie of skirmish appointed and agreed vpon by both sides to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Glocester all this sturre was appeased, and manie of the Welsh scholers banished from the vniuersitie. ¶ On the thursdaie before Easter (being mawndaie thursdaie) the lord Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the west marches entred Scotland fortie leagues, & spoiling Fowike, made wast at his pleasure, and brought awaie with him manie Scots prisoners & captiues. ¶ About this time a truce of three years was taken betweene king Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine, Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on the first daie of August in the neerer parts of the realme both by sea and land; and on the fiftéenth of August in the further parts, because knowledge could not be giuen thereof without some long time.

Truce of 3 years betweene six kings.

The Scots in the time of treatie spoile the countrie of Northumberland.

Whilest the commissioners were occupied in the marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did much mischiefe, leading awaie manie prisoners, men and women, besides other great booties and preies which they got abroad in the countrie. The lord Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham was sent with fiue hundred speares to reuenge those attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was small in comparison to theirs, he preuailed litle or nothing against them. Sir Iohn Clanbow, and sir Richard Rouale clerke, tooke the French kings oth; and the earle of saint Paule that had maried the ladie Maud Courtnie with other noblemen, came into England, and receiued the kings oth here for the confirming of this last mentioned truce. The Scots might not without much adoo be persuaded to accept this truce, being readie the same time with an armie to enter into England, but yet through the diligence of such Frenchmen as went thither for that purpose, at length they agreed.

The Scots hauing prouided an armie to inuade England are hardly persuaded to accept the truce.

This yeare the king by counsell of some that were about him, called the nobles and great men of the realme togither, and as they were set in the councell chamber staieng till he came: at length he entring into the same chamber, and taking his place to sit among them, demanded of them, of what age he was now? Whereto answer was made, that he was full twentie yeares old. Then (said he) I am of yeares sufficient to gouerne mine owne house and familie, and also my kingdome: for it séemeth against reason that the state of the meanest peason within my kingdome should be better than mine. Euerie heire that is once come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his father be not liuing, to order his businesse himselfe: then that thing which is permitted to euerie other person of meane degrée by law, why is the same denied vnto me? These words vttered he with the courage of a prince, not without the instigation and setting on of such as were about him, whose drift was by discountenancing others to procure preferment to themselues, abusing the kings tender years and gréene wit, with ill counsell for their aduantage: where as it had béene more méete to haue giuen him those precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of the institution of a prince; and among others this:

The kings question to his lords and others in the counceil chamber.

Claudian.

Non tibi quid liceat, sed quid decisse decebit
Occurrat, mentémq; domet respectus honesti.

When the barons had hard the words of the king, being therewith astonied, they made answer, that there should be no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon him

him the gouernment as of reason was due. Well said he, yée know that I haue beene a long time ruled by tutors, so as it hath not béene lawfull to me to doo anie thing, were it of neuer so small importance, without their consents. Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further with matters perteining to my gouernment, & after the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will call to my councell such as pleaseth me, and I will deale in mine owne businesse my selfe. And therefore I will first that the chancellor resigne to me his seale. When the archbishop of Yorke (who in the yeare last past had béene remooued from Elie vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill displaced) had deliuered vnto him the seale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his bosome, and suddenlie rising, departed foorth of the chamber, & after a little while returning, sat downe againe, and deliuered the seale to the bishop of Winchester, William Wickham, and so made him chancellor, although sore against the same bishops will. He made also manie other new officers, remoouing the old, and vsed in all things his owne discretion and authoritie. The duke of Glocester, the earle of Warwike, & other honorable and worthie men, were discharged and put from the councell, and others placed in their roomes, such as pleased the king to appoint. At the same time he made fiue new iustices.

The king taking vpō him the gouernement of all things displaceth diuerse officers & setteth others in their roomes.

Wickham bishop of Winchester made L. chancelor.

¶ Of this assuming the regiment to himselfe, as diuerse diuerslie report: so Henrie Knighton a man liuing in those daies, and committing to writing the occurrents of that tumultuous time, saith as followeth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a councell at Westminster, and in the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, comming personallie to the councell house he remooued all the great officers (contrarie to expectation and thinking) from their offices, and at his pleasure placed in their roomes whome he list. He remooued the archbishop of Yorke lord chancellor, and put in his place the bishop of Winchester: he remooued the bishop of Hereford lord treasuror, and put another in his place: he remooued the clearke of the priuie seale, and all other: so likewise did he the iustices of either bench. But least the affaires of the realme should in the meane while be hindered, he commanded the iustices of law to follow and prosecute things requisite as they were woont, till such time as he was better aduised touching the prouiding of other iustices. The erle of Arundell likewise, vnto whome the gouernment of the parlement was committed, and the admeraltie of the sea, was remooued; and the earle of Huntington put in his roome. In like sort dealt the king with the residue of his officers, saieng that he ought not to be inferior in degree & of lesse account than an other ordinarie heire whatsoeuer within the realme of England; sith the law and custome of the realme of England auerreth, that euerie heire being in the gardianship of anie lord, when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of age, ought presentlie to inioy the inheritance left him by his father, and is lawfullie to possesse his patrimonie, and freelie to dispose and order his owne goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come to passē, that I thus manie yeares haue liued vnder your counsell and gouernement; and now first to God, secondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that you haue gouerned and supported me, mine inheritance, and my realme of England, as well within as without, & speciallie against our enimies round about vs, all renowme of honour and praise to vs and our kingdome alwaies safelie reserued. But now God hath so dealt for vs, that we are of full age, so that we are two and twentie yeares old at this present: and we require that we may frēelie and at libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne both our selues and our inheritance; and we will haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers and seruitors of our owne appointing at our pleasure; secondlie, as shall seeme to vs more auaileable, by Gods grace, to elect, choose, and preferre vnto offices such as we doo well like of, and at our pleasure to remooue such as be presentlie resiant, and in their roomes to substitute and set others wheresoeuer and whomsoeuer we list. The king hauing thus spoken, there was not one that went about to breake him of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prouided them such a king, as was likelie to proue discreet and wise.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abeie.

In

An. Reg. 13. Wickleuists increase.

In this season, the followers of Wickliffes doctrine maruellouslie increased, speciallie in the diocesse of Sarum, where they had manie that tooke vpon them as ministers, both to preach the word, and to dispense the sacraments. This they did in secret: but they were discouered by one that had beene of their fellowship, who declared to the bishop of Salisburie at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumstances thereof, as he knew. There were of them that preached in those daies earnestlie against pilgrimages, calling such images as the people had in most veneration, as that at Walsingham, and the rood of the north doore at Paules in London, rotten stocks, and wormе eaten blocks, through which the vnskilfull people being mocked and deceiued, were compelled most manifestlie to commit idolatrie. The bishops (saith Thomas Walsingham) hearing, beholding, and knowing these things with much more, to be true, did little or nothing to redresse the same, saue onlie the bishop of Norwich who stirred coles, swearing and staring, that if anie of that sect presumed to preach anie peruerse doctrine within his diocesse, he would cause them either to hop headlesse, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little praised and extolled by the moonks and other religious men (as should appeare) for that his zeale.

The duke of Lancaster returneth into Englād foorth of Gascoigne.

In Nouember, the duke of Lancaster came foorth of Gascoigne into England, after he had remained first in Spaine, and after in Gascoigne, thrée yeares togither. Of his succesſe in Spaine is spoken before, & likewise of the agréement betwixt the king of Castile, & the said duke, which was not in all points confirmed, till a little before his returne now into England. About the same time the king had called a councell of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke of Lancaster made the more hast to come, bicause he knew that the king would shew no good countenance to some of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted least malicious offenses might arise betwixt them, which to appease he meant the best he could, and his trauell came to good effect: for he did so much, that as well the king as the lords departed from the councell as freends, the lords taking their leaues of him in louing maner, and he courteouslie bidding them farewell: and so each of them resorted vnto their homes well pleased for that present. ¶ The king held his Christmasse this yéere at Woodstoke, and the duke of Lancaster laie at his castell of Hertford.

A councell holden at Reding where ye duke of Lancaster reconcileth the king and the lords.

1390.

The earle of Penbroke as he was learning to iust is wounded to death.

At the same time the lord Iohn de Hastings earle of Penbroke, as he was practising to learne to iust, through mishap was striken about the priuie parts, by a knight called sir Iohn S. Iohn, that ran against him, so as his inner parts being perished, death presentlie followed. The losse of this earle was greatlie bemoned by men of all degrees, for he was liberall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, aboue all the other yoong lords in the land of his time. Of this earles ancestors this is reported for a thing strange and maruellous, that from the daies of Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, that was one amongst other that sat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lancaster, there was not anie earle of Penbroke succéeding the same Aimer de Valence, vnto the daies of this yoong earle by misfortune thus slaine, that euer saw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might reioise in the sight of anie of their sonnes, being still called hence, before the time came for them so to doo.

Francis Thin, out of diuerse ancient monuments belonging to the Hastings and others.

¶ Now héere, bicause this Iohn Hastings, being the last of that surname and armes of the whole blood, which of that line inioied anie title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit for this place (since other occasion will not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Hastings somwhat higher than this man: though not from the shell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I haue now doone, least otherwise by ingrate obliuion it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I will not begin from the first honourable Hastings, whose bloud by manie descents continued, is thought by most ancient monuments, which I haue séene and read, to haue béene a baron before the conquest in this land, and to haue borne the same cote in the field, which this now slaine earle of Penbroke did: whereof hereafter in my descriptions and lines of the earles of Penbroke I will make more ample discourse in a

new

new booke (if God giue good successe therein) onelie at this time making some small repetition from that Henrie Hastings, from whome the Hastings (in respect of the mariage of Alda daughter to Dauie earle of Huntington, brother to William king of Scots) did descend: who (amongst others) in the reigne of Edward the first, made title to the kingdome of Scotland. The originall of which name in this treatise I will neither flatteringlie defend, nor obstinatlie reiect, to haue growne from Hastings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long before the conquest, about the yeare of our redemption 890) came with Rollo into England, and for a certeine space infested this nation, departing aside to France. And now to the purpose.

Henrie lord Hastings (who bare for his armes gold a manche gules) married Alda (or Ada) the fourth daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, she being one of the heires to to Iohn Scot earle of Chester, & of Huntington (which died without issue) son of the said Dauid, and brother to the said Ada. To this Henrie and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentith of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir brothers lands, which should haue descended to hir as parcell of the earledome of Chester, for that the king would not haue the said earledome diuided amongst distaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this déed following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie Hastings and Ada his wife, for the exchange of lands for hir part of the earledome.

OMNIBUS, ad quos, &c; salutem. Sciatis quòd concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, Henrico de Hastings, & Adæ vxori eius, pro rationabili parte sua, quæ prædictam Adam contingent, de hæreditate Iohannis quondam comitis Cestriæ fratris ipsius Adæ in Cestershire, faciẽdo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam prædictæ partis ipsam Adam contingentis de prædicto com. Cestershire. Et ad maiorem securitatem cõcessimus eidem Henrico & Adæ manerium nostrum de Bremesgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigorniæ, manerium nostrum de Bolisoure cum castris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium nostrum de Mountesfeld cum Soka cũ pertinentibus in comitatu Notingham, manerium de Worsfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wiggutton cum pertinent. in com. Stafford, & maneriũ de Woluerhamton cũ pert. in eodẽ com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eisdem Henrico & Adæ & hæredibus ipsius Adæ, quo vsq; prædicta pars ipsam Adam contingens & de prædicta hæreditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in prædictis terris vel alias eis assignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teste rege apud Ditton 11. Innij, anno regni nostri 22. Strattondale.

The which manours the said Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the said Ada, in peaceable and quiet possession. After hir death the said Henrie goeth into Gascoigne, where he remained steward vntill the comming of Henrie the third, at what time the said Henrie surrendered his office, but the king importunate with him still to reteine the same, he flatlie denied it, and would no longer remaine there, suddenlie returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king greeuouslie incensed, in reuenge and for satisfaction of the same, made the same lands to be extended by Thomas Paslew and others, who by the kings processe extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king seized the manour of Bremesgraue, Bolesoure, Strattondale in Norton, & left in his hands the manours of Lierton, Oswardbecke, Cundoner, Wourfeld, and Wigutton, whereof the said Henrie died seized. Two yeares before which grant of the lands before said to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, the said Henrie Hastings made his petition to serue in the pantrée (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince,

he record whereof in the ancient written booke of the earls of Huntington, is in these words following.

The record by which Henrie Hastings executed the office of the panteller.

VICESIMO Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Prouinciæ apud Westm. factæ sunt contentiones magnæ de seruitijs ministralibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum ministeria, sed respectuatur, iuribus singulis saluis, vt tumultus requiesceret vsq ; ad quindena Paschæ sequētis, &c. Et Henricus de Hastinges, cuius officium seruiendi de mappis à veteri vendicauit officiū illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurstanus vendicauit officium illud, asserēns suum esse debere à veteri, tamen rex repulsat, & admisit Henricum de Hastinges, ea die assignans eisdem diem de contentione finienda ad prædictum terminum. Extractas verò post prandium mappas tanquam suas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his sonne & heire Henrie Hastings, from whome Buchanan dooth saie that Henrie Hastings now earle of Penbroke is descended, whereof I will not now heere dispute.

Henrie Hastings knight, sonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himselfe greeued that the inheritance, which should haue descended vnto him from his mother, was so withholden from him for the offense of his father, contrarie to law and iustice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, pursued a bill against the king, therby to haue remedie and restitution, for the supposed false returne of the extent which was made against his father; and vpon the same bill, this Henrie Hastings obteined a new writ to make a fresh extent directed to maister Thomas of Wimundham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Peeche, & Thomas de Braie, to vnderstand if the remnant of the lands to him descended, beside that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of such lands as he should haue by descent from and of the earle and earledome of Chester, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward prosecuted of the Hastings from parlement to parlement, vntil the thirtie fourth yeare of Edward the first, as more plainelie shall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollingshed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the first, made title to the crowne of Scotland) maried Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburgauenie, in the right of Eua, one of the daughters and heires of William Bewsa or Brewcusa, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had issue Iohn Hastings his sonne and heire, Edmund which maried Isabell, & had great possessions in Wales: Ada first maried to Robert de Champane: Lora maried to sir Thomas the sonne of sir Iohn de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Nottingham.

Iohn Hastings knight, sonne of the last Henrie, was borne at Asleghe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262, and in the six & fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the second yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being the kings ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of queene Elianor wife to Edward the first, but could not execute the same by reason of his nonage, and also for that he was in ward to the said king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there arose in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirtie third yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, great contention betweene Antonie Beake bishop of Durham, this Iohn Hastings, Iohn Balioll, and Robert Bruse, for the manors of Penrith, Castlesoure, Salgkill regis, Lange Worthbie, Carlaton, and of Werkine Tinehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinsman of the said Robert Bruse, Iohn Balioll, and Iohn Hastings, whose heire they were) died seized in his demesne of fee. In which sutes after manie delaies made, and manie summons against

against the said bishop, the plée went without daie, bicausé the bishop must go to Rome. But after his returne the sute being reuiued and continued, it went once more without daie, bicause the king seized the same into his hands, and held it all the time of his reigne. These things thus doone, and Edward the first departed, this Iohn Hastings as yet not hastie to renew his sute of the land, but rather to execute his right of the pantrie, did in the first yeare of Edward the second, demand the executing of that office, at the coronation of the said Edward the second and Isabell his wife at Westminster, which he obteined, and laid the clothes and napkins in the great hall by him and other his knights, one the tables whereat the king, the quéene, and other great states should dine, which (according (as I haue seene noted) was in this sort.

The order and number of clothes laied at the kings table, and how Iohn Hastings had them for his fee.

AD altam sedem ipsius regis tres mappas, & super alias mensas in eadem aula 28 mappas, vnde quælibet pecia continebat 4, & in parua aula coram regina, & alibi in illa parua aula 14, quarū quælibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerūt ad comestum, mappas per se & suos custodiebat, & post comestum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat seruientes ad seruiendum, & istas cum suis loquelis habebat sine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas detinebat per totum festum coronationis, licèt petitæ erant deliberatione, primò à senescallo regis, postea ab ipso rege, per quod idem rex præcepit domino Willielmo Martin, & alijs senescallis suis, quòd plenam & celerem iusticiam ei facerent, & deliberationem de mappis prædictis si fuerit faciendum. Qui inde postea nihil facere voluerunt, aut non curauerunt toto festo coronationis prædictæ, nec postea in congregationibus. Per quod postea dominus Iohannes de Hastings fecit petitiones suas domino regi, & concilio suo, quòd feodum suum mapparum prædictarum ei deliberaretur, pro vt ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quòd fecit seruitium suum debito modo, prout antecessor suus fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando habuit feodum suum, tempore quādo desponsauit Elionaram filiam comitis Prouinciæ, tanquam pertinens ad manerium suum de Asheley in comitatu North. pro vt patet in Memorandum ipsius regis in camero suo de scaccario diuersis locis in istis verbis.

* Williame de Hastinges tient demye fee de chiualer in Asheley du roy a fayre le seruice per seriante deestree panetre le roye, which is found in the fourth leafe of Chester beginning, Le counte Roger le Bigot, in the title of eschetes of seriantie in the countie of Northfolke. Touching which it is thus further found in the same place. * Henrie de Hastings tient en Asheley du roye per sergiante de la panetre, fo. Syesme. * Henrie de Hastings tient vn seriante de la panetre le roy en Asheley, & vaute per an. C. sol. fol. 9. * Williame de Hastings tient vn fee de chiualer en Asheley seriante deestree despenser en le despens. le roy. fo. 4. * Henrie de Hastings tient vn terr en la ville de Asheley per le seruice deestree le despenser.

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part of his land in the kings hands, by the censure made in the time of Henrie the 3, the said Iohn Hastings lord of Aburgauennie did pursue from parlement to parlement, vntill the parlement holden at Yorke after Michaelmas, where supplication was made to the king, by him and others, that he might remaine with the king in Gascoigne, as his steward or marshall: which if he would performe, all his forsaid petitions and all other petitions which were reasonable, should be granted vnto him. By occasion whereof he granted vnto the kings and the nobles request: so that the king would find him pledges due therefore, and that he might obteine iustice in his inheritances, and those his lawfull sutes, which had beene hitherto denied vnto him, which thing the king faithfullie promised in euerie respect to be performed towards him: whereupon

vpon he sailed into Gascoigne, in the yeare of Christ 1302, being the 31 of Edward the first, the wednesdaie after the feast of S. Lucie. But for this faire shew, it séemeth he sped neuer the better: for which cause not being restored in the 34 yeare of Edward the first, he pursued his sute afresh, and had from the king at Yorke this definitiue sentence, deliuered by the mouth of Walter Langhton, then the kings treasuror (as I find by such notes as I haue séene) that he should séeke the records of the chancerie, and bring them to the next parlement, which the said Iohn did. At what time he brought foorth the former grant of Henrie the third, of the said lands giuen in recompense of his part of the earledome of Chester. After which yet it was agréed by the king and his councell for diuerse considerations (and mostlie (as I suppose) because he had refused to serue in Gascoigne, and onelie went as it were inforced) notwithstanding all that the said Iohn could alledge, that he should take nothing for his petition, but further to be in the kings mercie for his false claime: the whole processe whereof I haue seene in an ancient written monument of French. All which (as I gather) was done in the life of Edward the first (notwithstanding that I haue a little vnorderlie before treated of the executing of his office of the paintrie at the coronation of Edward the second, sonne to Edward the first) as may be confirmed by Piers Longtoft in these verses:

Et pour peril escheuer toutz apres promist
Ke Iean de Hastin cheualiere lit
Emerie de la Bret barone ne pas petit
Alant in Gascoigne touz sans contredit
Pour la terme attendue del trevis auant dit.

This Iohn married two wiues both called Isabell, whereof the first was Isabell de Valence one of the daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of Penbroke & lord of Aburgauennie, but how the said Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgauennie, since William Cantelupe before named was once lord thereof, and much about that time, I can not yet certeinlie learne. But yet I following good authoritie haue set downe this Valence to be lord of Aburgauennie, & that he gaue the same to one Iohn Hastings, which must néeds be this man, marieng his daughter. The other wife of this Iohn Hastings, was Isabell the daughter of Hugh Spenser earle of Winchester. By his first wife he had six children, to wit, Iohn Hastings his heire, William Hastings that maried Elianor the daughter of sir William Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Hastings that was a clerke, and Elizabeth Hastings maried to Roger Greie lord of Ruthine sonne of sir Iohn Greie, of whom is descended Henrie earle of Kent now liuing. Ione maried to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had no issue, being after maried to William de Huntingfield, by whome she had Roger de Huntingfield; and Margaret Hastings maried to William the sonne of William Martin lord of Kemmies. By Isabell Spenser his second wife, he had three children, to wit, Hugh Hastings lord of Folliot, of whome shall be more intreated, when we come to the last Iohn Hastings erle of Penbroke slaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Hastings, and Pelagia de Huntingtou. His first wife Isabell Valence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the first, and was buried at the frier minors in Couentrie. His second wife ouerliuing hir husband, was after maried to sir Rafe Monthermer, for which mariage the said Rafe was fined by Edward the second at a thousand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancerie of 13 of Edward the second: she died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minors of Salisburie. This Iohn Hastings departed this life 1313, the sixt yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

Registrum comitum de Huntingtou.

Iohn Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was borne in the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the first, in the yeare of Christ 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the sixt yeare of Edward the second, he was found to be of the age of six & twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make vp the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the second at the parlement holden at London in the Carmelite friers, being about the yeare from

from the birth of Christ 1314, renewing the sute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke bishop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the said bishop in sute, and which were after seized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found vpon search, that sir Iohn Ballioll (who was partie to the said sute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reason of certeine lands that he gaue to sir Antonie de Beke the bishop of Durham: for which cause it séemed king Edward the first seized the same lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the maner of a bribe giuen to the said bishop, to support the sute of the said Iohn Balioll for the obteining of the crowne of Scotland. And for tha cause this Iohn Hastings was counselled by such as willed him well, that he should surceasse his sute, and so he did. This Iohn Hastings maried Iulian the daugh.er of Thomas lord Leiburne the sonne of William lord Leiburne, and had by hir Laurence de Hastings: after which this Iohn Hastings died in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Iulian liued manie yeers after, and surrendred hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was also afterward earle of Penbroke, he was borne about the thirtéenth yeare of Edward the second, being also about the yeare of our reden p.ion 1320: which is proued by this, that the said Laurence was fiue yeares old at the death of his father, which (as before is said) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eightéenth of Edward the second, at what time he was seized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouernement of tutors, appointed him by the said Edward the second. This Laurence Hastings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiuitie of him selfe, the largenesse of his possessions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He maried Anne or Agnes the third daughter of sir Roger Mortimer the first earle of March, by whom he had issue Iohn Hastings.

Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie and Weifford in Ireland, the sonne of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369, infeoffe diuerse persons of the manor of Lidgate in Suffolke, of which towne was Iohn Lidgate the monke of Berie and famous poet of England surnamed. After which in the fortie six yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen besieged Rochell, he was sent with an armie of men to the rescue of the same. But being set vpon by the Spanish nauie in the hauen of Rochell, they slue and tooke manie of the English, burnt their nauie, and caried the earle with sundrie other prisoners into Spaine; where this earle a long time remained prisoner. Which misfortune was iustlie supposed to haue fallen vpon him, because he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a persuader of the king that he should (for his warres) more grieuouslie exact manie subsidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had béene long prisoner in Spaine (by the space almost of three yeares) he was ransomed for a great summe of monie, by Bertram Cleikine, and died (as I coniecture by some sufficient proofe) betwéene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: so that he neuer fullie paied his ransome. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of sir Walter Mannie and of Margaret Segraue made dutchesse of Northfolke in the time of Richard the second: but when he maried these wiues, I can not certeinlie find. And in the earle of Kents booke (which treateth of the contention of the Hastings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Hastings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie serueth) of the said Margaret; the reason whereof I suppose to be, for that this Iohn Hastings had no issue by hir: and that booke onelie serued to conueie a lineall descent from the Hastings

to

to intitle the Greies. This Iohn Hastings had by his second wife (Anne) a sonne called Iohn Hastings, which after succéeded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I saie anie more of the Hastings, I thinke it not amisse to giue some warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the countesse of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had anie wife so named within the compasse of years wherein Polydor appointeth this time) descended of a noble house of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a house in Cambridge, to this daie called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Odomare or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, who was slaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie seauen yeares before the death of this Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in verie déede the daughter of Guie earle of S. Paule, the kinswoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one daie (& that the daie of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir husband being that day slaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentith yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that house in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the same to be called the hall of Marie Valence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called Aula Valentiæ Mariæ.

Now to returne (where I left) to the last wife of this Iohn Hastings called Anne, she (after the death of hir husband) did at the coronation of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1382, being about the fift yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, sue by petition to execute by hir deputie the office of the panteler, by reason of the manor of Ashley, which she had for hir iointure, whervnto she was admitted, & by hir deputie sir Thomas Blunt knight did performe the same: as this record dooth testifie, in which is set both hir petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this forme.

The record whereby dame Anne Hastings clameth the office of the pantrie.

ITEM Anna quæ fuit vxor Iohannis Hastings nuper comes. Penbrochiæ porrexit in curia quandam petitionem suam in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le duc de Lancast. & senescall d'Angliter supplie Anne que fuit le femme Iohn de Hastinges nadgares countie de Penbroke, qui cõme le mannor de Asheley in le com. de Northfolke soit tenens de nostre seigneur le roy par le seruice de faire le office de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor soel tient en dower del dowement son dit baron. Ore plest luy accepter del faire son office person deputie, a cestie coronement nostre seigneur le roye, pernant les fees du dit office ceastascauoir les nappes quant il sont sustreytz. Et quia post ostensionem verisimilium euidentiarum & rationem ipsius Annæ, ac proclamationem in curia prædicta debitè factam, in hac parte nullus huiusmodi clamor ipsius Annæ contradixit: consideratum fuit quòd ipsa ad officium prædictum per sufficientem deputatum suum faciendum admitteretur, & sic officium illud per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputauit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, & peracto prandio mappas de mensis subtractis pro feodo suo recepit.

Thus this much touching this Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke and dame Anne Mannie his wife.

Iohn Hastings (the sonne of Iohn Hastings last recited) was earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie & Weisford, who being verie yoong at the time of his fathers death, was ward first to Edward the third, and then to Richard the second, but neuer saw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor euer possessed the lands wherevntō he was borne: for not long after that he had married Philip the second daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Vlster and lord of Wigmore) he was [about the nineteenth yeare of his age,

the fiftéenth yeare of king Richard the second, and the yeare of our redemption 1391, being a youthfull and lustie yoong gentleman (but tender and slender) in the Christmasse time, when the K. held that feast at Woodstoke in Oxfordshire] willing to learne to iust, whervpon in the parke then incountring with a knight called Iohn saint Iohn (a valiant and stout person) he was slaine when they ran togither, as the said knight did cast his speare from him, and so the said earle receiuing this manner of death, no man knew whether it happened by mishap or of purpose. To which Iohn Hastings now slaine, Margaret Segraue duchesse of Northfolke his grandmother (by his mother the daughter of sir Walter Mannie) was executrix and disposer of all his substance. After his death, his widow the ladie Philip was married to Richard earle of Arundell, & after that to Iohn lord saint Iohn, being the same man (as I suppose) which slue hir first husband this Iohn Hastings. But here before the death of this Iohn I must not forget, that though he were within age at the coronation of Richard the second, as not being past nine or ten yeares old; he sued to execute at the said coronation, the offices which his ancestors had afore performed. But bicause his mother had the mannor of Ashley in dower (as is before expressed) he did not sue to serue in the pantrie, but leauing that, demandeth the carieng of the second sword and the golden spurs before the king. The records of both which I haue here set downe.

The petition for the second sword which the earle of Arundell also claimed to beare, was in this sort.

IOHANNES de Hastings nuper comes Penbrochiæ protulit quandam petitionē in hæc verba. A treshonoree seigniour le duc de Lancastre & seneschall d'Angleterre, Iohn fitz & heyre Iohn de Hastinges counte de Penbroke, que cōme il tient le Chastell de la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le cōmote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chastell Martin, & le mannor de Traygaire per seruice de porter le second espee deuant le roy a son coronement: qui pleast a luy, accepter a son dit office a faire ore a ceste coronement. Et super hoc Richardus comes Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandā aliam petitionē in hæc verba. A roy de Chastell & de Lion duc de Lancastre & senescall d'Angleterre, supplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de luy receuer a faire son office, a porter le second espee deuant le roy ore a son coronement, que luy appertient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde dictorum comitum rationibus, pro eo quòd dictus Iohannes comes Penbrochiæ (qui infra ætatē in custodia regis existit) ostendit curiæ meliores & verisimiliores rationes pro se, quàm prædictus comes Arundell pro ipso monstrauit. Dominus rex declarata coram eo materia prædicta, præcepit Edmundo comiti mariscallo, quòd ipse gladium prædictum ista vice in nomine iure prædicti comitis Penbrochiæ deferret, saluo iure alterius cuiuscunq;. Qui quidem mariscallus gladium illum ex hac causa die coronationis gestabat calcaribus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the golden spurs, is registred in this order.

IOHANNES filius & hæres Iohannis de Hastings nuper comitis Pēbrochiæ exhibuit in curia quandam petitionem in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le roy de Chastell, &c. Et seneschall d'Angleterre, supplie Iohne fitz & heyrē Iohne Hastings nadgares counte de Penbroke, de estre receue a son office de porter les grandes esperon, d'ōres deuant le roy nostre seigneur ore a son coronement, en mannor cōme William le marischall son ancester les porta il coronoment de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa prædicta, pro eo quòd Iohannes est infra ætatem & in custodia domini regis, quanquam sufficientes ostendit curiæ recorda & euidētias, quòd ipse seruitium prædictum de iure facere deberet; consideratum

deratum extitit, quòd esset ad voluntatem regis, quis dictum seruitium ista vice in iure ipsius Iohannis faceret. Et super hoc rex assignabat Edmundum cõmitẽ mariscallum, ad deferẽdum dicto die coronationis prædicta calcaria in iure ipsius hæredis. Saluo iure alterius cuiuscunque, & sic idem comes mariscallus illa calcaria prædicta in dicto die coronationis coram ipso domino rege deferebat.

In this Iohn Hastings ended all the honorable titles of the Hastings, bicause this man dieng without issue, his inheritances were dispersed to diuerse persons; for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Hastings and Weisford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgauennie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this same Iohn Hastings without difference, great contention grew betwéene sir Edward Hastings knight (descended of Isabell Spenser) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, sonne of Reinold Greie, sonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Isabell Valence, for both the said lord Greie and sir Edward Hastings were descended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter shalbe shewed) from one man Iohn Hastings, husband to both said Isabels. For the explanation whereof, and lineall descent to conueie the said sir Edward Hastings from the said sir Iohn Hastings, first lord of Aburgauennie of that surname; I must here repeat a little of that which I haue alreadie written: which is, that the said Iohn Hastings first lord of Aburgauennie, hauing two wiues, both Isabels, by his first wife Isabell Valence had Elizabeth maried to Roger Greie, and by his second wife Isabell Spenser, he had issue Hugh Hastings knight, from whome we are to deduce the said sir Edward Hastings in this sort. Hugh Hastings knight lord of Folliot (in the right of his wife) being sonne of the second wombe of Isabell Spenser, and Iohn Hastings sonne of Henrie Hastings married Margerie the daughter and heire of sir Richard Folliot, by whom he came to be lord of Folliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Hastings with a difference of a second brother of a second venter. This marriage was procured and made by Isabell his mother, who purchased the said ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Christ 1347, in the one and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elsing, in Elsrug in Northfolke which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the thrée and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Fornewell. This Hugh had issue by his wife Hugh Hastings his heire, and a daughter married to sir Robert de la Mare.

Hugh Hastings knight, the sonne of Hugh and Margerie Folliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Eueringham, by whom he had Hugh Hastings his sonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewelhell or Gwines, and was buried in the friers of Doncaster, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yéere of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Hastings, earles of Penbroke his kinsmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Hastings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Folliot. Hugh Hastings knight the sonne of Hugh and Margaret Eueringham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenser earle of Glocester, by whom he had issue Hugh Hastings and Edward Hastings, which contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh tooke his pilgrimage to Ierusalem & died in Spaine, after whose death dame Anne Spenser his wife was maried to Thomas lord Morleie. Hugh Hastings eldest son of Hugh Hastings and dame Anne Spenser, married the daughter of sir Wil. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the second, to Isabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395, who dieng without issue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

Edward Hastings knight brother of the last Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honors, and armes without difference of the last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke. This sute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at least vntill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithstanding manie false pedegrees counterfeited by this Hastings, and his vncle Henrie bishop of Norwich, one of the house of the Spensers) yet it was adiudged against the said sir Edward Hastings in the marshals court, that the lands, honors, and armes without difference, as the last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Valence earle of Penbroke, should be onelie borne by the said lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and next heire to the said last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke, and that the said Edward Hastings should vtterlie be barred to beare the armes of Hastings, but quartered with the armes of Folliott, as onelie descending of the haife blood of the said last earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrees what so euer (except this) are false, and of purpose contriued, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (descended of the said Reinold Greie of Ruthine) conteining all the processe, examinations, witnesses, pedegrees & iudgements thereof, more plainelie maie appeare. In which contention there was shewed a matter by the deposition of sir William Hoo knight not vnworthie to be remembred (though it touch not the Hastings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the said sir William said on his oth in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of three points was the different appropriat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the next heire; but the same king made his sons to beare the entire armes with labels of three points, with certeine differences in the said labels, to be knowen the one from the other, except his sonne the duke of Gloçester, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Hastings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaster, for the opinion which had béene conceiued of him, by reason of miracles and other respects, was canonized for a saint. The mondaie next after the feast of saint Hilarie, a parlement was begun at Westminster, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme should not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reason that through the abuse thereof, manie great oppressions, imbraseries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practised, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iustice. The lords would not consent altogither to laie downe their badges; but yet they agreed that none should weare any such cognizance except their seruants of houshold, and such as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. ¶ In the same parlement, certeine persons that had gone about some new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and so were drawne and hanged. ¶ There was also an act made against such as should passe the seas, to purchase prouisions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thencefoorth attempted so to doo, he should be reputed and taken as a rebell. Also there was an act prouided against those that committed any wilfull murder, that none should presume to sue for their pardon. A duke or an archbishop that so sued, should forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewise an earle or a bishop, an hundred marks, &c.

The earle of Lancaster canonized for a saint.

A bill against wearing of badges.

No reteiners to weare badges.

An act against mediators for wilfull murderers.

Moreouer, in this parlement it was granted, that the king should haue of euerie sacke of wooll fortie shillings, of the which ten shillings should be applied presentlie to the kings vses, and thirtie shillings residue of the fourtie shillings should remaine in the hands of the treasurors, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Also there was a subsidie granted of six pence in the pound, foure pence to the vse last mentioned, and two pence to be imploied at the kings pleasure. In the same parlement, Iohn duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine, receiuing at the kings hand the rod and cap, as inuestures of that dignitie. Also the duke of Yorke his sonne and heire was

The duke of Lancaster made duke of Aquitaine.

Great tempest. was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a sore and terrible wind rose, with the violence whereof, much hurt was doone, houses ouerthrowne, cattell destroied, and
Great plague. trees ouerturned. After this insued great mortalitie by pestilence, so that much youth died euerie where, in cities and townes, in passing great numbers. Herewith followed a
Great dearth. great dearth of corne, so that a bushell of wheat in some places was sold at thirteene
Ab. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie. pence, which was thought to be at a great price. ¶ About the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, Iohn duke of Lancaster caused a great number of the nobles and péeres of the realme to hunt at Leicester in the forrest and all the parkes there to him apperteining. On the
A roiall hunting. saturdaie the king and quéene were present, the archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Yorke, Thomas Woodstoke duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell Iohn of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other bishops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thursdaie next following the king departing from thence towards Notingham soiourned with the lord of Beaumont besides Loughborrow.

A iournie against the Saracens. In this thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, the christians tooke in hand a iournie against the Saracens of Barbarie, through sute of the Genowais, so that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the duke of Burbon being their generall. Out of England there went one Iohn de Beaufort bastard son to the duke of Lancaster (as Froissard hath noted) also sir Iohn Russell, sir Iohn Butler and others. They set forward in the latter end of this thirteenth yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remained not long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the
An. Reg. 14. Genowais were readie to passe them ouer into Barbarie. And so about Midsummer in the beginning of the fourteenth yeare of this kings reigne, the whole armie being embarked, sailed foorth to the coasts of Barbarie, where neare to the citie of Affrike they landed, at
The English archers good seruice. which instant the English archers (as some write) stood all the companie in good stead, with their long bowes, beating backe the enimies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing.

After they had got to land, they inuironed the citie of Affrike, (called by the moores Mahemedia) with a strong siege: but at length constrained with the intemperancie of the scalding aire in that hot countrie, bréeding in the armie sundrie diseases, they fell to a composition vpon certeine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens, and so 61 daies after their first arriuall there, they tooke the seas againe, & returned home, as in the histories of France, and Italie is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydor Virgil it may séeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derbie, should be capteine of the English men, that (as before ye haue heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and
Thom. Wals. Genowais. It should otherwise appeare by other writers, who affirme that the said earle made a iournie in deed the same time against the miscreants, not into Barbarie, but into
The earle of Derbie his exploits in his iournie against the infidels of Prutzenland. Prutzenland, where he shewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioining with the masters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came against the said order was vanquished, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken prisoners, three other being slaine, with three hundred of their chiefest and best approoued soldiers. Through the policie also and worthie manhood of the earle of Derbie, there was a certeine citie taken, where the said earle and his men first entring vpon the walles, did set vp his banner: other being slouthfull, or at the least vnskilfull how to deale in such exploits. There were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common people, and amongst them that were found dead, the king of Polognies brother was one. The castell of the same citie was besieged fiue weekes space: but by reason of sickenesse and such infirmities as chanced in the armie, the masters of Prutzen, and Lifeland would not tarie any longer, but breake vp their siege and returned. The master of Lifeland led with him into his countrie three thousand prisoners.

A roiall iusts holden in Smithfield at London. In the meane time, whilest the christians were thus occupied, as well against the infidels in Barbarie, as in the east parts towards Littawe, a roiall iusts and martiall turnament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on sundaie next after

the feast of saint Michaell. And bicause this triumphant pastime was published, not onelie in England, but also in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heinault, & in France, manie strangers came hither foorth of diuerse countries, namelie Valeran erle of saint Paule, that had married king Richards sister the ladie Mauld de Courtnie, and William the yoong erle of Osteruant, sonne to Albert de Bauiere earle of Holland and Heinault. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared there issued foorth of the tower about thrée of the clocke in the after noone sixtie coursers apparelled for the iustes, and vpon euerie one an esquier of honor, riding a soft pace. Then came foorth foure and twentie ladies of honour (three score saith Froissard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one side richlie apparelled, and euerie ladie led a knight with a chaine of gold. Those knights being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garnished with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and so they came riding through the stréets of London vnto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other instruments before them.

The manner of the iusts in Smithfield.

Siluer saith *Froissard.*

The king and the queene, with manie other great states were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to see the iusts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went vp into chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the esquires of honor from their coursers, & the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And so when their helmets were set on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the herault, the iusts began, and manie commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the quéene, and all other the beholders. The prise that daie on the answerers part was giuen to the earle of saint Paule; and on the chalengers side, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himselfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iusts, he being cheefe of the inner part. That daie the prise was giuen to the erle of Osteruant, for the best doer of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser. On the tuesdaie, all manner of esquiers iusted, and likewise on the wednesday all maner of knights and esquires that would, on which daie was a sore and rude iusts, enduring till night. And so manie a noble course and other martiall feats were atchiued in those foure daies, to the great contentation and pleasure of manie a yoong batcheler desirous to win fame, & also highlie to the kings honour, who by all that season held his court in the bishops palace by Paules church, kéeping open houshold for all honest persons that thither resorted, especiallie euerie night after the iusts were ended, a right sumptuous and princelie supper was prepared for the strangers and other, and after supper, the time was spent in dansing and reuelling after the most courtlike maner. On the thursdaie, the king made a supper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, and the quéene to all the ladies and gentlewomen. On the fridaie the duke of Lancaster feasted at dinner all the said lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, in most sumptuous and plentifull maner. On the saturdaie, the king and all the whole companie departed from London vnto Windsore, where new feasting began, and speciallie the king did all the honour that might be deuised vnto the earls of saint Paule and Osteruant. The earle of Osteruant, at the earnest request of the king, receiued of him the order of the Garter, for the which he was euill thought of afterwards by his freends, namelie the French king and others. Finallie, after the king had thus feasted the strangers and others at Windsore, each man tooke leaue of the king, the queene, and the kings vncles, and other lords and ladies, and so departed, the strangers into their owne countries, and other home to their houses, or whither they thought best.

The king kept open houshold in the bishop of London his palace by Paules church.

The K. festeth the strangers.

The duke of Lancaster feasteth the strangers.

¶ This solemne iusts or tornement being touched, or rather in ample maner described by Ch. Okland, is reported of him to haue béene kept for actiuitie sake, and to see the youth & lustie blouds of the court on worke, who otherwise (bicause the king was yong and loued to liue in peace and ease, feats of armes and warlike prowesse both abroad and

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl. sub Rich.* 2.

at

at home languished and laie as it were a fainting) through idlenesse and want of exercise, degenerating and growing out of kind from their woonted warlike valiantnesse, should giue themselues to filthie lecherie, riot, sléepe, loitering pastimes, and slouthfulnesse, all which doo greatlie impaire prowesse. Wherevpon (saith he)

Rege priùs de re consulto, ludicra diri
Martis opus simulatum inter se bella mouebant,
Atq; dies totos viginti quattuor hastis
Assumptis, studio statuunt decurrere fixo.
Deinde idem numerus procerum pars prima lacessens
Mittit ad externas gentes qui talia pandant.
Ludus ab Angligenis mense exercebitur vno
Hasticus. Vrbi hærens * fabrorum dictus * agellus
Extra Londini muros, spatiosus & amplus
Est locus: hîc stadium cursuris, certáq; meta
Ponitur, huc veniant quacúnq; ex gente creati
Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine victor
Qui fuerit, terris prosternens corpora plura,
Aut plures hastas frangens, donabitur auri
Multa vi, capiet quàm plurima ditia dona
Præmia virtutis, Richardo hæc dante brabæa, &c.

* Smithfield. *

Hauing thus described the place where the iusts should be kept, with the rewards, and other circumstances; he toucheth the countries from whence the forren nobilitie came, that should vndertake triall of chiualrie with these foure and twentie challengers: who at the daie appointed (saith he) came pransing out of the Towre vpon their great barded horsses through the broad streets, and their ladies of honor with them gorgiouslie decked with bracelets, owches, cheines, iewels, spangles, and verie sumptuous attire: a goodlie sight for the people to behold. At last, when they were come to Smithfield, and althings readie, the trumpets sounded to the exercise; and both parties, as well the English as the outlandish cheualiers ran togither, and tried their strengths till they did sweat and were tired, their horsses panting and braieng with the violence of their bodilie motion; their staues being crasht in sunder, flue vp into the aire, and the broken stocke or stumpe hitting the aduersarie ouerthrew him to the ground: the beholders with ioy of heart gaue a shout thereat, as greatlie delighted with the sight. Then came the night and brake off the first daies tornement. On the next daie when they should renew and fall afresh vnto it againe, they shewed themselues in courage equall to their ancestors, and handled their matters so well that they got them great renowme. The third daie came, and the multitude of people still gathered togither woondered at the right valiant deeds of the valorous horssemen, how they did tosse, hoisse vp, and wind their speares, and with what force they vsed their armes, what courage appeared in their statelie horsses, and how the verie heauens rang with the ratling of their armor, and the strokes giuen to and fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of pleasure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders. When the time was expired of this tried chiualrie, necessarie occasion mooued the king of England to set his mind on other matters, so that commending the prowesse of the outlandish lords, he bestowed vpon them massie cheines of gold, & loding them with other gifts of great valure, dismissed them into their countries. But the English challengers required nothing but renowme for their reward, being allured onelie with the loue of praise; and thus when these pastimes of chiualrie were quite ended, euerie man got him home to his owne house. Thus farre Christopher Okland, touching the description of this Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & externos.

1391. Ambassadors were sent from the French king, vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to indure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England and France, sith that by warre it was apparant inough, that neither realme, could greatlie

Thom. Walt.

benefit

benefit it selfe; but rather sore indamage either other, as afore time it had come apparantlie to passe. Therefore the matter being well considered, both parts séemed well affected towards some good conclusion by treatie to be had of a full and perfect peace. About the same time, by the king with the aduise of his councell, proclamation was made and published at London, that all beneficed men abiding in the court of Rome, being Englishmen borne, should returne home into England before the feast of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their benefices; and such as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewise limited. The Englishmen hearing such a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left the popes court, and returned into their natiue soile.

Ambassadors from the French king for a perpetual peace. *Froissard.*

A proclamatiō that all English beneficed men in Rome should returne into England.

The pope troubled with such a rumbling noise, sent in all hast an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king of England, as well to vnderstand the causes of this proclamation, as of statutes deuised and made latelie in parlement against those that prouided themselues of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes buls, which séemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of Rome: in consideration whereof the said nuncio required that the same statutes might be repealed and abolished, so farre as they tended to the derogation of the church liberties: but if the same statutes were not abolished, the pope might not (said his nuncio) with a safe conscience otherwise doo than procéed against them that made those statutes, in such order as the canons did appoint. Moreouer the said nuncio declared to the king certeine dangerous practises betwixt the antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Touraine the French kings brother king of Tuscane and Lombardie, and to establish the duke of Aniou in the kingdome of Sicile.

The pope sendeth his nuncio to king Richard.

Moreouer, he gaue the king to vnderstand, that if the French king might compasse by the antipapes meanes to be chosen emperour, he would séeke to vsurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it stood the king of England chieflie in hand to prouide against such practises in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchmen séemed so much to fauour, it was to none other end, but that vpon agreement once had, they might more conuenientlie compasse their purpose in the premisses. Furthermore the nuncio earnestlie besought the king of aid in the popes behalfe against the French king, if (as he threatned to doo) he should inuade him in Italie with open force. The king séemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the nuncio, and after aduise taken, appointed to staie till after Michaelmasse, at what time a parlement was appointed to be assembled, wherein such things as he had proponed should be weied and considered, and some conclusion taken therein.

The popes nuncio openeth to the king the Frēch kings priuie practises.

Nuncio.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to Henrie Knightons account, there was a prophane statute made against the church & churchmen; namelie, that no ecclesiastical person or persons should possesse manors, glebeland, houses, possessions, lands, reuenues or rents whatsoeuer, at the hands of the feoffer, without the kings licence & the chiefe lords. And this statute extended it selfe, as well to parish churches, chappels, chanteries, as abbeies, priories, & other monasteries whatsoeuer: likewise to citizens of cities, to farmers, & burgesses, hauing such rents or possessions for the common profit. For men in those daies, that would bestow land or liuelod vpon church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for cost and charges to procure a mortmane, vnder the kings licence and chiefe lords; were wont to feoffe some speciall men, in whom they had confidence and trust; vnder whose name and title, churchmen, or anie other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in possession. And it was prouided by that statute, that all and euerie as well persons ecclesiasticall as parishioners, both citizens, burgesses, and farmers, or anie other whatsoeuer, hauing such rents, possessions, manors, or anie reuenues whatsoeuer, in the hands of such feoffers, without the licence of the king and chiefe lords; that either they should obteine and get a licence of the king and the chiefe lords to make it a mortmaine; or else set such things to sale, & raise profit of them, on this side or before the feast of Michaelmasse next insuing: or the said feast being past and expired, that then the king and the chiefe

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

A sore bridle for the clergie.

chiefe lords, in things not ordered and disposed accordinglie, may enter and seize vpon the same, and them haue and hold at his and their pleasure.

The duke of Glocester his iournie into Prutzen land.

About the same time, the duke of Glocester went into Prutzen land, to the great griefe of the people, that made account of his departure, as if the sunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting some mishap to follow to the common wealth by his absence, whose presence they thought sufficient to stay all detriments that might chance, for in him the hope of the commons onelie rested. In his returne home, he was sore tormented with rough weather and tempestuous seas. At length he arriued in Northumberland, and came to the castell of Tinmouth, as to a sanctuarie knowen to him of old, where after he had refreshed him certeine daies, he tooke his iournie homewards to Plaschie in Essex, bringing no small ioy for his safe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the ninth of Iulie the sunne seemed darkened with certeine grosse and euill fauoured clouds comming betwixt it and the earth, so as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from noone till the setting thereof. And afterwards continuallie for the space of six weeks, about the middest of the daie, clouds customablie rose, and sometimes they continued both daie and night, not vanishing awaie at all. ¶ At the same time, such a mortalitie and death of people increased in Northfolke, and in manie other countries of England, that it seemed not vnlike the season of the great pestilence. In the citie of Yorke there died eleuen thousand within a short space. ¶ Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the marches against Scotland, and Robert Mowbraie was sent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

The duke of Glocester in great fauor with the commons.

An. Reg. 15.

A great death in Yorke and sundrie other places.

A parlement at London.

On friday next after All soules day, the parlement began at London, in which the knights would in no wise agrée, that the statute made against spirituall men, for the prouiding themselues of benefices in the court of Rome should be repealed: but yet they agréed thus much, that it should be tollerated, so as with the kings licence such spirituall men might purchase to themselues such benefices till the next parlement. ¶ In this parlement aforsaid, there was granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the clergie, and one fiftéenth of the people towards the expenses of Iohn duke of Lancaster, who in Lent next following went ouer into France to the citie of Amiens for a finall peace betweene the kingdoms of England and France: where the king of France met him with a shew of great pompe and honor, sending before him first of all to welcome him thither the citizens of the same citie on horssebacke in a verie great number. Then afterwards, he sent earles and barons a great manie to the same end, then his two vncles, last of all went the king himselfe to meet him, and saluting him called him by the name of The most worthie warrior of all christendome, the inuincible woorthinesse of the king onelie excepted. And the duke had seauentéene daies (by couenant) to compasse this treatie of peace: at last he returned, hauing attendant vpon him in his traine the bishop of Durham, and the sonne of the duke of Yorke the earle of Rutland, with a thousand horssemen, set foorth in a woonderfull sumptuous sort with goodlie furniture. ¶ Also conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole fiftéenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he made anie iournie that yeare against the Scots. ¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelderland sent to the king of England letters of commendation & praise, wherein also were prouocations and stirrings vp to warre and warlike actiuitie, and to the exercise of kinglie noblenesse, the tenor whereof followeth:

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

The duke of Lancaster ambassador for the king, right honorablie receiued into France.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

The tenor of the said dukes letter to king Richard.

MAGNIFICE princeps, innata vobis probitas, & prudentum consilia (vt opinamur) simul agerent in officium, quòd singula hæreditaria iura, quæ ex natalitio vestram magnificant regiam maiestatem, temporibus vestræ discretionis altissima prouidentia munirentur illæsa; et si quæuis oppugnaret violentia, clypeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter

fortiter defendere sua iura. Et quòd vestram regiam personam cõtingamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipse, quin semper parati erimus vobis in vestris iuribus defendendis assistere cum duobus milibus lancearũ, quando & quotiens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut promissa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat versutia Gallicorum. Sanè serenissime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quòd propter lanam & innumerabilia vestra singularia commoda, sine quibus non viuit oriens neque auster, regna singula in pecunijs vos salutant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipse diuitias centuplatas. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcuum asperitas, sine pari, taliter huc vsque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quòd timor non paruus vestros inuadit aduersarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victoriosè dimicauit cum Gallicis Angliæ gens austera. In pusillanimitate igitur (potentissime princeps) contra naturam non obdormeat cor leonis; sed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosis, in defensionem reipublicæ; iuris hæreditarij sustentationem, augmentúmque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.

The same letter in plaine phrase verbatim Englished by A. F.

MOST mightie prince, your roiall prowesse and the counsels of the sage, should altogither (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the most profound & deepe foresight of your discretion in time to maintaine and defend all and singular your rights & inheritance vnharmed, which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maiestie, and if anie violence whatsoeuer gainstand and assault the same, your kinglie diligence should indeuor with the shield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicause we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall person in aliance, vnlesse God himselfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to assist and aid you with two thousand pikes, when and how often soeuer you shall be disposed to rush out to battell. Your right ought not to be lost for words and promises, howsoeuer the craftinesse of the French labor to this purpose. Trulie most excellent prince, your renowme doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll sake, and other your singular commodities being innumerable (without the which the east and the south can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In comparison therefore of other kings God himselfe hath bestowed vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike prowesse also, & the roughnesse of your bowes, being peerelesse, haue hitherto so extolled the couragious nation of the west, that no small feare dooth inuade your aduersaries; and to this day the sterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriouslie incountered with the French. Therefore ô most puissant prince, let not the hart of a lion sleepe in cowardlinesse against nature: but what force and valiantnesse nature hath giuen you, the same vouchsafe to put in practise with feats of armes in defense of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increase of your desert, and the peerelesse prowesse of so great a kings couragious hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The flix gotten by excessiue feeding on fruits.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almost for the space of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after haruest was got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the disease called the flix, whereof manie died, and suerlie (as was thought) the death and dearth had beene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord maior of London had not beene, in relieuing the commons by such prouision as he made for corne to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the seas, where otherwise neither had the countrie beene able in anie thing to haue sufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth

The lord maior of London commended for his carefull prouision of corne from beyond the seas in the time of dearth.

ferreth this scarsitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large discourse both of the miseries which it brought with it, as also of the cause whereby it was procured, and of the notable meanes whereby the same in most places was remedied.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leceister abbrie.

In this yeare (saith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or scarsitie of corne began vnder the sickle, and lasted till the feast of saint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new corne. This scarsitie did greatlie oppresse the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poorer sort. For a man might see infants and children in streets and houses, through hunger, howling, crieng, and crauing bread: whose mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was such plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and spoken of manie housekéepers and husbandmen, that if the séed were not sowen in the ground, which was hoorded vp and stored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be inough to find and susteine all the people by the space of fiue yeares following. But the cause of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in these daies was verie scant, and the principall cause hereof was, for that the wooll of the land lay a sléepe and hoong heauie in some mens hands by the space of two yeares; and in others thrée yeares, without a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine parlement, that the merchants of England should not passe out of the land with wooll and other merchandize, but should bring the same vnto twelue places within the realme appointed for the same purpose, that the merchants strangers might haue recourse thither with their commodities and so by exchange should transport our merchandize for theirs. By meanes whereof the merchants of England did forbeare to buy wooll and other wares vntil the next parlement insuing, wherein it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities. In these daies wooll was dogcheape: for one stone of good wooll of the chosen and piked sort, was sold for thrée shillings, and in Leicester and Kent at some times for two shillings or two and twentie pence. This scarsitie of victuals was of greatest force in Leicester shire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of corne out of reason. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the highest, was sold at Leiceister for 16 shillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourteene shillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was sold for ten shillings, or for litle more or lesse. For there arriued eleuen ships laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerse places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Besides this, the citizens of London laid out two thousand marks to buy food out of the common chest of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a péece for necessarie prouision, for feare of famine, likelie to fall vpon the citie. And they laid vp their store in sundrie of the fittest and most conuenient places they could choose, that the néedie, and such as were wroong with want, might come & buy at a certeine price so much as might suffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to paie downe presentlie in hand, their word and credit was taken for a yeares space next following, and their turne serued. Thus was prouision made that people should be relieued, and that none might perish for hunger.

The cause of the scarsitie was not want of bread or corne.

Wooll sold dogcheape by the stone.

Prouision against scarsitie to relieue the poore.

O charitie of London!

On Christmasse day, a dolphin that came foorth of the sea vp the Thames vnto London-bridge, was espied of the citizens as he plaied in the water, and being followed & pursued, with much adoo was taken. He was ten foot long, and a monstrous growne fish, so as the sight of him was strange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his comming so farre into the landward, to foreshew such stormes and tempests as within a 1392. wéeke after did raginglie follow. Ye haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had béene first brocched by the French king, by sending ambassadors to the king of England, to mooue the same. Which motion being throughlie considered of the estates assembled in this last parlement, it was decréed, that it should go forward (as before ye haue heard) and so about Candlemasse, the lord Thomas Persie, sir Lewes Clifford, and

A dolphin taken at London bridge.

Ambassadors sent to the French king to treat of peace.

sir

sir Robert Briquet, with diuerse other in their companie, were sent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodgd in his house of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maister toward peace. And the better to bring it to passe, they shewed that king Richards desire was to haue some place and time appointed for commissioners to méet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as should be thought expedient. The French king greatlie honored these ambassadors, in feasting and banketting them for the space of six daies togither, and for answer, concluded with them, that he himselfe, with his vncles and other of his councell, would be at Amiens by the middest of March next insuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vncles, if it should please them thither to come.

The English ambassadors said there was no doubt, but that either the king himselfe, or his vncles shuld be there at the day assigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agréement that should seeme reasonable; and so those ambassadors returned with great gifts presented on the kings behalfe to ech of them, sir Robert Briquet excepted, vnto whome it séemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer serued the Nauarrois or Englishmen, and was now one of king Richards priuie chamber. The king of England (as some write) was once minded to haue passed the seas himselfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finallie the duke of Lancaster, the bishop of Durham, and others, were sent thither with a traine néere hand of a thousand horsses. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no lesse preparation for the duke of Lancasters comming, than if he had béene emperor. The duke of Lancaster verelie was estéemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wisest and sagest princes in all christendome, in those daies; so that it séemed the French king reioised greatlie, that he might come to haue conference with him. There were with the French king héere at Amiens, his brother the duke of Thoureigne; his vncles, the dukes of Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie, & a great number of earles, lords, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Englishmens comming, for auoiding of strife and debate that might arise betwixt the English and French, a proclamation was set foorth conteining certeine articles, for the demeanor which the French men should obserue towards the Englishmen.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber.

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, the earls of Derbie and Huntington, the lord Thomas Persie, the bishops of Durham and London were sent ouer, as *Froissard* saith.

A roiall ambassage.

The duke of Lancaster, a prince of great renowme.

Whilest they there remained, all the Englishmens charges were borne by the French king, from their setting foorth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerse demands made, and some offers, though to small purpose, for they tooke not effect, insomuch as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truce which was to end at Midsummer next, was prolonged to continue one yéere more, that in the meane time, the lords and estates of the realme of England might assemble, and with good aduise deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agrée vnto a determinate peace, or to pursue the doubtfull chances of warre. And such was the end of that roiall ambassage, to the furnishing foorth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

The truce prolonged for a yeare. *Thom. Wals.*

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaster, and other the ambassadors that had béene at Amiens, a councell of the lords and chiefe states of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had béene vnto a parlement) there came foorth of euerie good towne certeine persons appointed to deliberate and take aduise in so weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or else vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to passe, sauing that they agréed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings sware to obserue the same, afore such as were appointed to sée their othes receiued. About the same time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings cousine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorablie receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester. This duke of Gelderland counselled the king not to conclude peace,

A councell at Stamford.

The duke of Gelderland commeth into England.

The duke of Gelderland dis-

suadeth the king from peace with the French and Scots.

peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon such conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honorable to him and his realme, promising that if he had occasion to make warre against either of those two nations, he would be readie to serue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had béene here a time, and highlie feasted and banketted, aswell by the king as other great estates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerse rich gifts.

The Londoners refuse to lend the king a thousand pounds.

The king about this season sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them the summe of one thousand pounds, which they vncourteouslie refused to lend: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and néere hand slue: bicause he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertised, he was sore mooued against them, and calling togither the most part of the péeres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners, complaining sore of such their presumption. The lords and great men, séeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counsell that the insolent pride of those presumptuous persons might with speed be repressed. The citizens of London in those daies (as should appeare) vsing their authoritie to the vttermost, had deuised and set foorth diuerse orders and constitutions to abridge the libertie of forreners that came to the citie to vtter their commodites. Religious men that wrote the dooings of that age, seemed also to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wicliffes opinions, & therefore did charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howsoeuer the matter, went they fell at this present into the kings heauie displeasure.

A great fire kindled about a litle sparke.

Some there be that write, how the king piked the first quarell against the maior and shiriffes, for a riot committed by the vnrulie citizens, against the seruants of the bishop of Salisburie: for that where one of the same bishops seruants had taken a horsse-lofe frō a bakers man, as he passed by in Fléetstréet with his basket to serue his masters customers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when he was earnest to haue recouered the lofe, the inhabitants of the stréet rose, and would haue had the bishops man to prison for breaking the kings peace: but he was rescued by his fellowes, and escaped into Salisburie house, that stood there within the allie, and as then belonged to his master the bishop of Salisburie, being at that time high treasuror of England. The people being set in a rage for the rescue so made, gathered togither in great multitudes about the bishops palace gate, and would haue fetched out the offendor by force.

A riot by the Londoners vpon the bishop of Salisburies men.

To conclude, such a hurling was in the stréet, that the maior, with the shiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all speed, to take order in the matter, and to sée the peace kept; but after the cōming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie resorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were the worsse they were to rule, and would not be persuaded to quiet themselues, except the bishops seruant, whose name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the house, and committed to prison: but at length, after manie assaults, lifts, & other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the house, the maior & aldermen, with other discréet commoners appeased the people so, as they brought them to quiet, and sent euerie man to his house.

Walter Romane.

The bishop was then at Windesor where the court laie, who being informed of this matter, by a gréeuous report and happilie in worsse manner than the thing had happened indeed, tooke such indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint against the citizens for their misdemeanor, so that his displeasure was the more kindled against the citizens, in so much that, whether in respect of this last remembered complaint, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lend him the thousand pounds, and misusing the Lombard that offered to lend the same, I cannot saie; but sure it is, that the maior and shiriffe, and a great sort more of the citizens, were sent for to come to the court, where diuerse misdemeanors were obiected and laid to their charge:

The bishop of Salisburie maketh a gréeuous cōplaint of the Londoners to the king.

The maior & shiriffes of London sent for to Windsore to the king, & there imprisoned.

and

and notwithstanding, what excuse they pretended, the maior and shiriffes with diuerse other of the most substantiall citizens, were arrested. The maior was committed to the castell of Windesor, and the other, vnto other castels and holds, to be safelie kept, till the king, by the aduise of his councell, should determine further what should be doone with them.

The liberties of the citie were seized into the kings hands, and the authoritie of the maior vtterlie ceassed, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named sir Edward Darlingrug knight, that should both rule the citie, and see that euerie man had iustice ministred, as the case required. This sir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentith of Iune, on which day the king entered into the 16 yeare of his reigne: by reason it was thought that the said sir Edward Darlingrug was ouerfauourable to the citizens, he continued in his office but till the first of Iulie, and being then discharged, one sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumspect and discréet knight, was put in that roome, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obteined, to the reliefe of their sorow and heauinesse.

The liberties of London seized.
A gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.
An. Reg. 16.
Sir Edward Darlingrug lord warden of London.
Darlingrug remooued, & sir Baldwine Radington made lord warden of London.

At length, the king, through sute and instant labour made by certeine noble men, speciallie the duke of Glocester, began somewhat to relent and pacifie himselfe, as touching his rigorous displeasure against the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerse waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewise bestowed vpon him, wherevpon he purposed to deale the more mildlie with them, and so sent for diuerse of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windesor, where he then kept his court, there to shew foorth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduise of his councell, he might determine which should remaine in force, and which should be abolished. Herevpon, when the said priuileges, and liberties were laid foorth, to the view of such persons as had to consider of them, some were ratified, some permitted by tolleration, and some vtterlie condemned and abrogated.

The liberties of London in part confirmed in part condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that present, either the person or dignitie of their maior, nor obteine the kings entire fauour, till they had satisfied the king of the damages and iniuries by them doone, either to him or his people. And where he had beene at great charges, in preparing forces to chastise them, as he was determined, if they had not submitted themselues vnto him, they were sure that their pursses must answer all that he had laid foorth about that matter. They therfore with humble submission, in recompense & satisfaction of their trespasses, offered to giue him ten thousand pounds, but they were for this time sent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not vnderstanding what they must pay, till the king with the aduise of his councell had taken further order for them. At length, through such dailie sute as was made for the quieting of the kings hot displeasure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenses past. But first, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedlie, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themselues like louing subiects, they should obteine his fauour.

The citizens aduertised hereof, did not onelie prepare themselues to meet him, and to present him with gifts in most liberall manner; but also to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with sumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vsed at anie coronation. At the day appointed, there met him (beside other) foure hundred of the citizens on horsebacke, clad in one liuerie, presenting themselues in that order, vpon the heath on this side Shene, and in most humble wise, craued pardon for their offenses past, besought him to take his waie to his palace of Westminster, thorough the citie of London. This sute made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he gratiouslie granted, and so held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was presented a passing faire stéed, white, saddled, bridled, and trapped

A sweet sacrifice.
He was met with procession of the bishop & clergie at S. Georges church in Southwarke.
Gifts presented to the K. by the Londoners to

pacifie his displeasure conceiued against them. K. Richard roiallie receiued into London.

trapped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewise to the quéene was giuen a milke white palfrie, saddled, brideled, and trapped in the same sort, as the other was. These presents were thankefullie accepted, and so both the king and the queene passing forward, entered the citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens standing on ech side the stréets in their liueries, crieng; King Richard, king Richard.

At the standard in Cheape, was a right sumptuous stage ordeined, on which were set diuerse personages, and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garnished with stone and pearle vpon the kings head, as he passed by, and likewise an other on the queenes head. This doone, the king rode to Paules, and there offered, and so tooke his horsse againe, and rode to Westminster, where the maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London. On the morrow, the maior and his brethren went againe to Westminster, and there presented the king with two basens gilt, & in them two thousand nobles of gold, beséeching him to be good and gratious lord to the citie; he receiued their present in courteous manner, and gaue them manie comfortable words. The third daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all their old liberties (at the least such as might be an aid to the citie, and no detriment to forreners) wherefore, by counsell of their freends, they ordeined a table for an altar of siluer and gilt, ingrauen with imagerie, and inameled in most curious wise, conteining the storie of saint Edward, it was valued to be worth a thousand marks. This was presented to the king, the which he shortlie after offered to the shrine of saint Edward within the abbeie. The Londoners beléeued, that by these gifts they had beene quite rid of all danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king after this, ten thousand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offense and grudging in their minds.

More gifts by the Lõdoners to the king.

Tho. Walsin. The liberties of London ratified by king Richard.

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leceister abbeie.

¶ You haue heard hitherto, what means was made by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the commonaltie of London to procure the kings maiesties (in whose disfauour they were deeplie drowned) gratious reconciliation. Wherein though there hath beene large matter deliuered; yet to set foorth the dignitie thereof the fuller, take heere by the waie the report of Henrie Knighton. In the yeare (saith he) 1392, the king called a great councell on the morrow after Trinitie sundaie at Stamford, about certeine affaires concerning the Frenchmen, in which councell he assembled togither all the old soldiers of his relme, that by the aduise of the elder sort he might sée what were best for him to doo in the premisses. The king also held a great councell at Notingham, on the feast of S. Iohn the Baptist, whereat he caused the maior of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the two shiriffes, and foure and twentie of the best commoners of the citie in the second degrée to be conuented before him. Héere he charged them that they had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the king, besides the losse of their liberties and priuileges. Which obligation or bond they had made in former time to the king, their deserts requiring the same. Now the king, after rehearsall made of their new offenses & faults, discharged the maior, the two shiriffes, and the rest of his officers of their offices, and sent the maior and the two shiriffes to certeine places of custodie as his prisoners, defeating the citie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in so much that a citizen or fréeman should haue no more prerogatiue than a forrener or stranger. He appointed also the lord Edward Balerige to be gouernor therof, to kéepe and see kept the kings lawes and his liege people within London in due order, vntill such time as the king had otherwise prouided for them. And he set them a day to answer the king and his councell to certeine interrogatories on the feast of S. Marie Magdalen then next insuing, at Windsore. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine freends and welwillers, the kings indignation was somewhat mitigated and asswaged towards them; in somuch that at length he released the maior and the shiriffes, and sent them home to their houses; setting ouer them notwithstanding a new kéeper or gouernour of the citie, and reseruing in his hand all the priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the sundaie next after the feast of the Assumption

Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie; all the wealthiest and worthiest commoners of the citie came to the king, and submitted themselues and all their goods to his grace, and then did he first receiue and take them into his fauour. On the wednesdaie insuing, the king was purposed to come into London, and the citizens in multitudes innumerable met him on horssebacke; & they that had no horsses went out on foot to welcome him thither; women also and infants shewed themselues vnto him; likewise the bishop of London, with all the clergie, no order, degree, condition, estate, or sex of ecclesiasticall dignitie being excused, went out in procession to meet the king and the quéene with great reioising. It was reported how in that procession there were aboue fiue hundred boies in surplisses. Moreouer, the citizens of London trimmed the outsides of their houses and chambers in euerie stréet through which the king and the queene were to passe, from S. Georges to Westminster. As for the houses of the welthier sort, they were brauelie garnished with cloth of gold, siluer, tissue, veluet, & other sumptuous stuffe whatsoeuer by any possible means could be gotten. In Cheapside there was a conduit, out of the which two spouts ran with read wine & white, and vpon the conduit stood a little boie apparelled in white like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who presented wine to the king and queene to drinke as they passed by. In the meane time they offered to the king a golden crowne of great value, and another golden crowne to the quéene; and a while after passing forwards, they presented to the king a golden tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred pounds: and to the queene another golden tablet of S. Anne, whome she had in speciall deuotion and reuerence, bicause hir owne name was Anne. Such, and so great, and so wonderfull honors did they to the king, as the like in former times was neuer doone to anie king of this realme: and so going forward, they brought the king and the quéene to Westminster hall. The king sitting in his seat roiall, & all the people standing before him; one in the kings behalfe as his speaker, gaue the people thanks for the great honour and princelie presents which they had bestowed vpon the king; and being bidden to fall euerie man to his businesse and affaires, it was told them that in the next parlement they should haue their finall answer.

The duke of Glocester made duke of Ireland.

At the same time, the duke of Glocester, hauing receiued monie to leauie an armie, which he should haue conueied ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good while before that present, the king had made him duke, was now readie to set forward, when suddenlie through the malice of some priuie detractours about the king, he was contermanded, and so his iournie was staied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of both the countries of England and Ireland: for euen vpon the fame that was bruted of his comming into Ireland, in manner all the Irish lords determined to submit themselues vnto him, so greatlie was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among those wild and sauage people. This yeare Robert Véere, late earle of Oxenford, and duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaine in Brabant, in great anguish of mind, & miserable necessitie; which yoong gentleman (doubtlesse) was apt to all commendable exercises and parts fit for a noble man, if in his youth he had béene well trained and brought vp in necessarie discipline.

His iournie into Ireland vnluckilie staied.

Véere, late duke of Ireland, dieth at Louaine.

1393.

Tho. Walsi.

This yeare after Christmasse, a parlement was called at Winchester, in which onelie a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expenses of the duke of Lancaster & Glocester, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had béene remooued from Westminster to Yorke, either in disfauour onelie of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Yorke, for that the archbishop of that citie, being lord chancellor, wished to aduance (so farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuerthelesse about this season brought backe againe to Westminster, after they had remained a small time at Yorke, to the displeasure of manie. ¶ This yeare, the lord Auberie de Veere, vncle to the late duke of Ireland, was made earle of Oxenford. ¶ The two and twentith of Februarie, Iohn Eures, constable of Douer castell, & lord steward of the kings house departed

A parlement at Winchester.

The chancerie and kings bench kept at Yorke and frō thence remooued to Londō.

Eures.

departed this life, in whose roome the lord Thomas Persie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord steward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made constable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports: and the lord William Scroope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the same time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie therof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth.

The Ile of Man.

The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester went ouer vnto Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. These noblemen were sufficientlie furnished with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by sea and land, betweene the two realmes of France and England, and all their alies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Ealingham, where tents and pauilions were pight vp, for the ease of both parties. They met there twise or thrise a weeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpose, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered first into communication, and had seene each others authoritie, one of the first demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis raced, in such wise, as there should neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester answered herevnto, how they had no authoritie to conclude so farre, but that England should hold Calis still, as in demesne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purposed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they should ceasse from that demand and speake no more thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two cousins of England answer so roundlie, they spake no more of that matter.

The dukes of Lancaster & Glocester sent to Fráce to treat of a peace.

The French comissioners would haue Calis raced to the ground.

Then the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester demanded to haue restitution of all such lands as had béene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commissioners, and also to haue fullie paid the summe of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France: and this the English lawiers prooued to stand with equitie and reason. But neuerthelesse, the lords and chancellor of France argued to the contrarie, and so agrée they could not, insomuch as the Frenchmen required, that if the Englishmen meant to haue anie conclusion of peace, they should draw to some neerer points. At length, the foure dukes tooke order, that all their demands on either side should be set downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeablie, that they might be regarded at length, and such as should be found vnreasonable, to be raced or reformed. After they had communed togither diuerse times, and remained there fiftéene daies, they appointed to aduertise the two kings of their whole dooings, and after nine daies space to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeuile, where the French king then laie: and the English dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Glocester was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the conclusion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaster, for he rather desired to haue had warre than any peace, except such a one as should be greatlie to the aduantage and honour of the realme of England: and therefore the commons of England vnderstanding his disposition, agreed that he should be sent, rather than anie other. For where in times past the Englishmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and esquires, who had by the same maintcined their estate, they could not giue their willing consents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reason of the wars, to profit themselues, as in times past they had doone. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and so likewise was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaster. But the Frenchmen were so subtill, and vsed so manie darke and coloured words, that the Englishmen had much a doo to vnderstand them: which offended much the duke of Glocester. But neuerthelesse, at the daie prefixed, these foure dukes met againe at Ealingham, and with the French lords came the king of Armenie, newlie returned into France foorth of Grecia, for into his owne countrie he durst not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the strong towne of Conich, which the Genowaies held, excepted.

The demand of the English comissioners.

Order taken that the demands on either side should be set downe in writing, the better to be considered of.

The English gentlemen maintained by the French warres.

The subtiltie of the French men.

The commissioners méet againe.

The

The king of Armenie would gladlie that peace might haue béene established betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the sooner some aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them associat as assistants, had diligentlie perused and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not passe nor seale to anie, till all darke and obscure words were cléerelie declared, opened, and made perfect, so that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwithstanding, as Froissard saith, a truce for foure yeares space, vpon certeine articles was agreed to be kept as well by sea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agreement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former disease of frensie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occasion of his sicknesse, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and make perfect. The same time, sir Thomas Persie the yoonger was made lord warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

The king of Armenie.

Obscure and doubtfull words to be opened.

A truce for foure yeares betweene England and France.

In September, much hurt was doone, thorough excéeding great thunder, lightening, and tempests, which chanced in manie parts of England, but speciallie in Cambridgeshire, where manie houses were burned, with no small quantitie of corne. Great inundations and flouds of water followed shortlie after in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew wals of houses, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Essex also in September, great mortalitie fell by pestilence amongst the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Chierburgh was restored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had ingaged it to the king of England, for two thousand markes. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, which began in the octaues of Hilarie. ¶ The king purposing to go ouer into Ireland, required a subsidie, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furnishing foorth of that iournie, if he went himselfe; if he went not, yet they agréed to giue to him the moitie of a tenth. In time of this parlement, there appeared great euill will to remaine betwixt the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell, for the duke imposed to the earle, that about the Exaltation of the crosse, he laie with a companie of armed men in the castell of Holt by Chester, the same time that the countrie there rose against the duke, with their capteine Nicholas Clifton, and his complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to haue aided against him: but this the earle flatlie denied, and with probable reasons so excused himselfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

An. Reg. 17.

Great tempests.

Much hurt doone by great flouds in Suffolke.

A great plage in Essex.

1394.

Variance betwéene the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell.

This yeare on Whitsundaie being the seauenth of Iune, quéene Anne departed this life, to the great greefe of hir husband king Richard, who loued hir intirelie. She deceassed at Shene, and was buried at Westminster, vpon the south side of saint Edwards shrine. The king tooke such a conceit with the house of Shene, where she departed this life, that he caused the buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, whereas the former kings of this land, being wearie of the citie, vsed customablie thither to resort, as to a place of pleasure, and seruing highlie to their recreation. Thus the king, the duke of Lancaster, and his sonne the earle of Derbie, were widowers, all in one season: for the ladie Constance duchesse of Lancaster daughter to Peter king of Spaine, deceassed the last yeare, whilest hir husband the duke of Lancaster was at the treatie in France: at the same time also deceassed the countesse of Derbie, wife to the lord Henrie earle of Derbie. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare 1394, Isabell duchesse of Yorke departed this life, that was halfe sister to the duchesse of Lancaster, being borne of one mother. She was buried at Langleie.

The death of quéene Anne.

The K. defaceth the house of Shene bicause the quéene died there.

This yeare in August, was a proclamation set foorth, that all Irishmen should auoid this land, and returne home into their owne countrie, before the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, on paine of death. The occasion of which proclamation was, for that such multitudes of Irishmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the countries in Ireland, subiect to England, were in manner left void of people, so that the

An. Reg. 18.

A proclamation that all Irishmen should returne into their countrie.

The English pale in Ireland

almost left desolate.

enimies spoiled and wasted those countries at their pleasure, finding few or none to withstand them. And where king Edward the third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges, with his exchcker, for the good administration of iustice and politike gouernement to be vsed there, he receiued from thence yearelie in reuenues and profits, comming to his owne cofers, the sum of thirtie thousand pounds: the king now laid foorth no lesse a summe to repell the enimies, which by absence of those that were come ouer hither, could not otherwise be resisted, sith the power of the rebels was so increased, and the force of the countries subiect, thorough lacke of the former inhabitants, so diminished.

The yearelie reuenues of Ireland in K. Edward the third his daies.

¶ About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the king set forward to passe into Ireland, hauing made such preparation for that iournie, as the like for Ireland had not beene heard of at anie time before. There went out with him the duke of Glocester, the earles of March, Notingham, and Rutland, the lord Thomas Persie lord steward, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie.

The duke of Lancaster, that in the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne had beene created by authoritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about this present time sent thither, with fiue hundred men of armes, & a thousand archers, to take possession of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by his letters patents thereof had, made, and confirmed with his seale, in presence of the most part of all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all that countrie to the said duke and his heires for euer in as large manner and forme, as his father king Edward the third, or anie other kings of England, or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and as king Richard at that season had & held the same, the homage alwaies yet reserued to the kings of England for euer. But all this notwithstanding, at his comming thither, so farre were the Gascoignes, and other people of those marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainelie told him, they would not atturne to him, nor be vnder his iurisdiction at anie hand, although he had brought ouer with him commissioners sufficientlie authorised, both to discharge them of their former allegiance to the king, and to inuest him in possession of that duchie, in maner and forme as before is said.

The duke of Lancaster saileth into Aquitaine with an armie.

The Gascoignes flatlie refuse to accept the duke of Lancaster for their soueraigne.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye shall vnderstand, that when all his prouision and roiall armie was readie, about Michaelmas, he tooke the sea, and landed at Waterford the second of October, and so remained in Ireland all that winter: his people were lodged abroad in the countrie, and lay so warilie as they might. For although the Irishmen durst not attempt anie exploit openlie against the Englishmen, after the kings arriuall with so puissant an armie, yet they would steale sometimes vpon them, where they espied anie aduantage, and disquiet them in their lodgings. But when the English still preuailed, diuerse of the greatest princes among them came in, and submitted themselues. Amongst other, foure kings are mentioned, as the great Onell king of Meth, Brine of Thomond king of Thomond, Arthur Macmur king of Lineister, and Conhur king of Cheueno and Darpe: these kings were courteouslie interteined and much made of by king Richard, who kept his Christmas this yeare at Dubline. And after that feast was ended, he held a parlement there, to the which all his subiects of Ireland, vnto whom it apperteined, resorted, as well those that had continued vnder the English gouernement aforetime, as those that were latelie yéelded.

K. Richard passeth ouer into Ireland with a mightie armie.

Froissard. Foure Irish kings submit themselues to K. Richard. 1395.

A parlement holden in Ireland.

Also at the same time, after the octaues of the Epiphanie, the duke of Yorke, lord warden of England, now in the kings absence, caused a parlement to be called at Westminster, to the which was sent foorth of Ireland the duke of Glocester, that he might declare to the commons the kings necessitie, to haue some grant of monie to supplie his want, hauing spent no small quantitie of treasure in that iournie made into Ireland. The dukes words were so well heard and beléeued, that a whole tenth was granted by the clergie, and a fiftéenth by the laitie; but not without protestation, that those paiements were granted of a meere good will, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue his businesse go forwards, which bicause it required great expenses, both for that his owne

A parlement at Westminster, king Richard being in Ireland.

roiall

roiall person was abiding in Ireland about the subduing of the rebels, as also bicause his retinue and power could not be mainteined without excessiue charges; they seemed to be no lesse desirous to haue the same ended, than they which were dailie agents in the same, not without feare of misfortune likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people of such barbarous and rebellious behauiour.

The Wickleuists wrote against the cleargie.

At the same time, those that followed Wickliffes opinions, set vp publikelie on the church doore of Paules in London, and the church doores of Westminster, certeine writings, conteining accusations of the clergie, and conclusions, such as had not commonlie béene heard, against ecclesiasticall persons, and the vse of the sacraments, as the church then mainteined. They were incouraged thus to doo, as it was said, by some noble men, and knights of great worship, as sir Richard Sturrie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir Thomas Latimer, sir Iohn Montacute, & others, who comforted & pricked forward those kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious persons, by all waies they might. Herevpon, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of London, and certeine other as messengers from the whole state of the clergie, passed ouer into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grieuous complaint, as well against those that had framed and set foorth such writings, as against them that mainteined them in their dooings, and therefore besought him with spéed to returne home into England, there to take such order, for the restreining of those misordered persons, as vnto the reliefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of susteining irrecouerable losse and damage, if good reformation were not the sooner had. King Richard hearing these things, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but first on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Onell, Brine of Thomond, Arthur of Mackmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewise sir Thomas Orphen, sir Ioatas Pado, and his coosine sir Iohn Pado.

The clergie complaine to the king of the Wickleuists, and their fauorers.

K. Richard knighteth the foure Irish kings, and others. *Froissard.*

This doone, and now after that they were set inquiet in that countrie (the rebels not being so hardie as to stirre, whilest such a mightie armie was there readie at hand to assaile them) the king about Easter came backe into England without anie more adoo, so that the gaine was thought nothing to counteruaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iournie, foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand archers, as Froissard saith he was informed by an English esquier that had béene in that iournie. The king at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbishop of Yorke and the bishop of London had exhibited to him, against those that were called Lollards, and heretiks, wherevpon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour such kind of men, threatning terriblie, if from thence foorth they should in anie wise comfort and relieue them. He caused sir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he should not mainteine from that day forward anie such erronious opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderstand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he should die for it a most shamefull death.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland.

K. Richards dealings against the fauorers of the Wickleuists.

¶ By the report of H. Knighton it should séeme, that this sect (as he calleth them) mightilie increased, to the no small offense of the lords temporall and spirituall, wherevpon after sundrie complaints, and serious solicitations for the supplanting of them, commissions were granted, and the tenure of them (as it should séeme) though not absolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore listen what mine author saith, whose addition, though by his owne supputation of yeares it require to be placed elsewhere; yet for the consonancie of the matter, and because writers varie greatlie in their accounts of time, I haue here inserted the same, as in a verie conuenient place of the historie.

The noblemen and the commons (saith Henrie Knighton) séeing the ship of the church, with these & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all sides from day to day with ceasselesse violence and force to be shaken; besought the king in the parlement,

Abr. Fl. out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

parlement, that redresse might be had herof; lest the arke of the faith of all the church by such violences and inforcements giuen in those daies, should through want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith should by little and little be drawne into a distresse of grace and losse of honor. Wherefore the king vsing the sound counsell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbishop of Canturburie, & the rest of the bishops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their diocesse, according to the canon lawes, more seuerelie and zealouslie; to correct the offendors, to examine their English books more fullie and substantiallie, to root out errors with all their indeuors, to bring the people into an vnitie of the right faith, to weed vp out of the church all netles, thistles, and brambles wherewith she is disgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roses; and should cause an establishment of his roiall power more boldlie and stoutlie. And the king foorthwith commanded, without delaie, that his letters patents should be sent abroad into all and euerie shire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie shire certeine searchers for such books and their fauourers; charging them to applie a speedie remedie vnto these disorders, and to lay vp the rebels in the verie next gaoles, till the king sent vnto them. But verie slow execution or none at all followed, because the houre of correction was not yet come. [Howbeit, to prepare and make an entrance to the purposed reformation and correction of those enormities, he gaue out a commission against the Wickleuists, a copie whereof followeth both in Latine and English. Whereby the world may see how the springing church of Christ was hated and abhorred of the antichristian rout.]

Copia regiæ commissionis aduersus Lollardos & Lollardorum sequaces.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, dilectis sibi magistro Thomæ Brightwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leicestriæ, & Gulielmo Chesulden præbendario præbendæ eiusdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus nostris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, salutem. Quia ex insinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quòd ex insana doctrina magistrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liston, & suorum sequaciū, quàm plures libri, libelli, schedulæ, & quaterni, hæresibus & erroribus manifestis in fidei catholicæ læsionem, & sanæ doctrinæ derogationem, expressè, & palàm, & notoriè redundantes, frequentiùs compilantur, publicantur, & conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quàm in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefariæ sanæ doctrinæ contrariantes, oriuntur, crescunt, & manutenentur, ac prædicantur, in fidei orthodoxæ eneruationem, ecclesiæ sanctæ subuersionem, & ex consequenti (quod absit) quàm plurium incredulitatem, eorúmq; animarum periculum manifestum. Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cuius sumus & esse volumus defensores in omnibus (vt tenemur) moti salubriter & inducti, nolentes huiusmodi hæreses aut errores infra terminos nostræ potestatis, quatenùs poterimus, oriri, seu quomodolibet pullulare: assignamus vos coniunctim & diuisim, ad omnes & singulos libros, libellos schedulas, & quaternos huiusmodi doctrinā dictorū Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & sociorum sequacium, seu opinionum aliquam minùs sanam continentes, vbicúnq;, & in quorumcúnq; manibus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inuestigandum, capiendum, & arrestandum, & penes concilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibili deferri faciendum, vt tunc ibidem de ijsdem ordinare valeamus, prout de auisamento concilij nostri prædicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiam ad proclamandum, & ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscúnq; status, gradus, seu conditionis fuerit, sub pœna imprisionamenti & forisfacturationum, quæ nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manutenere, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clàm vel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere vel vendere præsumat quouis modo; sed

omnes & singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos secum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum nostrum vobis reddat, seu reddi faciat indilatè. Et ad omnes illos, quos post proclamationem & inhibitionem prædictis contrarium inueneritis facientes, & huiusmodi nefarias opiniones manutentes, coràm vobis præfato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cùm inde legitimè eiicti fuerint, ministris proximísq; prisonis committendum, in ijsdem detinendum, quoúsque à suis erroribus, hæresibus, & prauis opinionibus resipiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorúndem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd dicta præmissa cum omni diligentia & efficacia intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem tàm vniuersis & singulis viris ecclesiasticis, quàm vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, ministris, & alijs fidelibus & subditis nostris, tàm infra libertates quàm extra tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quòd vobis, & cuilibet vestrum, in præmissis faciendis assistentes sint, consulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Maij, anno regni nostri vndecimo.

A copie of the kings commission against the Lollards or Wickleuists and their followers: Englished by A. F.

RICHARD by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maister Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leicester, and to William Chesulden prebendarie of the prebend of the same college; and to our beloued and trustie subiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham; greeting. For so much as we are certeinelie informed by credible report, that by the vnsound doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Liston, and their followers, many bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets expresselie, euidentlie, and notoriouslie swarming with manifest heresies and errors to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the abolishment of sound doctrine, are commonlie compiled, published, and written, as well in English as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrarie to sound doctrine, doo spring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and consequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifest danger of their soules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that such heresies or errors within the limits of our iurisdiction, so far as we are able, should grow, or by any meanes spring vp: doo assigne you iointlie and seuerallie, all and singular the books, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets conteining such doctrine of the said Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, wheresoeuer, & in whose hands, possession, or keeping soeuer they shalbe found within the liberties or without; them to search, take, arrest, and cause to be brought before our councell with all possible speed, that then and there we may take order for the same accordinglie, as by the aduise of our foresaid councell we shall see requisite to be doone. And also to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatsoeuer state, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of imprisonment and forfeitures, which to vs he shall forfeit, any of these wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obstinatlie to defend, priuilie or openlie, or any of these bookes, libels, scheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cause to be written; but all and euerie such booke and bookes, libels, scheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cause to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you shall find dooing contrarie to the premisses, and such lewd opinions mainteining, to call foorth before you the said Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they

they shalbe lawfullie conuinced therein, to commit them to the next officers & prisons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, heresies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance shall otherwise thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the said premisses, with all diligence and effect, and the same doo and execute in forme aforesaid. We doo also giue in streict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as shiriffes, maiors, bailiffes, officers, and other our trustie subiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of these presents, to assist, counsell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the premisses, as it is conuenient. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the twentie third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

Archbishop of Canturburies visitatiõ.

¶ About this time, or (as Henrie Knighton saith) in the yeare 1392, maister William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Denshire visited the diocesse of Lincolne, and on the feast of saint Faith the virgine he visited maister Iohn Bokingham bishop of Lincolne in the cathedrall church of Lincolne, with the chapter, and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leicester abbeie in visitation, the sundaie before the feast of All saints, where he abode all the tuesdaie, and on the eeue also of All saints being mondaie, calling togither all the canons of the said monasterie, with the chaplines of his owne chappell, euerie of them hauing in their hands burning candels. The same archbishop confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wickleuists, with their fauourers, which either now mainteined or caused to be mainteined, or hereafter did mainteine or should mainteine the errours and opinions of master Iohn Wickliffe, in the diocesse of Lincolne. On the morrow next after All saints, the same bishop flashed out his sentence of excommunication like lightning in open sight, with a crosse set vpright, with candels burning bright, and with bels roong alowd, and namelie against those of Leicester towne that had too too much defiled and infected the said towne and countrie. The archbishop departing from thence, went to saint Peters church, to a certeine anchoresse named Matildis there kept as in a closet, whom he reprouing about the foresaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir answers scarse aduisedlie made, cited hir that she should appeare before him, on the sundaie next insuing, in saint Iames his abbeie at Northampton, to answer vnto the foresaid erronious and prophane points. Now she appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errours, and hauing penance inioined hir, she went awaie reformed. But till the second day before the feast of saint Lucie, she kept hir selfe out of hir closet, and then entred into the same againe. Other Lollards also were cited, and appeared at Oxford, and in other places, as the archbishop had commanded them: who renouncing their superstitious errours, and forswearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Also one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leicester, clothed in linnen [or in a white sheet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of saint Katharine, bicause the said Smith had sometimes cut in peeces and burned an image of saint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

Wickleuists excommunicated.

A ridiculous penance.

In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome manie daies she instructed and trained vp to celebrat the masse, and she set vp an altar in hir priuie or secret chamber with all the ornaments therevnto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrate the masse. Now when she came to the words of the sacrament, she cast hir selfe flat on hir face before the altar, & * made not the sacrament; but rising vp, dispatched the rest of the masse euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and dooing hir deuotion. This errour a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that errour,

* For the papists saie that the sacrificing prêest is the maker of his maker, namelie God.

errour, and compelled the yoong woman openlie to shew the priestlie shauing of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald. The bishop sighing and sorrieng that such an errour should happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing inioined them penance, dispatched and sent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be medling in matters impertinent to their degrée, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their priuat conuenticles of such things as wherabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to vndertake some publike peece of seruice incident to the ministerie: whose ouer-sawcie rashnesse being bolstered and borne vp with abbettors not a few, whether it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected, I wot not; but of the vniformed presbiterie I am sure it is lamented.]

Boldnesse of women in ecclesiasticale matters taxed.

A certeine thing appeared in the likenesse of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one fashion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerse places all Nouember and December. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would stand still when he stood still. To some it appeared in the likenesse of a turning whéele burning; to othersome round in the likenesse of a barrell, flashing out flames of fier at the head; to othersome in the likenesse of a long burning lance; and so to diuerse folks at diuerse times and seasons it shewed it selfe in diuerse formes and fashions a great part of winter, speciallie in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; and when manie went togither, it approched not neere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of wax made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to speake, vttered these words following at thrée times, and then ceased to speake any more. These be the words; first, The head shall be cut off; secondlie, The head shall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The feet shall be lift vp aloft aboue the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the mercilesse parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought wonders. In Aprill there was séene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreadfull sight as it made manie a one amazed, so it ministred occasion of mistrust to the minds of the maruellors, that some great mischéefe was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognostication. In this kings daies (as saith Thomas Walsingham) whose report, bicause I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents importing some strange euents, I am the more bold to interlace) about the troublesome time when discord sprang betwéene the king and his youthlie companions with the duke of Lancaster, in the moneth of Maie, there happened a coniunction of the two greatest planets, namelie Iupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the processe of this historie may appeare.

A fierie apparition of diuerse likenesses.

A head of wax wrought by necromancie speaketh.

A fierie dragon séene in diuers places.

Abr. Fl. out of *Thom. Walsin.* in *Rich.* 2. pag. 341.

A coniunctiō of Iupiter & Saturne.

The French king about this time summoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and search out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in S. Peters chaire, for the schisme and diuision betwéene the two popes was not yet ended. The French clergie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & cōfirmed their script or writing with the vniuersitie seale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king sent ouer to Richard king of England, that touching these doubts and difficulties he with the councell of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard summoned a conuocation at Oxford of the lerneder diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Vrbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuersitie seale of Oxford, & sent it ouer sea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was doone further in the premisses, both popes, vnder the shrowd or shelter of schisme preuailing betwéene them, iustifieng their title & interest. [This is the last record found in Henrie Knighton, who for that which he hath doone touching chronographie, hath written (the blindnesse of the time wherein

A schisme betwéene two popes for the dignitie of S. Peters chaire.

he liued, and his order considered) though not so well as the best, yet not so ill as the woorst: and whose collections, if they were laid togither, would afford a large augmentation to maters of chronicle: but O spite that so abruptlie he breaketh off, and continueth his annales no further than this yeare, 1395.]

The Danes rob the English merchãts on the seas.

This yeere, the Danes that laie rouing on the seas did much hurt to the English merchants, taking and robbing manie English ships, and when the hauen townes alongst the coasts of Northfolke, made foorth a number of ships, and ventured to fight with those pirats, they were vanquished by the Danes, so that manie were slaine, and manie taken prisoners, which were constreined to paie great ransoms. The enimies also found in ransacking the English ships, twentie thousand pounds, which the English merchants had aboord with them to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to go. ¶ In the same yeare, William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie, hauing more regard to his owne priuat commoditie, than to the discommoditie of others, purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was authorised to leauie through his whole prouince foure pence of the pound of ecclesiasticall promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cause being shewed or pretended, why he ought so to doo; and to see the execution of this bull put in practise, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London, were named and appointed.

Great prises woone by the Danish pirats of the Englishmen.

Manie that feared the censures of such high executions, chose rather to paie the monie foorthwith, than to go to the law, and be compelled happilie, mauger their good willes. Some there were that appealed to the sée of Rome, meaning to defend their cause and to procure that so vnlawfull an exaction might be reuoked. Speciallie, the prebendaries of Lincolne stood most stiffelie against those bishops, but the death of the archbishop that chanced shortlie after, made an end of those so passing great troubles. This yeare, Iohn Waltham bishop of Salisburie, and lord treasuror of England departed this life, and by king Richard his appointment had the honor to haue his bodie interred at Westminster amongst the kings. After this decease, Roger Walden that before was secretarie to the king, and treasuror of Calis, was now made lord treasuror.

Waltham bishop of Salisburie buried at Westminster amongst the kings.

An. Reg. 19.

Yée haue heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert Véer duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in November, caused his corps being imbalmed, to be conueied into England, and so to the priorie of Colnie in Essex, appointing him to be laid in a coffine of cypresse, and to be adorned with princelie garments, hauing a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich rings on his fingers. And to shew what loue and affection he bare vnto him in his life time, the king caused the coffine to be opened, that he might behold his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he honored his funerall exequies with his presence, accompanied with the countesse of Oxenford, mother to the said duke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and manie other bishops, abbats, and priors: but of noble men there were verie few, for they had not yet digested the enuie and hatred which they had conceiued against him.

The duke of Irelãds corps conueied from Louaine into England, and there roiallie interred.

Froissard.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaster was in Gascoigne, treating with the lords of the countrie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which vtterlie refused to receiue him otherwise than as a lieutenant or substitute to the king of England, and in the end addressed messengers into England, to signifie to the king, that they had beene accustomed to be gouerned by kings, and meant not now to become subiects to anie other, contrarie to all reason, sith the king could not (sauing his oth) alien them from the crowne. The duke of Lancaster vsed all waies he might deuise, how to win their good wils, and had sent also certeine of his trustie councellors, ouer hither into England, as sir William Perreer, sir Peter Clifton, and two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maister Iohn Huech, and the other maister Iohn Richards a canon of Leicester, to plead and sollicit his cause.

The Gascoignes send vnto K. Rich. signifieng vnto him, that they ought not to be diuided from the crowne.

But to be breefe, such reasons were shewed, and such matter vnfolded by the Gascoignes, whie they ought not be separated from the crowne of England, that finallie (notwithstanding

withstanding the duke of Glocester, and certeine other were against them) it was decréed, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine should remaine still in demesne of the crowne of England, least that by this transporting thereof, it might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof should fall into the hands of some stranger, and enimie to the English nation, so that then the homage and souereigntie might perhaps be lost for euer. Indeed, the duke of Glocester, being a prince of an high mind, & loth to haue the duke of Lancaster at home, being so highlie in the kings fauor, could haue béene well pleased, that he should haue enioied his gift, for that he thought thereby to haue borne all the rule about the king, for the duke of Yorke was a man rather coueting to liue in pleasure, than to deale with much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the realme.

The grant of the duchie of Aquitaine to the duke of Lancaster reuoked.

About the same time, or somewhat before, the king sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbishop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Marshall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenser, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twentie knights with fortie esquiers. The cause of their going ouer, was to intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the ladie Isabell, daughter to the French king, she being as then not past eight yeares of age, which before had beene promised vnto the duke of Britaines sonne: but in consideration of the great benefit that was likelie to insue by this communication and aliancé with England, there was a meane found to vndoo that knot, though not presentlie. These English lords, at their comming to Paris, were ioifullie receiued, and so courteouslie interteined, banketted, feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expenses were borne by the French king, and when they should depart, they receiued for answer of their message, verie comfortable words, and so with hope to haue their matter sped, they returned.

Ambassadors sent into France to treat a marriage betwéene king Richard & the French K. daughter.

But now when the duke of Lancaster had, by laieng foorth an inestimable masse of treasure purchased in a manner the good wils of them of Aquitaine, and compassed his whole desire, he was suddenlie countermanded home by the king, and so to satisfie the kings pleasure, he returned into England, and comming to the king at Langleie, where he held his Christmasse, was receiued with more honor than loue, as was thought; wherevpon he rode in all hast that might be to Lincolne, where Katharine Swinford as then laie, whom shortlie after the Epiphanie, he tooke to wife. This woman was borne in Heinault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called sir Paou de Ruet: she was brought vp in hir youth, in the duke of Lancasters house, and attended on his first wife the duchesse Blanch of Lancaster, and in the daies of his second wife the duchesse Constance, he kept the foresaid Katharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceassed. Before she was married, the duke had by hir three children, two sonnes and a daughter; one of the sons was named Thomas de Beaufort, & the other Henrie, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine, prooued a good lawyer, and was after bishop of Winchester.

Thom. Walsi.

1396.

The duke of Lancaster marieth a ladie of a meane estate, whome he had kept as his concubine.

For the loue that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother the said Katharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men maruelled much, considering hir meane estate was farre vnmeet to match with his highnesse, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duches of Glocester, the countesses of Derbie, Arundell and others, descended of the blood roiall, greatlie disdéined, that she should be matched with the duke of Lancaster, and by that means be accompted second person in the realme, and preferred in roome before them, and therefore they said, that they would not come in anie place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wiues daies, should go and haue place before them. The duke of Glocester also, being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, misliked his brothers matching so meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough, and verelie, the ladie hir selfe was a woman of such bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie could not in the end but giue place to well deseruing. About this season, the doctrine of Iolin

Wickleuists increase.

Iohn Wickliffe still mightilie spred abroad héere in England. ¶ The schisme also still continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane; for one of their popes could no sooner be dead, but that they ordeined an other in his place.

In this eighteenth yeare also was a woonderfull tempest of wind in the months of Iulie and August, and also more speciallie in September, by violence whereof, in sundrie places of this realme, great and woonderfull hurt was doone, both in churches and houses. ¶ The ambassadors that had béene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage (as before yée haue heard) went thither againe, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were growne to certaine points and couenants of agreement, the earle marshall, by letters of procuration, married the ladie Isabell, in name of king Richard, so that from thencefoorth she was called quéene of England. Amongst other couenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beseeching him to assist the prelats against the Lollards* (as they tearmed them) whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he besought him to take order for the punishment of them, whom the prelats should denounce to be heretikes.

The earle marshall affieth ye French kings daughter, in ye name of king Richard.

An. Reg. 20.

A truce for 30 yeares betwéene England and France.

Tho. Walsin.

The popes letters to K. Rich. against ye Wickleuists.

At the same time, he sent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hands of his legats or nuncios purchased to be his chapleins, and accompting themselues thereby exempt from their order; so that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obserue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namelie the minors, that sought by all means they might deuise, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by such exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were segregated and diuided from the residue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentith yéare of his reigne, went ouer to Calis with his vncles the dukes of Yorke and Glocester, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgognie, and so they communed of the peace. There was no enimie to the conclusion thereof but the duke of Glocester, who shewed well by his words that he wished rather war than peace, in somuch as the king stood in doubt of him, least he would procure some rebellion against him by his subiects, whome he knew not to fauour greatlie this new aliance with France.

K. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

The king after the duke of Burgognie had talked with him throughlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England (leauing the ladies still at Calis) to open the couenants of the marriage and peace vnto his subiects, and after he had finished with that businesse, and vnderstood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vncles, of Lancaster and Glocester, and diuerse prelats and lords of the realme; and shortlie after came the French king to the bastide of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgognie, Berrie, Britaine and Burbon. There was set vp for the king of England a right faire and rich pauilion a little beyond Guisnes within the English pale; and another the like pauilion was pight vp also for the French king on this side Arde, within the French dominion; so that betwéene the said pauilions was the distance of thréescore & ten pases, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third pauilion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents sundrie times should méet and haue communication togither.

The maner of the interview betwéene king Richard and the French king.

Fabian.

The distance betwixt the two tents was beset on either side in time of the interview with knights armed with their swords in their hands; that is to say, on the one side stood foure hundred French knights in armor with swords in their hands, and on the other side foure hundred English knights armed with swords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with such noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine distance from the two first pauilions, were appointed to stand such companies of men as either of them by appointment had coue-

Froissard.

Fabian.

nanted

nanted to bring with them. The two kings before their méeting, receiued a solemne oth for assurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obserue the sacred lawes of amitie one toward an other, in that their interview, so as no damage, violence, molestation, arrest, disturbance, or other inconuenience should be practised by them, or their friends and subiects: and that if anie disorder rose through anie mishappe, arrogancie, or strife mooued by anie person, the same should be reformed, promising in the words of princes to assist one an other in suppressing, the malice of such as should presume to doo or attempt anie thing that might sound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that assemblie eight daies before, and seuen daies after. The oth of the two kings.

On the six and twentith of October, the king of England remooued from Calis toward the castell of Guisnes, and with him the duke of Berrie, who was sent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euen of Simon and Iude, the kings met, and the lords of France, to wit, the duke of Berrie, Burgogne, Orleans, and Burbon, the earle of Sauoie, the vicount of Meaux, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were sent to conduct the French king diuerse of the English lords, as the two dukes of Lancaster and Glocester, foure earles; to wit, of Derbie, Rutland, Notingham, and Northumberland. After the two kings were come togither into the tent for that purpose prepared, it was first accorded betwixt them, that in the same place where they thus met, should be builded of both their costs a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which should be called The chapell of our ladie of peace. On saturdaie being the feast daie of the apostles Simon and Iude, the kings talked togither of certeine articles touching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the same, they receiued either of them an oth vpon the holie Euangelists, to obserue and kéepe all the couenants accorded vpon. The chapell of our ladie of peace.

On the mondaie the French king came to the king of England his pauillion, and the same time was brought thither the yoong quéene Isabell daughter to the French king, who there deliuered hir vnto king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kissed hir, & gaue to hir father great thanks for that so honorable and gratious a gift, openlie protesting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue hir, that by such affinitie both the realmes might continue in quietnesse, and come to a good end and perfect conclusion of a perpetuall peace. The quéene was committed to the duchesses of Lancaster & Glocester, to the countesses of Huntington and Stafford, to the marchionesse of Dublin daughter to the lord Coucie, to the ladies of Namure, Poinings, and others: which with a noble traine of men and horsses, conueied hir to Calis: for there were twelue charrets full of ladies & gentlewomen. This doone, the kings came togither into the king of Englands pauillion to dinner. The French king sate on the right side of the hall, and was roiallie serued after the maner of his countrie, that is to saie, of all maner of meats appointed to be serued at the first course in one mightie large dish or platter, and likewise after the same sort at the second course. But the king of England was serued after the English manner. When the tables were taken vp, and that they had made an end of dinner, the kings kissed ech other, and tooke their horsses. The K. of England brought the French king on his waie, and at length they tooke leaue either of other, in shaking hands and imbracing on horssebacke. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Calis. The French K. giueth his daughter to king Richard in marriage. The order of the French kings seruice at table.

¶ We haue omitted (as things superfluous to speake of) all the honorable demenor and courteous interteinement vsed and shewed betwixt these princes and noble men on both parts, their sundrie feastings and banketings, what rich apparell, plate and other furniture of cupboords and tables, the princelie gifts and rich iewels which were presented from one to an other, striuing (as it might séeme) who should shew himselfe most bounteous and liberall: beside the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which amounted aboue the summe of ten thousand marks) the K. of England spending at this time (as the fame went) aboue thrée hundred thousand marks. After the kings returne to Calis on wednesdaie next insuing, being All The expenses of king Richard at this interview.

The mariage solemnized at Calis.

hallowes daie, in solemne wise he married the said ladie Isabell in the church of saint Nicholas, the archbishop of Canturburie dooing the office of the minister.

The thursdaie after, the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, came to Calis to sée the king & the quéene: and on the fridaie they tooke their leaue and departed, and rode to saint Omers to the French king. On the same daie in the morning the king and the queene tooke their ship, and had faire passage: for within thrée houres they arriued at Douer, from whence they sped them towards London, whereof the citizens being warned, made out certeine horssemen, well appointed in one liuerie of colour, with a deuise imbrodered on their sléeues, that euerie companie might be knowne from other, the which with the maior and his brethren, clothed in skarlet, met the king and quéene on Blackeheath, and there dooing their duties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maiesties till they came to Newington: where the king comanded the maior with his companie to returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that night at Kennington.

The maior of London and the citizens meete the K. & the quéene on Blackeheath.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirteenth of Nouember, the yoong quéene was conueied from thence with great pompe vnto the Tower, at which time there was such prease on London bridge, that by reason thereof, certeine persons were thrust to death: among the which the prior of Tiptrie, a place in Essex was one, and a worshipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The morrow after she was conueied to Westminster with all the honor that might be deuised, and finallie there crowned queene vpon sundaie being then the seauenth of Ianuarie. On the two and twentith of Ianuarie was a parlement begun at Westminster, in which the duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated the issue which he had begot of Katharine Swinfort, before she was his wife. ¶ At the same time Thomas Beaufort sonne to the said duke, by the said Katharine, was created earle of Summerset. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the same parlement, that iustices should not haue anie to sit with them as assistants. ¶ Moreouer there was a tenth granted by the clergie to be paied to the kings vse at two seuerall termes in that present yeare. In this yeare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the iustices foorth of Ireland, whom by constraint (as before ye haue heard) he was inforced to banish, thereby to satisfie the noble men that would haue it so.

Certeine thrust to death in the prease on London bridge. *John Stow.*

The quéens coronation. 1397.

The duke of Lancaster his bastards made legitimate by parlement.

The iustices reuoked out of exile.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne king Richard receiuing the summes of monie (for the which the strong towne of Brest was ingaged to him) by euill counsell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small sparke of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester, which kindled vp such a flame (as it was easie to doo) finding matter inough to féed vpon in both their brests, that finallie it could no longer be kept downe, nor by any meanes quenched. In the moneth of Februarie, the king holding a sumptuous feast at Westminster, many of the soldiors that were newlie come from Brest preased into the hall, and kept a roome together. Whom as the duke of Glocester beheld, and vnderstood what they were, to remember how that towne was giuen vp contrarie to his mind and pleasure, it grieued him not a little: and therefore as the king was entred into his chamber, and few about him, he could not forbeare, but brake foorth, and said to the king: "Sir, saw ye not those felowes that sate in such number this daie in the hall, at such a table?" The king answered that "he saw them," and asked the duke what they were? To whom the duke made this answer: "Sir, these be the soldiors that came from Brest, and haue nothing now to take to, nor yet know how to shift for their liuings, and the worse, for that (as I am informed) they haue béene euill paied." Then said the king; "That is against my will, for I would that they should haue their due wages; and if anie haue cause to complaine, let them shew the matter to the treasuror, and they shall be reasonablie answered:" and herewith he commanded that they should be appointed to foure certeine villages about London, there to remaine, and to haue meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they were paied.

Brest yéelded vp to the duke of Britaine.

Priuie grudge betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

The talke betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

Out of a French pamphlet.

Thus as they fell into reasoning of this matter, the duke said to the king: "Sir, your

grace ought to put your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by feats of war, yer you take vpon you to sell or deliuer anie towne or strong hold gotten with great aduenture by the manhood and policie of your noble progenitours." To this the king with changed countenance answered and said: "Vncle, how say you that?" And the duke boldlie without feare recited the same againe, not changing one word in anie better sort. Wherevpon the king being more chafed, replied; "Sir, thinke you that I am a merchant, or a verie foole, to sell my land? By saint Iohn Baptist no: but truth it is, that our coosine the duke of Britaine hath satisfied vs in all such summes of monie as our progenitors lent vnto him, and to his ancestors, vpon gage of the said towne of Brest, for the which reason and conscience will no lesse but that the towne should therevpon be to him restored." Vpon this multiplieng of woords in such presumptuous maner by the duke against the king, there kindeled such displeasure betwixt them, that it neuer ceassed to increase into flames, till the duke was brought to his end.

The earle of saint Paule his counsell to K. Richard.

The earle of saint Paule at his last comming into England to receiue king Richards oth for obseruing the truce, had conference with the king of diuerse matters. The king by waie of complaint, shewed vnto him how stiffe the duke of Glocester was in hindering all such matters as he would haue go forward, not onlie séeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realmes of England & France, but also procuring trouble at home, by stirring the people to rebellion. The earle of saint Paule hearing of this stout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it should be best to prouide in time against such mischéefs as might insue thereof, and that it was not to be suffered, that a subiect should behaue himselfe in such sort toward his prince. The king marking his woords, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counsell, and therevpon determined to suppresse both the duke and other of his complices, and tooke more diligent regard to the saiengs & dooings of the duke than before he had doone. And as it commeth to passe that those which suspect anie euill, doo euer déeme the woorst; so he tooke euerie thing in euill part, insomuch that he complained of the duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, in that he should stand against him in all things and seeke his destruction, the death of his counsellors, and ouerthrow of his realme. *Polydor.*

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke excuse the duke of Glocester to the king.

The two dukes of Lancaster and Yorke to deliuer the kings mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Glocester, as a man sometime rash in woords, would speake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the same proceeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king, for that it grieued him to vnderstand, that the confines of the English dominions should in anie wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his woords, sith he should take no hurt thereby. These persuasions quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the duke of Glocester had contriued (as the fame went amongst diuerse persons) to imprison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and Yorke, first reproueing the duke of Glocester for his too liberall talking, vttering vnaduisedlie woords that became not his person, and which to haue concealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to lash out whatsoeuer his vnstaied mind affoorded, which is a great fault (as in effect the poet noteth:

Eximia est virtus præstare silentia rebus,
At contra grauis est culpa tacenda loqui)

and perceuing that he set nothing by their woords, were in doubt least if they should remaine in the court still, he would vpon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outragious enterprise. Wherefore they thought best to depart for a time into their countries, that by their absence he might the sooner learne to staie himselfe for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to passe, that their departing from the court was the casting awaie of the duke of Glocester. For after that they were gone, there ceassed not such as bare him euill will, to procure the K. to dispatch him out of the way.

The

The duke in déed sore stomached the matter, that his counsell might not be followed in all things, and speciallie for that he saw (as he tooke it) that the king was misled by some persons that were about him, otherwise than stood with his honor: for reformation whereof, he conferred with the abbat of saint Albons, and the prior of Westminster.

A conspiracie betwéene the duke of Gloucester, and the abbat of saint Albons. Out of an old French pamphlet belonging to *John Stow.*

The abbat was both his coosine and godfather: and hauing on a daie both the duke and the prior at his house in saint Albons, after dinner he fell in talke with the duke and prior, and amongst other communication required of the prior to tell truth, whether he had anie vision the night before or not. The prior séemed loth to make a direct answer; but at length being earnestlie requested as well by the abbat as the duke, he declared that he had a vision in déed, which was "that the realme of England should be destroied through the misgouernement of king Richard." "By the virgine Marie," said the abbat, "I had the verie same vision." The duke herevpon disclosed vnto them all the secrets of his mind, and by their deuises presentlie contriued an assemblie of diuerse great lords of the realme at Arundell castell that daie fortnight, at what time he himselfe appointed to be there, with the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Marshall, and Warwike: also the archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of saint Albons, the prior of Westminster, with diuerse others.

An. Reg. 21. These estates being come to Arundell castell at the daie appointed, about the verie beginning of the one and twentith yeare of king Richards reigne, they sware ech to other to be assistant in all such matters as they should determine, and therewith receiued the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, who celebrated masse before them the morow after. Which doone, they withdrew into a chamber, and fell in

The purpose of the conspirators. counsell togither, where in the end they light vpon this point; to take king Richard, the dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, and commit them to prison, and all the other lords of the kings counsell they determined shuld be drawne and hanged. Such was their purpose which they ment to haue accomplished in August following. But the earle marshall that was lord deputie of Calis, and had married the earle of Arundels daughter, discouered all their counsell to the king, and the verie daie in which they should begin their enter-

The earle marshall discloseth the conspiracie. prise. The king bad the earle marshall take héed what he had said, for if it prooued not true, he should repent it: but the earle constantlie herevnto answered, that if the matter might be prooued otherwise, he was contented to be drawne and quartered.

The king herevpon went to London, where he dined at the house of his brother the earle of Huntington in the stréet behind All hallowes church vpon the banke of the riuer of Thames, which was a right faire and statelie house. After dinner, he gaue his councell to vnderstand all the matter; by whose aduise it was agreed, that the king should assemble foorthwith what power he might conuenientlie make of men of armes & archers, and streightwaies take horsse, accompanied with his brother the earle of Huntington, & the earle marshall. Herevpon at six of the clocke in the afternoone, the iust houre when they vsed to go to supper, the king mounted on horssebacke, and rode his waie; whereof the Londoners had great maruell. After that the king began to approch the dukes house at Plashie in Essex, where he then laie, he commanded his brother the

The earle of Rutland saith *R. Grafton.* earle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tell him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him.

The earle with ten persons in his companie amending his pase (for the king had made no great hast all the night before, as should appeare by his iournie) came to the house, and entering into the court, asked if the duke were at home, and vnderstanding by a gentlewoman that made him answer, that both the duke and duchesse were yet in bed, he besought hir to go to the duke, and to shew him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him, and foorthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding into the base court, his trumpets sounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the base court, where the king was, hauing none other apparell vpon him, but his shirt, and a cloke or a mantell cast about his

his shoulders, and with humble reuerence said that his grace was welcome, asking of the lords how it chanced they came so earlie, and sent him no word of their comming? The king herewith courteouslie requested him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horsse to be sadled, for that he must needs ride with him a little waie, and conferre with him of businesse. The duke went vp againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horsse, fell in talke with the duchesse and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerse other followed the duke into the hall, and there staied for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came foorth againe all togither into the base court, where the king was deliting with the duchesse in pleasant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might staie no longer, and so tooke his horsse againe, and the duke likewise. But shortlie after that the king and all his companie were gone foorth of the gate of the base court, he commanded the earle marshall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was doone according to the kings appointment. The duke of Glocester arrested.

¶ Here we find some variance in writers. For as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue séene) it should appeare, the king commanded first, that this duke should be conueied vnto the tower, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuerthelesse, the king shortlie after appointed, that he should be sent to Calis, as in the same pamphlet is also conteined. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehension, the earle marshall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being set aboord in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length dispatched out of life, either strangled or smoothered with pillowes (as some doo write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Glocester should stand to his answer openlie, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his iustices called William Kikill, an Irishman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Glocester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alledged against him, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, as after shall be specified. Iustice Kikill hearing what he confessed vpon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to doo, and therewith spéedilie returned to the king, and as it hath beene reported, he informed the king (whether trulie or not, I haue not to say) that the duke franklie confessed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Wherevpon the king sent vnto Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall and of Notingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie. Out of an old French pamphlet.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it doone with all expedition, wherby the king conceiued no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus as it séemed in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smoother him to death, or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that * noble man, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to warre than to peace: and in this greatlie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoeuer he wished to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not so soone as the brute ran of his death. But (as it should appeare by some authors) he remained aliue till the parlement that next insued, and then about the same time that the earle of Arundell suffered, he was dispatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected. * For he was son to a king, and vncle to a king.

The same euening that the king departed from London towards Plashie, to apprehend the duke of Glocester, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were sent with a great numb[illegible] of men of armes and archers to arrest the erle of Arundell; which was doone easilie inough, by reason that the said earle was trained with faire words at the kings The earle of Arundell apprehended.

hands,

hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwise he might haue béene able to haue saued himselfe, and deliuered his fréends. The earle of Warwike was taken, and committed to the tower the same day that the king had willed him to dinner, and shewed him verie good countenance. There were also apprehended and committed to the tower the same time, the lord Iohn Cobham, and sir Iohn Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was sent to the Ile of Wight, there to remaine as prisoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined so to prouide, that they should be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of some commotion that might arise amongst the commons, he caused it by open proclamation to be signified, that these noblemen were not apprehended for any offense committed long agone, but for new trespasses against the king, as in the next parlement should be manifestlie declared and prooued.

The names of the appellants.

Shortlie after, he procured them to be indicted at Notingham, suborning such as should appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Summerset, Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie, Thomas lord Spenser, and the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing what might be attempted against him by those that fauoured these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keepe watch and ward about his person. They were about two thousand archers, paid wéekelie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little trust in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, and in the earle of Salisburie: in these onelie he reposed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

A gard of Cheshire men about the king.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beside them of whom we haue spoken, were apprehended and put in sundrie prisons. The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September, and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arraie: for it was not knowen how the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke would take the death of their brother, nor how other péeres of the realme would take the apprehension and imprisonment of their kinsemen, the earls of Arundell and Warwike, and of the other prisoners. Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenlie made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the matter, and began both to be sorowfull for his death, and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw how the king (abused by the counsell of euill men) absteined not from such an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater misorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast, great numbers of their seruants, fréends, and tenants, and comming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right sorie for the death of the duke of Glocester, who had euer sought their fauour, in somuch that now they would haue béene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in seeking reuenge of so noble a mans death, procured and brought to passe without law or reason, as the common brute then walked; although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaie.

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parlemẽt.

Polydor.

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke assemble their powers to resist the kings dealings.

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they shuld by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death, other thought it méet that the earles Marshall and Huntington, and certeine others, as chéefe authours of all the mischeefe should be pursued and punished for their demerites, hauing trained vp the king in vice and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their displeasure was somewhat asswaged) determined to couer the stings of their griefes for a time, and if the king would amend his maners, to forget also the iniuries past. In the meane time the king laie at Eltham, and had got about him a great power (namelie of those archers, which he had sent for out of Cheshire, in whome he put a singular trust more than in any other.)

Caxton. Fabian. Polydor.

There

There went messengers betwixt him and the dukes, which being men of honour did their indeuour to appease both parties. The king discharged himselfe of blame for the duke of Glocesters death, considering that he had gone about to breake the truce, which he had taken with France, and also stirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further had sought the destruction and losse of his life, that was his souereigne lord and lawfull king. Contrarilie, the dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfullie put to death, hauing doone nothing worthie of death. At length, by the intercession and meanes of those noble men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, & the king promised from thencefoorth to doo nothing but by the assent of the dukes: but he kept small promise in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

The king and the dukes reconciled.

When the time came, that the parlement should be holden at Westminster, according to the tenour of the summons, the lords repaired thither, furnished with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the earle of Derbie, the earle Marshall, the earle of Rutland, the lord Spenser, the earle of Northumberland, with his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, and the lord Thomas Persie the said earles brother, also the lord Scroope treasuror of England, & diuerse other. All the which earles and lords brought with them a great & strong power, euerie of them in their best araie, as it were to strengthen the king against his enimies. The dukes of Lancaster and Yorke were likewise there, giuing their attendance on the king with like furniture of men of armes & archers. There was not halfe lodging sufficient within the citie & suburbes of London for such cõpanies of men as the lords brought with them to this parlement, called the great parlement: in somuch that they were constreined to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue miles on ech side the citie.

Caxton.

The great parlement.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king greatlie complained of the misdemeanour of the péeres and lords of his realme, as well for the things doone against his will and pleasure, whiles he was yoong, as for the streit dealing, which they had shewed towards the quéene, who was thrée houres at one time on hir knées before the earle of Arundell, for one of hir esquiers, named Iohn Caluerlie, who neuerthelesse had his head smit frõ his shoulders, & all the answer that she could get, was this: "Madame, praie for yourselfe, and your husband, for that is best, and let this sute alone." Those that set foorth the kings greeuances, as prolocutors in this parlement were these: Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, and Thomas Gréene. The king had caused a large house of timber to be made within the palace at Westminster, which he was called an hall, couered aboue head with tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might see through it. This house was of so great a compasse, that scarse it might stand within the roome of the palace. In this house was made an high throne for the king, and a large place for all estates besides to sit in. There were places also made for the appellants to stand on the one side, and the defendants on the other, and a like roome was made behind for the knights and burgesses of the parlement. There was a place deuised for the speaker, named sir Iohn Bushie, a knight of Lincolneshire, accompted to be an excéeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond measure.

The kings greeuances opened in this parlement.

Tho. Walsing. Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, Thomas Gréene.

A new house made within the palace of Westminster for the areignment of the lords indicted.

Additions to *Polychron.*

Sir Iohn Bushie speaker.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his roome, the cause of assembling that parlement was shewed, as that the king had called it for reformation of diuerse transgressions and oppressions committed against the peace of his land by the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and others. Then sir Iohn Bushie stept foorth, and made request on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it might please the kings highnesse for their heinous acts attempted against his lawes and roiall maiestie, to appoint them punishment according to their deseruings, and speciallie to the archbishop of Canturburie (who then sat next the king) whome he accused of high treason, for that he had euill counselled his maiestie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke traitor.

The archbishop of Canturburie sitting in parlement: is accused of treason by the speaker.

When the archbishop began to answer in his owne defense, the king willed him to sit downe.

downe againe and to hold his peace, for all should be well. Herewith sir Iohn Bushie besought the king, that the archbishop should not be admitted to make his answer, which if he did, by reason of his great wit and good vtterance, he feared least he should lead men awaie to beléeue him; so the archbishop might be heard no further. Sir Iohn Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names, as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince being desirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Impudent flatterie.

Thus when the archbishop was constreined to keepe silence, sir Iohn Bushie procéeded in his purpose, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to wit, the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, should be reuoked by consent of all the estates now in parlement assembled. The king also for his part protested, that those pardons were not voluntarilie granted by him, but rather extorted by compulsion, and therefore he besought them that euerie man would shew foorth their opinions what they thought thereof. There were two other persons of great credit with the king, besides sir Iohn Bushie, that were, as before yee haue heard, verie earnest to haue those charters of pardon reuoked and made void, to wit, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Gréene.

Tho. Walsi.

But bicause this matter séemed to require good deliberation, it was first put to the bishops, who with small adoo gaue sentence, that the said charters were reuocable, and might well inough be called in: yet the archbishop of Canturburie in his answer herevnto said, that the king from whome those pardons came, was so high an estate, that he durst not saie, that anie such charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithstanding, his brethren the bishops thought otherwise: not considering (saith Thomas Walsingham) that such reuoking of the kings charters of pardon should sound highlie to the kings dishonor: forsomuch as mercie and pardoning transgressions is accompted to be the confirmation and establishing of the kings seat and roiall estate.

The temporall lords perceiuing what the bishops had doone, did likewise giue their consents, to reuoke the same pardons: but the iudges with those that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finallie the bishops pretending a scrupulositie, as if they might not with safe consciences be present where iudgement of bloud should passe, they appointed a laie man to be their prolocutor to serue that turne. To conclude, at length all maner of charters of pardon were made void, for that the same séemed to impeach the suertie of the kings person. When sir Iohn Bushie and his associats had obteined that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the earle of Arundell had yet an other speciall charter of pardon for his owne person, which he had obteined after the first. And therefore sir Iohn Bushie earnestlie requested in name of the communaltie that the same might likewise be reuoked.

The charters of pardō granted to ye lords made void by parlement.

The question then was asked of the bishops, who declared themselues to be of the like opinion, touching that charter, as they were of the other. At that selfe time the archbishop of Canturburie absented himselfe from the parlement, in hope that the king would be his frend, and stand his verie good lord, for that he had promised nothing should be doone against him in the parlement whilest he was absent. But neuerthelesse, at the importunate sute of the said sir Iohn Bushie and others, the archbishop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and appointed to auoid the realme within six wéekes. And therewith the king sent secretlie to the pope for order that the archbishop might be remooued from his sée to some other, which sute was obteined, and Roger Walden lord treasuror was ordeined archbishop in his place, as after shall appeare.

Thom. Wals.

The archb. of Canturburie condemned to perpetuall banishment. Six daies saith Grafton.

On the feast daie of saint Matthew, Richard fitz Aleine, earle of Arundell, was brought foorth to sweare before the king and whole parlement to such articles as he was to be charged with. And as he stood at the bar, the lord Neuill was commanded by the

The earle of Arundell areigned.

duke

duke of Lancaster, which sat that daie as high steward of England, to take the hood from his necke, and the girdle from his waste. Then the duke of Lancaster declared vnto him, that for his manifold rebellions and treasons against the kings maiestie he had béene arrested, and hitherto kept in ward, and now at the petition of the lords and commons, he was called to answer such crimes as were there to be obiected against him, and so to purge himselfe, or else to suffer for his offenses, such punishment as law appointed. The duke of Lâcaster high Steward of England at this áreignement.

First, he charged him, for that he had traitorouslie rid in armour against the king in companie of the duke of Glocester, and of the earle of Warwike, to the breach of peace and disquieting of the realme. His answer herevnto was, that he did not this vpon anie euill meaning towards the kings person, but rather for the benefit of the king and relme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It was further demanded of him, whie he procured letters of pardon from the K. if he knew himselfe giltlesse? He answered, that he did not purchase them for anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but to staie the malicious speach of them that neither loued the king nor him. He was againe asked, whether he would denie that he had made anie such rode with the persons before named, and that in companie of them he entred not armed vnto the kings presence against the kings will and pleasure? To this he answered, that he could not denie it, but that he so did. The earle of Arundell his answers to the points of his indictmẽt.

Then the speaker sir Iohn Bushie, with open mouth, besought that iudgement might be had against such a traitour: "and your faithfull commons (said he to the king) aske and require that so it may be doone." The earle turning his head aside, quietlie said to him; "Not the kings faithfull cõmons require this, but thou, and what thou art I know." Then the eight appellants standing on the other side, cast their gloues to him, and in prosecuting their appeale (which alreadie had béene read) offered to fight with him man to man to iustifie the same. Then said the earle, "If I were at libertie, and that it might so stand with the pleasure of my souereigne, I would not refuse to prooue you all liers in this behalfe." Then spake the duke of Lancaster, saieng to him; "What haue you further to saie to the points before laid against you?" He answered, "that of the kings grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed." Then the duke told him, "that the pardon was reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parlement, and therefore willed him to make some other answer." The earle told him againe "that he had an other pardon vnder the kings great seale, granted him long after of the kings owne motion, which also he required to haue allowed." The duke told him, "that the same was likewise reuoked." After this, when the earle had nothing more to saie for himselfe, the duke pronounced iudgement against him, as in cases of treason is vsed. The earle of Arundell condemned.

But after he had made an end, and paused a little, he said: "The king our souereigne lord of his mercie and grace, bicause thou art of his bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, sauing the last, that is to saie, the beheading, and so thou shalt onelie lose thy head;" and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him to sée the execution doone six great lords, of whome there were thrée earles, Notingham (that had married his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters son) and Huntington, being mounted on great horsses, with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce bands of the Cheshire-men, furnished with axes, swords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and behind him, who onelie in this parlement had licence to beare weapon, as some haue written. When he should depart the palace, he desired that his hands might be losed to dispose such monie as he had in his pursse, betwixt that place and Charingcrosse. This was permitted, and so he gaue such monie as he had in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were still bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men that were about him, mooued him right earnestlie to acknowledge his treason against the king. But he in no wise would

so doo, but mainteined that he was neuer traitour in word or deed: and herewith perceiuing the earles of Notingham and Kent, that stood by with other noble men busie to further the execution (being as yée haue heard) of kin and alied to him, he spake to them, and said; "Trulie it would haue beséemed you rather to haue béene absent than here at this businesse. But the time will come yer it be long, when as manie shall meruell at your misfortune as doo now at mine." After this, forgiuing the executioner, he besought him not to torment him long, but to strike off his head at one blowe, and féeling the edge of the sword, whether it was sharpe inough or not, he said; "It is verie well, doo that thou hast to doo quicklie," and so knéeling downe, the executioner with one stroke, strake off his head: his bodie was buried togither with his head in the church of the Augustine friers in Breadstréet within the citie of London.

The execution of the earle of Arundell.

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, considering his sudden fall and miserable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was such a number, as no countrie in the world had greater store at that present) there was none more esteemed: so noble and valiant he was, that all men spake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the king was sore vexed in his sléepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare vnto him threatning him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had said with the poet to king Richard;

Nunc quóq; factorum venio memor vmbra tuorum,
Insequor & vultus ossea forma tuos.

Ouid.

With which visions being sore troubled in sleepe, he curssed the daie that euer he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, bicause he heard it reported, that the common people tooke the erle for a martyr, insomuch that some came to visit the place of his sepulture, for the opinion they had conceiued of his holinesse. And where it was bruted abroad as for a miracle, that his head should be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king sent about ten of the clocke in the night, certeine of the nobilitie to sée his bodie taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Which doone, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were set vp about the place of his buriall, and to couer the graue, so as it should not be perceiued where he was buried.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was brought forth to abide his triall by parlement, and when his accusers charged him in like points of treason, such as before were imposed to the earle of Arundell; he answered that he neuer meant euill to the kings person, nor thought that those rodes and assemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accompted treason. But when the iudges had shewed him, that they could not be otherwise taken than for treason, he humbly besought the king of mercy and grace. The king then asked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell, as had beene alledged? He answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer seene them. Then said the king, Doo yee not know that you are guiltie of treason? He answered againe, I acknowledge it; and with sobbing teares besought all them that were present, to make intercession to the kings maiestie for him.

The earle of Warwike arreigned of treason.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaster communed, and after the king had a while with silence considered of the matter, he said to the earle; By saint Iohn Baptist, Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more auailable than all the duke of Glocesters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making still intercession for pardon, the lords humblie besought the king to grant it. Finallie the king pardoned him of life, but banished him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scroopes, promising that both he, and his wife, and children, should haue good enterteinment. Which promise notwithstanding was but slenderlie kept, for both the earle and the countesse liued in great penurie (as some write) and yet the lord Scroope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thousand nobles yéere e paid out of the kings coffers.

On

On the mondaie next after the arreignement of the earle of Warwike, to wit, the foure and twentie of September, was the lord Iohn Cobham, and sir Iohn Cheinie arreigned, and found guiltie of like treasons for which the other had beene condemned before: but at the earnest instance and sute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetuall prison. ¶ The king desirous to see the force of the Londoners, caused them (during the time of this parlement) to muster before him on Blacke heath, where a man might haue seene a great number of able personages. And now after that the parlement had continued almost till Christmasse, it was adiourned vntill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shrewesburie.

The parlemẽt adiourned to Shrewsburie.

The king kéepeth his Christmasse at Lichfield. 1398.

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Christmasse, which being ended, he tooke his iournie towards Shrewesburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of saint Hilarie, as before yée haue heard. In which parlement there holden vpon prorogation, for the loue that the king bare to the gentlemen and commons of the shire of Chester, he caused it to be ordeined that from thencefoorth it should be called and knowne by the name of the principalitie of Chester: and herewith he intituled himselfe prince of Chester. He held also a roiall feast, kéeping open houshold for all honest comners, during the which feast, he created fiue dukes and a duchesse, a marquesse, and foure earles. The earle of Derbie was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Notingham that was also earle marshall duke of Norfolke, the earle of Rutland duke of Aubemarle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Excester; the ladie Margaret marshall countesse of Norfolke, was created duchesse of Norfolke; the earle of Summerset marques Dorset, the lord Spenser earle of Glocester, the lord Neuill surnamed Daurable earle of Westmerland, the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Thomas Persie lord steward of the kings house earle of Worcester.

Cheshire made a principalitie.

K. Richard prince of Chester.

Creation of dukes and earles.

And for the better maintenance of the estate of these noble men, whome he had thus aduanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of those lands that belonged to the duke of Glocester, the earles of Warwike, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted vp all plants of treason, and therefore cared lesse who might be his freend or his fo, than before he had doone, estéeming himselfe higher in degrée than anie prince liuing, and so presumed further than euer his grandfather did, and tooke vpon him to beare the armes of saint Edward, ioining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, whatsoeuer he then did, none durst speake a word contrarie therevnto. And yet such as were cheefe of his councell, were estéemed of the commons to be the woorst creatures that might be, as the dukes of Aumarle, Norfolke and Excester, the earle of Wiltshire, sir Iohn Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Gréene: which thrée last remembred were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and priuie hatred.

K. Richard beareth saint Edward his armes.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, the lord Reginald Cobham, being a verie aged man, simple and vpright in all his dealings, was condemned for none other cause, but for that in the eleuenth yéere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinances also deuised and established in the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare were likewise repealed. Moreouer, in this parlement at Shrewesburie, it was decréed, that the lord Iohn Cobham should be sent into the Ile of Gernesie, there to remaine in exile, hauing a small portion assigned him to liue vpon. The king so wrought & brought things about, that he obteined the whole power of both houses to be granted to certeine persons, as to Iohn duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of Yorke, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, Iohn duke of Excester, Iohn marquesse Dorset, Roger earle of March, Iohn earle of Salisburie, and Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Glocester, and William earle of Wiltshire, Iohn Hussie, Henrie Cheimeswike, Robert Teie, and Iohn Goulofer knights, or to seauen or eight of them. These were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but

The L. Reginald Cobham condemned.

The authoritie of both houses in parlement granted to certeine persons.

Thom. Wals.

by

by vertue of this grant, they procéeded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the states therof, to the disaduantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

When the king had spent much monie in time of this parlement, he demanded a disme and a halfe of the cleargie, and a fiftéenth of the temporaltie. Finallie, a generall pardon was granted for all offenses to all the kings subiects (fiftie onelie excepted) whose names he would not by anie meanes expresse, but reserued them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his plesure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so kéepe them still within his danger. To the end that the ordinances, iudgements, and acts made, pronounced and established in this parlement, might be and abide in perpetuall strength and force, the king purchased the popes buls, in which were conteined greeuous censures and cursses, pronounced against all such as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the statutes in the same parlement ordeined. These buls were openlie published & read at Paules crosse in London, and in other the most publike places of the realme.

The K. procureth the popes buls against the breakers of his statuts.

Manie other things were doone in this parlement, to the displeasure of no small number of people; namelie, for that diuerse rightfull heires were disherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the same parlement: with which wrongfull dooings the people were much offended, so that the king and those that were about him, and chéefe in councell, came into great infamie and slander. In déed the king after he had dispatched the duke of Glocester, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them still readie to disappoint him in all his purposes; and therefore being now as it were carelesse, did not behaue himselfe (as some haue written) in such discréet order, as manie wished: but rather (as in time of prosperitie it often happeneth) he forgot himselfe, and began to rule by will more than by reason, threatning death to each one that obeied not his inordinate desires. By meanes whereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they tooke for a man destitute of sobrietie and wisedome, and therefore could not like of him, that so abused his authoritie.

Rightfull heires disherited.

Polydor.

K. Richard his euill gouernment.

Herevpon there were sundrie of the nobles, that lamented these mischéefes, and speciallie shewed their greefes vnto such, by whose naughtie counsell they vnderstood the king to be misled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counsell; or else he hauing knowledge what euill report went of him, might mend his maners misliked of his nobles. But all was in vaine, for so it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, Henrie duke of Hereford accused Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he should vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford, sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This supplication was red before both the dukes, in presence of the king: which doone, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it: he taking his hood off his head, said; "My souereigne lord, euen as the supplication which I tooke you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realme."

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treson.

Thom. Wals.

Then the duke of Norfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right déere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your coosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, like a false and disloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well." "No

more

more said the king, we haue heard inough: and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke the duke of Aumarle constable of England: and the duke of Surrie marshall of the realme vndertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there garded with kéepers that were appointed to sée him safelie kept. The duke of Surrie marshall and the duke of Aumarle constable of England.

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six wéeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor for the king to sit with the lords and prelats of his realme: and so at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelats being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir Iohn Bushie to speake for the king, declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as apperteined to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against an other, and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being constable, and the other marshall, to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to some agréement: and for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had beene said or doone amisse betwixt them, touching anie harme or dishonor to him or his realme: but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agréement made betwixt them. The order of the proceeding in this appeale.

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought foorthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: "for it is (said he) the best waie ye can take." The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued." Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, "what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace togither and become friends?"

Then stood foorth a knight, who asking and obteining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said; "Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford and earle of Derbie, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a false and disloiall traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke hath receiued eight thousand nobles to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of Calis, which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath béene the occasion of all the treason that hath beene contriued in your realme for the space of these eighteene yeares, & by his false suggestions and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murthered your right déere vncle, the duke of Glocester, sonne to king Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lists." The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his words, who answered: "Right déere lord, they are my woords; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him." The objection against the duke of Norfolke.

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and obteining, it began to answer thus: "Right déere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie

of

of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauing the reuerence due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the said Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloiall knight, and both hath béene, and is a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie against his: right déere lord, I beséech you therefore, and your councell, that it maie please you in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said."

The duke of Norfolke his answer for himselfe.

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his woords, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: "Right déere sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue doone, and I doo auouch that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath béene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right deere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almane, where we spent great treasure: Marie true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth: but neuerthelesse he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yéeld him hartie thankes. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell against him in vpright iudgement."

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand foorth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agrée and make peace togither, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, sware by saint Iohn Baptist, that he would neuer séeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therfore sir Iohn Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers disagrée about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuenteenth of September, other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onlie the daie, but also appointed them listes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter apperteined.

The combat appointed to be doone at Couentrie. The French pamphlet. *Iohn Stow.* *Fabian.*

An. Reg. 22. At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein, comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall listes there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp néere to the lists, and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might sée what was doone within the house.

The order of the combat.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the listes with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the

the barriers of the listes, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with gréene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths woorke, armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he answered; "I am Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me." Then incontinentlie he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse, and with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of gréene veluet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph, king Richard accompanied with all the péeres of the realme, and in his companie was the earle of saint Paule, which was come out of France in post to see this challenge performed. The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might arise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, which was richlie hanged and adorned; a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise or attempt to approch or touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried; "Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford appellant, which is entred into the lists roiall to doo his deuoir against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be found false and recreant.

The duke of Norfolke houered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trées; and when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng alowd: "God aid him that hath the right," and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerses & chaires of the champions should be remooued, commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & addresse themselues to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horssed, and closed his bauier, and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiouslie towards his enimie six or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast down his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho. Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councell deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be doone therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir John Bushie the kings secretarie read the sentence and determination of the king and his councell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, bicause he had sowen sedition in the relme by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such

The combat staied by the king.

The king his dome betwixt the two dukes.

such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treasuror for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor kéepe any companie to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the realme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceassed: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue béene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment: so he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained. ¶ A woonder it was to sée what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and stréet where he came, before he tooke the sea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defense and comfort of the commonwealth was vaded and gone.

The duke of Hereford beloued of the people.

At his comming into France, king Charles hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be verie light) receiued him gentlie, and him honorablie interteined, in so much that he had by fauour obteined in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king, if king Richard had not béene a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, sent the earle of Salisburie with all speed into France, both to surmize by vntrue suggestion, heinous offenses against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cousine to be matched in mariage with him that was so manifest an offendor. This was a pestilent kind of proceeding against that nobleman then being in a forren countrie, hauing béene so honorablie receiued as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon view and good liking of his behauiour there, so forward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So sharpe, so seuere, & so heinous an accusation, brought to a strange king from a naturall prince, against his subiect, after punishment inflicted (for he was banished) was inough to haue made the French king his fatall fo, & vpon suspicion of assaieng the like trecherie against him, to haue throwne him out of the limits of his land. But what will enuie leaue vnattempted, where it is once setled? And how are the malicious tormented with egernes of reuenge against them whom they maligne, wringing themselues in the meane time with inward pangs gnawing them at the hart? wherevnto serueth the poets allusion,

The duke of Hereford is honorablie interteined with the French king.

Froissard.

Hor. lib. epist. 1.

Inuidia Siculi non inuenêre tyranni
Maius tormentum.

1399. On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that passeth betwixt Suelleston or Snelston, and Harewood, two villages not far from Bedford, sudenlie ceassed his course, so as the chanell remained drie by the space of thrée miles, that any man might enter into, and passe the same drie foot at his pleasure. This diuision, which the water made in that place, the one part séeming as it were not to come néere to the other, was iudged to signifie the reuolting of the subiects of this land from their naturall prince. It may be, that the water of that riuer sanke into the ground, and by some secret passage or chanell tooke course till it came to the place where it might rise againe as in other places is likewise séene.

Ye haue heard before, how the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, was banisht the relme, and Roger Walden was made archbishop of that sée, who was a great fauourer of the citie of London, the which was eftsoones about this season fallen into the kings displeasure: but by the diligent labour of this archbishop, and of Robert Braibrooke then bishop of London, vpon the humble supplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuised, and brought into the citie, which manie of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to seale,

Fabian.

Blanke charters.

seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwise.

In this meane time, the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buried in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, on the northside of the high altar, by the ladie Blanch his first wife. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue liuerie for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thencefoorth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndooing. *Tho. Walsi.*

The death of the duke of Lancaster.

This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort: but namelie the duke of Yorke was therewith sore mooued, who before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie néere, as the death of his brother the duke of Glocester, the banishment of his nephew the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number, which for the slipperie youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, he considered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie must néeds decaie, by reason of the king his lacke of wit, and want of such as would (without flatterie) admonish him of his dutie; and therefore he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place and to leaue the following of such an vnaduised capteine, as with a leden sword would cut his owne throat.

Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langlie, reioising that nothing had mishappened in the common-wealth through his deuise or consent. The common brute ran, that the king had set to farme the realme of England, vnto sir William Scroope earle of Wiltshire, and then treasuror of England, to sir Iohn Bushie, sir Iohn Bagot, and sir Henrie Gréene knights. ¶ About the same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell late archbishop of Canturburie, as then soiourning at Cullen. ¶ King Richard being destitute of treasure to furnish such a princelie port as he mainteined, borrowed great summes of monie of manie of the great lords and peeres of his realme, both spirituall and temporall, and likewise of other meane persons, promising them in good earnest, by deliuering to them his letters patents for assurance, that he would repaie the monie so borrowed at a daie appointed: which notwithstanding he neuer paid. *Tho. Walsi.*

The duke of Yorke misliketh the court & goeth home.

The realme let to farme by the king.

Moreouer, this yeare he caused seuenteene shires of the realme by waie of putting them to their fines to paie no small summes of monie, for redéeming their offenses, that they had aided the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, and Warwike, when they rose in armor against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were inforced also to receiue a new oth to assure the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certeine prelats and other honorable personages, were sent into the same shires to persuade men to this paiment, and to sée things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and suerlie the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constreined to paie, were not small, but excéeding great, to the offense of manie.

New exactions.

The paiment of these fines was called a pleasance as it were to please the K. withall, but ye same displeased manie that were thus constreined to paie against their willes.

The people confirme the oth of allegiance by writing sealed.

manie. Moreouer, the kings letters patents were sent into euerie shire within this land, by vertue whereof, an oth was demanded of all the kings liege people for a further assurance of their due obedience, and they were constreined to ratifie the same in writing vnder their hands and seales.

Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certeine blankes, wherof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleased him he might write what he thought good. There was also a new oth deuised for the shiriffes of euerie countie through the realme to receiue: finallie, manie of the kings liege people were through spite, enuie, and malice, accused, apprehended, & put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshall of England, in the court of chiualrie, and might not otherwise be deliuered, except they could iustifie themselues by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lustie, yoong and valiant, where the parties accused were perchance old, impotent, maimed and sicklie. Wherevpon not onelie the great destruction of the realme in generall, but also of euerie singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

Indirect dealings.

Abr. Fl. out of *Thom. Wals.* pag. 395.

¶ About this time the bishop of Calcedon came into England, with letters apostolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and loiall of the land should of their goods disbursse somewhat to the emperour of Constantinople, who was extremelie vexed and troubled by the Tartars, and their capteine called Morect. And to the intent that the peeres of the land might be made the more willing and toward to bestow their contribution in this behalfe, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confessed) full remission, and wrapped in his bitter censures all such as hindered those that were willing to bestow their beneuolence in this case; considering, that although the emperour was a schismatike, yet was he a christian, and if by the infidels he should be oppressed, all christendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that saieng of the poet full fit for his purpose,

Tunc tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

Abr. Fl. out of *Thom. Wals.* pag. 395. *Polydor.*

¶ In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trées withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew gréene againe, a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent. ¶ In this meane time the king being aduertised that the wild Irish dailie wasted and destroied the townes and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there in garison for defense of that countrie, determined to make eftsoones a voiage thither, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against the spring. A little before his setting foorth, he caused a iusts to be holden at Windesor of fourtie knights and fortie esquiers, against all comers, & they to be apparelled in gréene, with a white falcon, and the queene to be there well accompanied with ladies and damsels. When these iusts were finished, the king departed toward Bristow, from thence to passe into Ireland, leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor; he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vncle the duke of Yorke: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie tooke shipping at Milford, and from thence with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of armes and archers he sailed into Ireland. The fridaie next after his arriuall, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen at Fourd in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman Ienico Dartois, and such Englishmen as he had there with him: and on the morrow next insuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrie of Obrin, and slue thirtie and three Irishmen.

A iusts at Windesor.

The King saileth ouer into Ireland with a great armie. *Fabian. Caxton.*

The duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, the king being in Irela d. *Ven. Marl.*

Out of a French pamphlet that belongeth to master *Iohn Dee.*

The king also after he had remained about seuen daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkennie, and comming thither, staied thereabout fourteene daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed and came not, where vpon the king on Midsummer euen set forward againe, marching streight towards the countrie of Macmur the principall rebell in that season within Ireland, who

Macmur.

keeping

kéeping himselfe among woods with three thousand right hardie men, seemed to passe little for any power that might be brought against him. Yet the king approching to the skirts of the woods, commanded his soldiers to fier the houses and villages: which was executed with great forwardnesse of the men of war. And here for some valiant act that he did, or some other fauourable respect, which the king bare to the lord Henrie sonne to the duke of Hereford, he made him knight. ¶ This Henrie was after king of England, succeeding his father, and called by the name of Henrie the fift. There were nine or ten others made knights also at the same time.

Pioners set a worke to cut downe woods.

Moreouer, there were two thousand & fiue hundred pioners set a worke to cut downe the woods, and to make passages through, and so then the Englishmen entred, and by force got through: for the Irishmen sore feared the English bowes, but yet now and then they espieng their aduantage, assailed oftentimes Englishmen with their darts, and slue diuerse that went abroad to fetch in forrage. The vncle of Macmur hauing a withie or with about his necke, came in and submitted himselfe, and likewise manie other naked and bare legged; so that the king seeming to pitie their miserable state, pardoned them, and afterward he also sent vnto Macmur, promising that if he would come in and require pardon as his vncle had doone, he would receiue him to mercie: but Macmur vnderstanding that for want of vittels, the king must néeds retire within a short time, he refused the kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in those parts eleuen daies, was in the end constreined to come backe, when all their vittels were spent: for more than they brought with them they could not get. They lost manie horsses in this iournie for want of prouision and forrage.

Macmur sendeth to the K. offering a parlee.

As the king was withdrawne towards Dublin, marching through the countrie, in despite of his enimies, that houered still about his armie, Macmur sent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if it should please him to send any noble man to méet him at a place appointed. The king hereupon commanded the earle of Glocester to take with him two hundred lances, and a thousand archers, and to go to trie if he might by persuasion cause him to come in and submit himselfe. The earle went, and comming to talke with him, found him so obstinate, that their parlée streightwaies brake off: so taking leaue each of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the king, to aduertise him what he had doone and perceiued by the communication which he had had with Macmur.

The earle of Glocester.

The king was sore offended with the obstinatnes of the rebell, that would not agree otherwise: but so as he might remaine still at libertie, without danger to suffer anie maner of punishment for his passed offenses. Whereupon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the armie had rested there, and in the countrie neere to the citie, for the space of fiftéene daies, he diuided his people into three parts, and sent them abroad into the countrie to pursue the enimies and withall made proclamation, that who so euer could bring Macmur vnto his presence, should haue for his recompense a great reward: for he determined not to depart the countrie, till he had him either dead or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purposed intention would after follow.

An. Reg. 23. He came to Dublin the 28 of June as *Henrie Marl.* saith.

The duke of Aumarle.

The same daie that he sent abroad his armie thus into three seuerall parts, the duke of Aumarle with an hundred saile arriued, of whose cõming the king was right ioifull; and although he had vsed no small negligence in that he came no sooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteouslie accepted his excuse: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to saie; but verelie he was greatlie suspected, that he dealt not well in tarieng so long after his time assigned. But now whilest the king rested at Dublin, his people so demeaned themselues, that the most part of the rebels, what by manhood and policie were subdued, and brought vnder subiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had risen in England to haue called him backe, he meant to haue rid vp the woods, and made some notable conquest at that time vpon the rebels that yet held out. Neuerthelesse, during the time of his abode there, such was the prowesse of him and his, that the Irish were well tamed, and forced to submit themselues:

selues: and yet the kings power made no great slaughter of them, if it be true that Christ. Okl. saith, speaking hereof in few words as after followeth:

In Angl. prælijs sub Rich. 2.

Pergit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Hibernos,
Inq; potestatem multo sine sanguine, sæuo
Marte reluctantes.

Now whilest he was thus occupied in deuising how to reduce them into subiection, and taking orders for the good staie and quiet gouernment of the countrie, diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelats as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former state of wealth, whilest king Richard liued and reigned (as they tooke it) deuised with great deliberation, and consiederate aduise, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in déed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient spéed to conueie himselfe into England, promising him all their aid, power and assistance, if he expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his natiue land and region.

The duke of Lancaster solicited to expel king Richard, and to take vpon him the regiment.

He therefore being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his frends, and chéeflie through the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Canturburie, who (as before yée haue heard) had béene remooued from his sée, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine, togither with the said archbishop, where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such frendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine, called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine: and when all his prouision was made readie, he tooke the sea, togither with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill, as you haue heard. There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston knights, Iohn Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint esquires: few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fifteene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and appointed as the vse then was. ¶ Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where Froissard yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where Froissard and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he should land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it séemeth otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he approching to the shore, did not streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to sée what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouslie to resist him, or frendlie to receiue him.

The duke of Britaine a great friend to the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster & his adherents saile into England.

Additions to Polychron.

Thom. Wals.

Chron. Brit.

Froissard.

Tho. Walsing.

When the lord gouernor Edmund duke of Yorke was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and was readie to arriue (but where he ment first to set foot on land, there was not any that vnderstood the certeintie) he sent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford bishop of Excester, and for the lord treasuror William Scroope earle of Wiltshire, and other of the kings priuie councell, as Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and Iohn Russell knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be doone in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their aduise was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing, but to how small purpose their counsell serued, the conclusion thereof plainlie declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither, boldlie protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall.

The commons denie to resist the duke of Lancaster.

The lord treasuror, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with the duke, slipped awaie, leauing the lord gouernour of the

the realme, and the lord chancellor to make what shift they could for themselues: Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Iulie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington, and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) foorthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him, were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

The duke of Lancaster lādeth in Yorkshire. Additions to *Polychron.*

At his comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiment of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king estéemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched foorth with all spéed through the countries, coming by Euesham vnto Berkelie: within the space of thrée daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

The duke of Lācasters oth to the lords that aided him.

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers (as before yée haue heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in anie wise offend him or his frēends. The duke of Yorke therefore passing foorth towards Wales to méet the king, at his comming foorth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceiued that he was not able to resist) on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie, he came foorth into the church that stood without the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishops of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster were these, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie that had bēene banished, the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not, were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the duke of Lancaster.

At the same present there was arrested, and committed to safe custodie, the bishop of Norwich, sir William Elmam, and sir Walter Burlie, knights, Laurence Drew, and Iohn Golofer esquiers. On the morow after, the forsaid dukes with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell, being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scroope earle of Wiltshire and treasuror of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir Iohn Bushie knights, who prepared to make resistance: but when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought foorth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable

The duke of Lancaster marcheth to Bristow.

Scroope lord treasuror, Bushie and Greene executed.

stable and marshall, and found giltie of treason, for misgouerning the king and realme, and foorthwith had their heads smit off. Sir Iohn Russell was also taken there, who feining himselfe to be out of his wits, escaped their hands for a time.

A politike madnesse.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertised, how the duke of Lancaster was landed in England, and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons assembled themselues to take his part, he forthwith caused the lord Henrie, sonne to the said duke of Lancaster, and the lord Humfrie, sonne to the duke of Glocester, to be shut vp fast in the castell of Trimme, and with all spéed made hast to returne into England, in hope with an armie to incounter the duke, before he should haue time to assemble his frends togither. But here you shall note, that it fortuned at the same time, in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaster, whether ye list to call him, arriued thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer foorth of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that for the space of six weeks, he receiued no aduertisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ship, whereby the king vnderstood the manner of the dukes arriuall, and all his procéedings till that daie, in which the ship departed from the coast of England, wherevpon he meant foorthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make resistance against the duke: but through persuasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he staied, till he might haue all his ships, and other prouision, fullie readie for his passage.

Out of master D. of French booke.

In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by helpe of the kings freends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all spéed possible, that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriuall, for he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle passing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent foorth letters to the kings freends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leauie their people, & to come with all spéed to assist the K. whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himselfe at Conwaie, insomuch that within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had béene there himselfe in person.

But when they missed the king, there was a brute spred amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead, which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go foorth with him, till they saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie fouretéene daies to sée if he should come or not; but when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled & departed awaie; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field: so that the kings lingering of time before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and tooke from the king all occasion to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland and landeth in Wales. *Thom. Walt.*

At length, about eighteene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he tooke the sea, togither with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Carleil. They landed néere the castell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feast of saint Iames the apostle, and staied a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got togither against him, wherewith he was maruellouslie amazed, knowing certeinelie that those which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuerthelesse he departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all speed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstood the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

Additions to Polychron.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, &

so

so at the first he passed with a good courage: but when he vnderstood as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster, and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie councellors had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie togither, which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart to his home. K. Richard in vtter despaire.

The souldiers being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good chéere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death: but this could not incourage him at all, so that in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie, where he found the earle of Salisburie, determining there to hold himselfe, till he might sée the world at some better staie; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischéefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not. On the one part he knew his title iust, true, and infallible; and his conscience cleane, pure, and without spot of enuie or malice: he had also no small affiance in the Welshmen, and Cheshire men. On the other side, he saw the puissance of his aduersaries, the sudden departing of them whom he most trusted, and all things turned vpside downe: he euidentlie saw, and manifestlie perceiued, that he was forsaken of them, by whom in time he might haue béene aided and relieued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouer passed. K. Richard stealeth awaie from his armie, and taketh the castell of Flint.

¶ This suerlie is a verie notable example, and not vnworthie of all princes to be well weied, and diligentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaster should be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and assistance (almost) of all the whole realme, which perchance neuer thereof thought or yet dreamed; and that king Richard should thus be left desolate, void, and in despaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anie offense, it ought rather to be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but such is the deceiuable iudgement of man, which not regarding things present with due consideration, thinketh euer that things to come shall haue good successe, with a pleasant & delitefull end. But in this deiecting of the one, & aduancing of the other, the prouidence of God is to be respected, & his secret will to be woondered at. For as in his hands standeth the donation of kingdoms, so likewise the disposing of them consisteth in his pleasure, which the verie pagans vnderstood right well; otherwise, one of them would neuer haue said, A speciall note worthie to be well weied.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis
Cuncta supercilio mouentis. *Hor. lib. car. 3. ode. 1.*

Sir Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his office, and without delaie went to duke Henrie. When the kings seruants of houshold saw this (for it was doone before them all) they dispersed themselues, some into one countrie, and some into an other. When the duke of Lancaster vnderstood that king Richard was returned foorth of Ireland, he left the duke of Yorke still at Bristow, and came backe with his power vnto Berkleie; the second daie he came to Glocester, and so to Roos, after to Hereford, where came to him the bishop of Hereford, and sir Edmund Mortimer knight. On the sundaie following, he went to Limster, and there the lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the next daie to Shrewsburie, where he rested one daie, and thither came to him sir Robert Leigh, and sir Iohn Leigh, and manie other being sent from Chester, to treat with the duke of The earle of Worcester leaueth the K. and fléeth to the duke. Where fortune fauoureth, thither the peoples fauour fléeth.

of Lancaster, for the citie and countie of Chester, that were now readie to submit themselues vnto him in all things.

There came hither vnto him the lord Scales, and the lord Berdolfe, foorth of Ireland, hauing béene spoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they came through the countrie. From Shrewsburie, he kept on his iournie towards Chester, and lodging one night by the waie, in a towne there in the borders of Wales, he came the second night to Chester, and staied there certeine daies togither, making a iollie muster of his armie there in sight of the citie. The clergie met, & receiued him with procession: he sent foorthwith for his sonne & heire, & likewise for the duke of Glocesters sonne & heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all spéed to returne home into England. But the duke of Glocesters sonne, through mischance perished, as he was on the seas to come ouer, for whose losse his mother tooke such greefe, that shortlie after through immoderate sorow she likewise passed out of this transitorie life.

The duke of Lancaster comming to Chester.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the castell of Conwaie sore discomfited, and fearing lest he could not remaine there long in safetie, vpon knowledge had by his trustie fréends Iohn Paulet, and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approch of his aduersaries, sent the duke of Excester to talke with the duke of Lancaster, who in this meane while had caused one of king Richards faithfull and trustie freends, sir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Perkin a Lée, to lose his head, & commanded the same to be set vp, vpon one of the highest turrets about all the citie; and so that true and faithfull gentleman, for his stedfast faith, and assured loialtie to his louing souereigne, thus lost his life. There came to him about the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and sir Iohn Stanleie, beséeching him to receiue him into his fauour.

Perkin a Lee.

¶ By some writers it should seeme, not onelie the duke of Excester, but also the duke of Surrie were sent vnto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that duke Henrie staied them both, and would not suffer them to returne to the king againe, kéeping the duke of Excester still about him, and committing the duke of Surrie to prison, within the castell of Chester. The king herewith went to Beaumaris, & after to Carnaruan: but finding no prouision either of vittels or other things in those castels, no not so much as a bed to lie in, he came backe againe to Conwaie, and in the meane time was the castell of Holt deliuered to the duke of Hereford, by those that had it in kéeping wherein was great store of iewels, to the value of two hundred thousand marks, besides an hundred thousand marks in readie coine. After this, the duke, with aduise of his councell, sent the earle of Northumberland vnto the king, accompanied with foure hundred lances, & a thousand archers, who comming to the castell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and from thence he hasted foorth towards Conwaie. But before he approched néere the place, he left his power behind him, hid closelie in two ambushes, behind a craggie mounteine, beside the high waie that leadeth from Flint to Conwaie.

Out of master *Dees* booke.

Holt castell deliuered to the duke.

Some write that the archbishop of Caturburie and the earle of Westmerland wet also with the earle of Northumberland to Conwaie.

This doone, taking not past foure or fiue with him, he passed foorth, till he came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him, which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland passing the water, entred the castell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had, against such as were enimies to the commonwealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him on his knées, to craue of him forgiuenesse, and as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices. The king taking aduise vpon these offers, and other made by the earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford; vpon the earles oth, for assurance that the same should be performed in ech condition, agréed to go with the earle to méete the duke, and herevpon taking their

The earle of Northumberlands message to the king.

The king leaueth Conwaie castell, and betaketh himselfe to his enimies.

horsses, they rode foorth, but the earle rode before, at it were, to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but comming to the place where he had left his people, he staied there with them.

The king kéeping on his waie, had not ridden past foure miles, when he came to the place where the ambushes were lodged, and being entred within danger of them, before he was aware, shewed himselfe to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedie: for the earle being there with his men, would not suffer him to returne, as he gladlie would haue doone if he might; but being inclosed with the sea on the one side, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduersaries so néere at hand before him, he could not shift awaie by any meanes, for if he should haue fled backe, they might easilie haue ouertaken him, yer he could haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he was then constrained to go with the earle, who brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had verie few about him of his freends, except onelie the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Carleill, the lord Stephan Scroope, sir Nicholas Ferebie, a sonne also of the countesse of Salisburie, and Ienico Dartois a Gascoigne that still ware the cognisance or deuise of his maister king Richard, that is to saie, a white hart, and would not put it from him, neither for persuasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the duke of Hereford vnderstood it, he caused him to be committed to prison within the castell of Chester. This man was the last (as saieth mine author) which ware that deuise, and shewed well thereby his constant hart toward his maister, for the which it was thought he should haue lost his life, but yet he was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fauour, after he was king. A constant seruant.

But now to our purpose. King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eightéenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the ninetéenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence, which vndoubtedlie made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. There were come alreadie to the castell, before the approching of the maine armie, the archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Aumarle, the earle of Worcester, and diuerse other. The archbishop entred first, and then followed the other, comming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the braies of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off, might sée, that the archbishop and the other were come, and (as he tooke it) to talke with him: wherevpon he foorthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knées, he tooke them vp, and drawing the archbishop aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to haue anie hurt, as touching his person; but he prophesied not as a prelat, but as a Pilat. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his person, to be spoiled of his roialtie, to be deposed from his crowne, to be translated from principalitie to prison, & to fall from honor into horror. All which befell him to his extreame hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increase, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminish, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue said with the forlorne man in the mercilesse seas of his miseries,

Vt fera nimboso tumüerunt æquora vento,
In medijs lacera naue relinquor aquis.

¶ Some write (as before in a marginall note I haue quoted) that the archbishop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that euen then the king offered, in consideration of his insufficiencie to gouerne, freelie to resigne the crowne, and his kinglie title to the same, vnto the duke of

Hereford. But forsomuch as those that were continuallie attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his comming to Flint, doo plainelie affirme, that the archbishop came not to him, till this tuesdaie before his remooving from Flint vnto Chester, it maie be thought (the circumstances well considered) that he rather made that promise here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an instrument, conteining the declaration of the archbishop of Yorke, and other commissioners sent from the estates assembled in the next parlement, vnto the said king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be some default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

But wheresoeuer this offer was made, after that the archbishop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horsse againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that present to approch the castell, and compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and séemelie order, at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland passing foorth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe shootes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred the same all armed, his bassenet onelie excepted, and being within the first gate, he staied there, till the king came foorth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephan Scroope knight, who bare the sword before him, and a few other, came foorth into the vtter ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knée, and comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng; "Déere cousine, ye are welcome." The duke humblie thanking him said; "My souereigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honor saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence." The king hervnto answered; "Déere cousine, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that you may inioy all that is yours, without exception."

The dukes behauiour to the king at their méeting.

The dukes demand.

Méeting thus togither, they came foorth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horssebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Chester, the third vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcastell. Here, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike met them, that had beene confined into the Ile of Man, as before ye haue heard; but now was reuoked home by the duke of Lancaster. From Newcastell they rode to Stafford, and the sixt daie vnto Lichfield, and there rested sundaie all daie. After this, they rode foorth and lodged at these places insuing, Couentrie, Dantrée, Northhampton, Dunstable, S. Albons, & so came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode still through all these townes simplie clothed in one sute of raiment, and yet he was in his time excéeding sumptuous in apparell, in so much as he had one cote, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30000 marks: & so he was brought the next waie to Westminster.

The king and the duke iournie togither towards London.

K. Richard sumptuous in apparell.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Paules church. It was a woonder to sée what great concursse of people, & what number of horsses came to him on the waie as he thus passed the countries, till his comming to London, where (vpon his approch to the citie) the maior rode foorth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, vttering the same also with words, as the like not lightlie béene séene. For in euerie

The dukes receiuing into London.

euerie towne and village where he passed, children reioised, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked togither in the fields and stréets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I speake of the presents, welcommings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communaltie.

The king cõmitted to the tower.

But now to the purpose. The next day after his comming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custodie. Manie euill disposed persons, assembling themselues togither in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them the worshipful commoners and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adoo, the other were reuoked from their euill purpose: albeit, before they might be pacified, they cõming to Westminster, tooke maister Iohn Sclake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him fast in irons.

A parlement in the kings name.

After this was a parlement called by the duke of Lancaster, vsing the name of king Richard in the writs directed foorth to the lords, and other states for their summons. This parlement began the thirtéenth daie of September, in the which manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be persuaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthie to be deposed) were ingrossed vp in 33 solemne articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to some almost incredible, the verie effect of which articles here insue, according to the copie which I haue séene, and is abridged by maister Hall as followeth.

The articles obiected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthie to be deposed from his principalitie.

1 FIRST, that king Richard wastfullie spent the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possessions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reason whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore cõmunaltie. And where diuerse lords, as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parlement, to commune and treat of diuerse matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being busie about the same commission, he with other of his affinitie went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iustices of the realme at Shrewesburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said lords, in so much that he began to raise warre against Iohn duke of Lancaster, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwike, and other lords, contrarie to his honor and promise.

2 Item, that he caused his vncle the duke of Glocester to be arrested without law and sent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murthered him, and although the earle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner suddenlie put to death.

3 Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the same lords, and suffered them to rob and pill, without correction or repréeue.

4 Item, although the king flateringlie, and with great dissimulation, made proclamation through out the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of anie crime of treason, but onlie for extortions and oppressions doone in this realme; yet he laid to them in the parlement, rebellion and manifest treason.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the said lords seruants and frends, by menaces & extreme pains, to make great fines to their vtter vndooing; and notwithstanding his pardon, yet he made them fine anew.

6 Item, where diuerse were appointed to commune of the state of the realme, and the commonwealth thereof, the same king caused all the rols and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promise made in the parlement, to his open dishonor.

7 Item, he vncharitablie commanded, that no man vpon paine of losse of life, and goods, should once intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaster.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other prince, the said king Richard, after he had obteined diuerse acts of parlement, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he obteined bulles and extreame censures from Rome, to compell all men streightlie to keepe the same, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the duke of Lancaster had doone his deuoire against Thomas duke of Norfolke in proofe of his quarrell; yet the said king, without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten yeers, contrarie to all equitie.

10 Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad seale licenced him to make atturnies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none atturnie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

11 Item, the same king put out diuerse shiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their roomes diuerse other of his owne, subuerting the law, contrarie to his oth and honor.

12 Item, he borowed great summes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaiment of the same, and yet not one penie paid.

13 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie councell, and the same treasure spent in follie, not paieng poore men for their vittels and viands.

14 Item, he said, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his brest, by reason of which fantasticall opinion, he destroied noble men, and impouerished the poore commons.

15 Item, the parlement setting and enacting diuerse notable statutes, for the profit and aduancement of the common-wealth, he by his priuie freends and solicitors caused to be enacted, that no act then enacted, should be more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anie of his predecessors: through which prouiso he did often as he listed, and not as the law did meane.

16 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the shiriffes of the shire to remaine aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the summons of the parlement, when knights and burgesses should be elected, that the election had béene full procéeded, he put out diuerse persons elect, and put other in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie espials in euerie shire, to heare who had of him anie communication; and if he communed of his lasciuious liuing, or outragious doings, he straightwaies was apprehended, and put to a gréeuous fine.

19 Item, the spiritualtie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and iewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where diuerse lords and iustices were sworne to saie the truth of diuerse things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the relme, and profit of the king, the said king so menaced them with sore threatenings, that no man would or durst saie the right.

21 Item, that without the assent of the nobilitie, he carried the iewels, plate, and treasure, ouer into Ireland, to the great impouerishment of the realme: and all the good records for the common-wealth, and against his extortions, he caused priuilie to be imbessled, and conueied awaie.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or sent to the sée of Rome, or other regions, his writing was so subtill and darke, that none other prince once beléeued him, nor yet his owne subiects.

23 Item,

23 Item, he most tyrannouslie and vnprincelie said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of England, he caused diuerse lustie men to appeale diuerse old men, vpon matters determinable at the common law in the court Martiall, bicause that there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon, the said aged persons, fearing the sequele of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercie, whome he fined and ransomed vnreasonablie at his will and pleasure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuised certeine priuie othes, contrarie to the law, and caused diuerse of his subiects first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bonds for kéeping of the same, to the great vndooing of manie honest men.

26 Item, where the chancellor, according to the law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a certeine person, the king granted it vnto the same, vnder his priuie seale, with great threatenings, if it should be disobeied.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Canturburie without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the parlement chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the bishops goods he granted to his successor, vpon condition, that he should mainteine all his statutes made at Shrewesburie anno 21, and the statutes made anno 22 at Couentrie.

29 Item, vpon the accusation of the said bishop, the king craftilie persuaded him to make no answer for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parlement, and so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized.

These be all the articles of anie effect, which were laid against him, sauing foure other, which touched onelie the archbishops matter, whose working wroong king Richard at length from his crowne. Then for so much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusations were laid against him in open parlement, it was thought by the most part, that he was worthie to be deposed from all kinglie honor, and princelie gouernement: and to bring the matter without slander the better to passe, diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

The king is perswaded to resigne the crowne to the duke.

And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obteine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion procéeded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howsoeuer their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king being now in the hands of his enimies, and vtterlie despairing of all comfort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminence, so that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie, the mondaie being the nine and twentith daie of September, and feast of S. Michaell the archangell in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the thrée and twentith yeare of his reigne. The copie of which instrument here insueth. *Fabian.*

A copie of the instrument touching the declaration of the commissioners sent from the states in parlement, vnto king Richard.

THIS present indenture made the nine and twentith daie of September, and feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and the three and twentith yeare of king

Richard the second. Witnesseth, that where by the authoritie of the lords spirituall and temporall of this present parlement, and commons of the same, the right honorable and discreet persons heere vnder named, were by the said authoritie assigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and testifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the said honourable and discreet persons hard. Know all men, to whome these present letters shall come, that we, sir Richard Scroope archbishop of Yorke, Iohn bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of Westminster, Iohn prior of Canturburie, William Thirning and Hugh Burnell knights, Iohn Markham iustice, Thomas Stow and Iohn Burbadge doctors of the ciuill law, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yeere aboue said, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were present in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the said place of the Tower, where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conwaie in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of, to occupie so great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to doo in such conuenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised & ordeined. To the which rehearsall, the king in our said presences answered benignlie and said, that such promise he made, and so to do the same he was at that houre in full purpose to performe and fulfill; sauing that he desired first to haue personall speach with the said duke, and with the archbishop of Canturburie his cousins. And further, he desired to haue a bill drawne of the said resignation, that he might be perfect in the rehearsall thereof.

This promise he made at Flint rather than at Conwaie, as by that which goeth before it may be partlie conjectured.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lords and other departed: and vpon the same afternoone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lords Roos, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance doone by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeered) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of vs and the other aboue rehearsed, said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the more suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the instrument whereby king Richard resigneth the crowne to the duke of Lancaster.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and assoile all archbishops, bishops, and other prelats, secular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, state, or condition so euer they be; and also all dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regalitie

regalitie and lordship, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwise constreined; and them, their heires, and successors for euermore, from the same bonds and oths I release, deliuer, and acquit, and set them for free, dissolued and acquit, and to be harmelesse, for as much as longeth to my person by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foresaid things, or anie of them. And also I resigne all my kinglie dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the lordships, power, and priuileges to the foresaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordships and possessions to me in anie maner of wise perteining, of what name, title, qualitie, or condition soeuer they be, except the lands and possessions for me and mine obits purchased and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of possession, which I euer had or haue in the same lordships and possessions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or appertcining vnto anie part of them. And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iurisdictions of the same belongeth of right, or in anie wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name, worship, and regaltie and kinglie highnesse, clearelie, freelie, singularlie and wholie, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and resigne them, and go from them for euermore; sauing alwaies to my successors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the said kingdome and lordships abouesaid belonging and apperteining. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my selfe to be, and haue beene insufficient and vnable, and also vnprofitable, and for my open deserts not vnworthie to be put downe. And I sweare vpon the holie euangelists here presentlie with my hands touched, that I shall neuer repugne to this resignation, demission or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in anie maner by word or deed, by my selfe nor none other: nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuilie or apertlie. But I shall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demission, and giuing vp for firme and stable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, so God me helpe and all saints, and by this holie euangelist, by me bodilie touched and kissed. And for more record of the same, here openlie I subscribe and signe this present resignation with mine owne hand.

Now foorthwith in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saieng that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successour, and king after him. And in token heereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successour and their king after him. ¶ All this doone euerie man tooke their leaue and returned to their owne.

Vpon the morrow after being tuesdaie, and the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand, which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like

K. Richards resignation confirmed by parlement.

like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie in auoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

All this was doone accordinglie, for the articles which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed vp, and there shewed readie to be read; but for other causes more néedfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred. Then forsomuch as the lords of the parlement had well considered the voluntarie resignation (of king Richard, and that it was behoouefull and as they thought) necessarie for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the sentence of his deposing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the estates there in parlement assembled, the bishop of saint Asaph, the abbat of Glastenburie, the earle of Glocester, the lord Berkleie, William Thirning iustice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Graie, knights, that they should giue and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard. Whervpon the said commissioners taking counsell togither, by good and deliberate aduise therein had, with one assent agréed, that the bishop of S. Asaph should publish the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The publication of king Richards deposing.

IN the name of God Amen. We Iohn bishop of S. Asaph, Iohn abbat of Glastenburie, Thomas earle of Glocester, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William Thirning iustice, Thomas Erpingham & Thomas Graie knights, chosen and deputed speciall commissaries by the three states of this present parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we vnderstanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes doone by Richard king of England, and misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decaie of the said land, and vtter ruine of the same shortlie to haue beene, had not the speciall grace of our God therevnto put the sooner remedie: and also furthermore aduerting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his owne insufficiencie, hath of his owne meere voluntee and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the same belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himselfe not vnworthilie to be deposed of all kinglie maiestie and estate roiall. We the premisses well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is said) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the same king Richard, before this to haue beene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnsufficient, and vnworthie of the rule and gouernance of the foresaid realms and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worship, and of any kinglie worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue, forbidding expresselie to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelats, dukes, marquesses, erles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdome and lordships, subiects, and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foresaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realmes and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which sentence thus openlie declared, the said estates admitted foorthwith the forenamed commissioners for their procurators, to resigne and yeeld vp vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times past they had made and owght vnto him, and also for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before doone that concerned the purpose

pose and cause of his deposing: the which resignation was respited till the morow following. Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forhead, and likewise on his brest, and after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge or claime to the crowne.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndoone for default of good gouernance and due iustice.

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, Yea, yea, yea. After which answer, the said archbishop going to the duke, and knéeling downe before him on his knee, addressed to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, the archbishop of Yorke assisting him, and with great reuerence set him therein, after that the duke had first vpon his knées made his praier in deuout manner vnto almightie God. When he was thus placed in his throne to the great reioising of the people, the archbishop of Canturburie began a breefe collation, taking for his theme these words, written in the first booke of kings the ninth chapter; Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: handling the same, & the whole tenour of his tale to the praise of the king, whose setled iudgement, grounded wisedome, perfect reason, and ripe discretion was such (said he) as declared him to be no child, neither in yeares, nor in light conditions, but a man able and méete for the gouernement of a realme: so that there was no small cause of comfort ministred to them through the fauourable goodnesse of almightie God, which had prouided them of such a gouernor, as like a discréet iudge shall déeme in causes by skilfull doomes, and rule his subiects in vpright equitie, setting apart all wilfull pleasures, and childish inconstancie. This is a summarie of his oration. But because the qualitie of this volume is such, as that it hath set foorth matters at large: I will laie downe the archbishops words, as they are recorded by Fabian in ample manner as followeth.

The demand of the archbishop of Canturburie to the commons.

Thom. Wals. The duke of Hereford p'aced in the regall throne.

The archbishop preached.

The archbishop of Canturburie his oration, framed vpon this text, Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: written in the first booke of kings and ninth chapter.

THESE be the words of the high, and most mightie king, speaking to Samuel his prophet, teaching him how he should choose and ordaine a gouernor of his people of Israell, when the said people asked of him a king, to rule them. And not without cause may these woords be said here of our lord the king that is. For, if they be inwardlie conceiued,

Abr. Fl. out of *Fabian*, pag. 351.

they shall giue vnto vs matter of consolation and comfort, when it is said that a man shall haue lordship and rule of the people, and not a child. For God threatneth not vs as he sometime threatned the people by Esaie, saieng: Esa. 3. Et dabo pueros principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis, I shall (saith our Lord) giue children to be their rulers & princes, and weake or fearefull shall haue dominion ouer them. But of his great mercie he hath visited vs, I trust his peculiar people, and sent vs a man to haue the rule of vs, & put by children that before time ruled this land, after childish conditions, as by the woorkes of them it hath rightlie appeared, to the disturbance of all this realme; and for want and lacke of a man. For, as saith the apostle Paule ad Corinthos, 1. capite 14. Cùm essem paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus, &c: quando autem factus sum vir, euacuaui quæ erant paruuli, that is to say, When I was a child, I sauored and spake as a child, but at the time when I came vnto the estate of a man, then I put by all my childish conditions.

The apostle saith, he sauored and spake as a child, in whome is no stedfastnesse, or constancie. For a child will lightlie promise, and lightlie he will breake his promise, and doo all things that his appetite giueth him vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath doone. By which reason it followeth, that needilie great inconuenience must fall to that people, that a child is ruler and gouernour of: nor it is not possible for that kingdome to stand in felicitie, where such conditions reigne in the head and ruler of the same. But now we ought all to reioise, that all such defaults be expelled, and that a man, and not a child, shall haue lordship ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a sure rane vpon his toong, that he maie be knowne from a child, or a man vsing childish conditions: of whom I trust I maie say, as the wise man saith in his prouerbs, Prouerb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit sapientiam, & qui affluit prudentia, that is to say; Blessed be the man that hath sapience or wisdome, and that aboundeth in prudence. For that man that is ruled by sapience, must needs loue & dred our Lord God, and who so loueth & dreadeth him, it must consequentlie follow that he must keepe his commandements. By force whereof he shall minister true iustice vnto his subiects, and doo no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then shall follow the words of the wise man the which be rehearsed, Prouerb. 10. Benedictio Domini super caput iusti, os autem impiorum operit iniquitatem, that is to saie, The blessing of our Lord God shall light vpon the head of our king, being a iust and righteous man, for the toong of him worketh equitie and iustice; but the toong of the wicked & of sinners couereth iniquitie. And who so worketh or ministreth iustice in due order, he not onlie safegardeth himself, but also holdeth people in a suertie of restfulnes, of the which insueth peace and plentie. And therefore it is said of the wise king Salomon, Eccles. 10. Beata terra cuius rex nobilis est, vel cuius principes vescuntur in tempore suo, wich is to be vnderstanded, that blessed & happie is that land, of the which the king or ruler is noble and wise, and the princes be blessed that liue in his time. As who would say, they may take example of him to rule and guide their subiects. For by the discretion of a noble and wise man being in authoritie, manie euils be sequestred and set apart, all dissemblers put to silence. For the wise man considereth and noteth well the great inconueniences which dailie now growe of it, where the child or insipient drinketh the sweet and delicious words vnaduisedlie, and perceiueth not intoxication which they be mingled or mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as latelie the experience thereof hath beene apparent to all our sights and knowledges, & not without the great danger of all this realme. And all was for lacke of wisedome in the ruler, which deemed & taught as a child, giuing sentence of wilfulnesse and not of reason. So that while a child reigned, selfe-will & lust reigned, and reason with good conscience were outlawed, with iustice, stedfastnesse, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deliuered by the especiall helpe and grace of God, Quia vir dominabitur in populo, that is to saie, He that is not a child but perfect in reason.

For

For he commeth not to execute his owne will, but his will that sent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man vnto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen perfect reason and discretion, to discerne & deeme as a perfect man. Wherfore not all onlie of this man we shall saie that he shall dwell in wisedome, but as a perfect man and not a child, he shall thinke, and deeme, & haue such a circumspection with him, that he shall diligentlie forelooke and see that Gods will be doone, & not his. And therfore now I trust the words of the wise man, Ecclesiast. 10. shall be verified in our king: saieng, Iudex sapiens iudicabit populum suum, & principatus sensati stabilis erit; that is (as saith the wiseman) A wise and discreet iudge shall now deeme his people, and the dominion or lordship of a discreet wiseman shall stand stedfast. Wherevpon shall then follow the second verse of the same chapter, saieng, Secundum iudicem populi, sic & ministri eius, that is, Like as the head & souereigne is replenished with all sapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, administring to them law, with due and conuenient iustice, so shall the subiects againward be garnished with awe and louing dread, and beare vnto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the residue of the foresaid verses; Qualis rector est ciuitatis, tales & inhabitantes in ea, which is to saie, Such as the ruler of the citie is, such then be the inhabitants of the same. So that consequentlie it followeth, a good master maketh a good disciple. And likewise an euill king or ruler shall lose his people, & the cities of his kingdome shall be left desolate and vnhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In sted of a child wilfullie doing his lust and pleasure without reason, now shall a man be lord and ruler, that is replenished with sapience and reason, and shall gouerne the people by skilfull doome, setting apart all wilfulnesse and pleasure of himselfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo. The which our lord grant, & that he may prosperouslie reigne vnto the pleasure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might so come to passe, and the people answered, Amen; the king standing on his féet, said vnto the lords and commons there present: "I thanke you my lords both spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this land, and doo you to wit, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conquest would disherit any man of his heritage, franches, or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor to put him out of that which he now inioieth, and hath had before time by custome or good law of this realme, except such priuat persons as haue béene against the good purpose, and the common profit of the realme." When he had thus ended, all the shiriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exercise the same as before, which they could not doo whilest the kings roiall throne was void. The words of the elected king.

Moreouer, a proclamation was made, that the states should assemble againe in parlement on mondaie then next insuing, being the feast daie of saith Faith, which is the sixt of October; and that the monday then next following, being the 13 of the same moneth, and the feast day of saint Edward the king and confessor, the coronation should be solemnized, and that all such as had to claime any seruice to be doone by them at the same by any tenure, they should come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the steward and constable of England, on saturdaie next before the same day of the parlement, and presenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they should obteine that to them apperteined. Excuse was also made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement vpon so short a warning, so as the knights and burgesses were not changed, but onelie appointed to assemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather beene continued than dissolued. The cause was alledged to be for easing of the charges that would haue risen, if ech man had béene sent home, and new knights and burgesses called. *Thom. Wals.* The coronation proclaimed. The parlement.

These things doone, the king rose from his place, and with a chéerefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to White-hall, where the same day he held

King Henrie proclaimed.

a great feast. In the after noone were proclamations made in the accustomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being wednesdaie the first of October, the procurators aboue named repaired to the tower of London, and thare signified vnto king Richard the admission of king Henrie. And the aforesaid iustice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced vnto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in maner and forme as apperteined. Which renuntiation to the deposed king, was a redoubling of his greefe, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and souereigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forsware him to be their king. So that in his heuines he might verie well haue said with a gréeued plaintife,

T. Wats. Amintas querula 5.

Heu quantæ sortes miseris mortalibus instant!
Ah chari quoties obliuia nominis opto!
O qui me fluctus, quis me telluris hiatus
Pertæsum tetricæ vitæ deglutiat ore
Chasmatico?

K. Richard depriued.

Thus was king Richard depriued of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so giuen to follow euill counsell, and vsed such inconuenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwise a right noble and woorthie prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, three moneths and eight daies.

Hall.

He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus deposed, all the goods that he had, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides plate and iewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the iniuries by him committed and doone, in hope to be in more suertie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatsoeuer was promised, he was deceiued therein. For shortlie after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & frō thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare.)

His personage.

He was séemelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good inough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it.

His chance verelie was greatlie infortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he tooke it for the best waie he could deuise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accustomed to hazard all they haue to atteine therevnto. But such misfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those princes, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for perils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious,

Hardyng.

and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. He kept the greatest port, and mainteined the most plentifull house that euer any king in England did either before his time or since.

The noble house kéeping of king Richard.

For there resorted dailie to his court aboue ten thousand persons that had meat and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were thrée hundred seruitors, and euerie other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were aboue

Excesse in apparell.

thrée hundred at the least. And in gorgious and costlie apparell they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degrée. Yeomen and groomes were clothed in silkes, with cloth of graine and skarlet, ouer sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in those daies, but also other people abroad in the towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had beene accustomed before his daies, with imbroderies, rich furres, and goldsmiths worke, and euerie daie there was deuising of new fashions, to the great hinderance and decaie of the common-welth.

Ignorant prelats.

Moreouer, such were preferred to bishoprikes, and other ecclesiasticall liuings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture of God, but onelie to call for their tithes and duties; so that they were most vnworthie the name of bishops, being lewd and most vaine persons disguised in bishops apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abundantlie the filthie sinne of leacherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, speciallie in the king, but most chéefelie in the prelacie, whereby the whole realme

such

such their euill example, was so infected, that the wrath of God was dailie prouoked to vengeance for the sins of the prince and his people. How then could it continue prosperouslie with this king? against whom for the fowle enormities wherewith his life was defamed, the wrath of God was whetted and tooke so sharpe an edge, that the same did shred him off from the scepter of his kingdome, and gaue him a full cup of affliction to drinke; as he had doone to other kings his predecessors, by whose example he might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie case when God thundereth out his reall arguments either vpon prince or people.

Thus haue ye heard what writers doo report touching the state of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldlie saie what I thinke: he was a prince the most vnthankfullie vsed of his subiects, of any one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (thorough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himed himselfe more dissolutelie than séemed conuenient for his roiall estate, & made choise of such councellors as were not fauoured of the people, whereby he was the lesse fauoured himselfe: yet in no kings daies were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceiued their happie state: neither in any other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen lesse wronged. But such was their ingratitude towards their bountifull and louing souereigne, that those whom he had chéeflie aduanced, were readiest to controll him; for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remooue from him such as they misliked, and place in their roomes whom they thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which stirred such malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be asswaged without perill of destruction to them both.

The duke of Glocester chéefe instrument of this mischéefe, to what end he came ye haue heard. And although his nephue the duke of Hereford tooke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he himselfe and his lineall race were scourged afterwards, as a due punishment vnto rebellious subiects; so as deserued vengeance seemed not to staie long for his ambitious crueltie, that thought it not inough to driue king Richard to resigne his crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except he also should take from him his guiltlesse life. What vnnaturalnesse, or rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be content with his principalitie? not to be content with his treasure? not to be content with his depriuation? not to be content with his imprisonment? but being so neerelie knit in consanguinitie, which ought to haue moued them like lambs to haue loued each other, wooluishlie to lie in wait for the distressed creatures life, and rauenouslie to thirst after his bloud, the spilling whereof should haue touched his conscience so, as that death ought rather to haue beene aduentured for his safetie, than so sauagelie to haue sought his life after the losse of his roialtie.

But to let this passe to the consideration of the learned: according to our order, I will shew what writers of our English nation liued in his daies, as we find them in Iohn Bales centuries. First Henrie Bederie, otherwise surnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where he is thought to haue béene borne, an Augustine frier; Simon Alcocke, Vthred Bolton a moonke of Durham, borne in the borders of Wales beyond Seuerne; William Iordan a blacke frier, Iohn Hilton a frier Minor, Iohn Clipton a Carmelite frier in Notingham, Henrie Daniell a blacke frier and a good physician, Ralfe Marham, Iohn Marcheleie a graie frier or cordelier as some call them, Thomas Broome a Carmelite frier of London, Iohn Bridlington borne in Yorkeshire, William Thorne an Augustine frier of Canturbarie, an historiographer, Adam Meremouth a canon of saint Paules church in London, that wrote two tretises of historicall matters, the one intituled Chronicon 40 annorum, and the other Chronicon 60 annorum; Simon Bredon borne in Winchcombe a doctor of physicke and a skilfull astronomer, Iohn Thompson borne in Norfolke in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blacknie.

More, Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnshire, an Augustine frier in Stamford;

William

William Packington secretarie sometime to the Blacke prince an excellent historiographer, Geffraie Hingham a ciuilian, Iohn Botlesham borne in Cambridgeshire a blacke frier, William Badbie a Carmelite frier, bishop of Worcester, and confessor to the duke of Lancaster; William Folleuil a frier Minor borne in Lincolnshire, Iohn Bourgh parson of Collingham in Notinghamshire a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge; William Sclade a moonke of Buckfast abbie in Deuonshire, Iohn Thoresbie archbishop of Yorke and lord chancellor of England, was admitted by pope Vrbane the fift into the college of cardinals, but he died before K. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight and fourtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Ashborne an Augustine frier, Iohn Astone an earnest follower of Wickliffes doctrine, and therefore condemned to perpetuall prison; Casterton a moonke of Norwich and an excellent diuine, Nicholas Radclife a moonke of saint Albons, Iohn Ashwarbie a diuine and a fauourer of Wickliffes doctrine, Richard Maidstone so called of the towne in Kent where he was borne, a Carmelite frier of Ailesford.

Adde to these Iohn Wardbie an Augustine frier, and a great diuine; Robert Waldbie excellentlie learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was first aduanced to a bishoprike in Gascoigne, and after he was admitted archbishop of Dubline; William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and aduersarie to Wickliffe; Philip Repington abbat of Leicester a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe, Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a secular priest, a doctor of diuinitie, and scholer to Wickliffe; Walter Brit also another of Wickliffes scholers wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments, Henrie Herklie chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great sophister; Robert Iuorie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentith prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Augustine frier, professed in the same citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduersarie to Wickliffe.

Aduensis episcopus.

More, William Gillingham a moonke of saint Sauiours in Canturburie; Iohn Chilmarke a fellow of Marton colledge in Oxford, a great philosopher and mathematician; Iohn Sharpe a philosopher, and a diuine, wrote manie treatises, a great aduersarie to Wickliffe; Richard Lauingham borne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipswich, an excellent logician, but a sore enimie to them that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Pateshull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is said that he was in the end constreined for doubt of persecution to flie into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciscane frier, a chosen champion against Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell; Iohn Bromyard a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a sore enimie also to Wickliuists; Marcill Ingelne an excellent philosopher and a diuine, one of the first teachers in the Vniuersitie of Heidelberge, which Robert duke of Bauier and countée palantine of the Rhene had instituted about that season; Richard Northall sonne to a maior of London (as is said) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the same citie; Thomas Edwardson prior of the friers Augustines at Clare in Suffolke, Iohn Summer a Franciscane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliuists; Richard Withée a learned priest & an earnest follower of Wickliffe, Iohn Swafham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a student in Cambridge, who became bishop of Bangor, a great aduersarie to the Wickliuists.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egumond a frier heremit of the sect of the Augustins in Stamford; Iohn Tissington a Franciscane frier, a mainteiner of the popes doctrine; William Rimston or Rimington a moonke of Salleie, an enimie also to the Wickliuists; Adam Eston well séene in the toongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Vrban the sixt he was committed to prison in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of prison, but not fullie delidered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who restored him to his former dignitie; Iohn Beaufu a Carmelite of Northampton, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, and was made prior of

of his house; Roger Twiford aliàs Goodlucke, an Augustine frier; Iohn Treuise a Cornishman borne, and a secular préest and vicar of Berklie, he translated the bible; Bartholomew De proprietatibus rerum; Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, and diuerse other treatises, Rafe Spalding a Carmelite frier of Stamford; Iohn Moone an Englishman borne, but a student in Paris, who compiled in the French toong the Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geffrie Chaucer, William Shirborne; Richard Wichingham borne in Norffolke, and diuerse other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whose depriuation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.

[In the present Edit. Vol. III. pages 13 & 14.]

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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